





THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
WORLD,  
IN FIVE BOOKS.

---

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Kt.

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The ELEVENTH EDITION, *printed from a Copy revis'd by HIMSELF.*

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To which is PREFIX'D,

The LIFE of the AUTHOR,

NEWLY COMPIL'D,

From Materials more ample and authentick than have yet been publish'd;

By Mr. OLDYS.

Also his TRIAL, with some Additions:

TOGETHER WITH

*A new and more copious INDEX to the whole WORK.*

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In TWO VOLUMES.

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VOLUME I.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for G. CONYERS, J. J. and P. KNAPTON, D. MIDWINTER, A. BETTESWORTH  
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and J. and R. TONSON.

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MDCCXXXVI.



THE  
L I F E

O F

Sir *WALTER RALEGH.*

*By* W I L L I A M O L D Y S, *Gent.*





T H E  
L I F E  
O F  
Sir *WALTER RALEGH*.



EXPERIENCE, and her records, have sometimes manifested to us, That as men, renowned for glorious exploits, abound more in some ages than others, according to the genius of the times, or general taste and pursuit of their contemporaries; so if a martial spirit spring up in the reign of an active and adventurous sovereign, he shall rise into high repute, be much honoured and emulated: As, on the other side, if it is his fortune to live under a prince of a contrary character, his unfashionable virtue, unless it be of a supple nature, and can mould itself to occasions, will become criminal; and his courage, of less security than cowardise.

THE WORTHY, of whose life and fortunes I have been persuaded to attempt a rehearsal, will appear, in the following narrative, a convincing evidence of this observation. And what renders his story more remarkable is, that tho' he gave such repeated proofs of a superior conduct, in so many important stations and characters of life; tho' he was not only master of all the accomplishments requisite to *defend* a state in war, but to *adorn* it in peace; and did render himself illustrious, as well by *letters* in the latter, as he had done by *arms* in the former condition; yet that a warlike reign was of greater *safety* to him, and a peaceful one prov'd his *destruction*. I shall not anticipate the causes, but only premise thus much; That whoever can attend to the representation of a brave man wrestling with adversities, and rising higher in the notice and admiration of the world, the more violently he was oppos'd; whoever is any way concerned to know the effects of those prepossessions which diffident princes may entertain, and the prostitutions to which their sordid instruments may be won; or would be informed, what a pernicious foe in his country an insinuating foreigner may be to those natives who are its real friends; I may recommend him here; and venture to promise a prospect instructive, entertaining, and full of variety.

For tho' abundance of solid particulars are naturally sunk in the rapid current of time, while many less substantial are floating upon the surface, to the hand of every ordinary memorialist: And tho' some shining circumstances, in the prosperous part of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* life, have been darken'd through envy; as others, in the unfortunate period, through interest, by the age in which he lived; nevertheless, his single life may perhaps be found more fruitful of memorable incidents, than many histories of intire ages: Insomuch, as I may be apprehensive, with a late collector of his memoirs, " That the describing a person of so  
" diffusive a praise, so equally great in so many different parts of life, will be like at-  
" tempting a landskip from a high hill, where the multiplicity and extent of the prospects  
" may



" may rather distract the mind, than direct it ; and call for judgment to restrain the fancy, which is apt to run riot, when employ'd upon too many objects." Many guides may indeed appear to lead us through this wilderness ; but, numerous as the authors are who mention him, they contain but fragments of his story ; divers whereof, hitherto widely dispers'd, have escap'd not only our general historians, but the many compilers of distinct pieces on his actions. Even the moderns, who have treated of him with impartiality, have yet been deficient in point of industry, so as to prove no less injurious to his merits, than some who in his own age conspir'd to depreciate them. Hence the generality, having been too superficial and undigested ; having neither regarded due choice and order of matter, proportion in the parts, or connexion of the whole ; nor yet discharged themselves by such references to proper vouchers, as might satisfy those readers it is my ambition to please ; I have esteemed the number of such writers, no discouragement to the revival of his story.

AND first for the name of *Ralegh*, otherwise written *Rale* and *Ralega*, in some old deeds I have formerly seen ;<sup>a</sup> it is certainly of great antiquity in this kingdom ; since there are some villages and towns in the west, as well as other parts, so call'd,<sup>b</sup> which might at first receive their denomination from some, as well as afterwards give it to others, who were natives or possessors thereof. And since we are credibly inform'd, that one of those districts belonged anciently to noble lords of the same name,<sup>c</sup> as also that several of them were so call'd from the very family we are to speak of :<sup>d</sup> And as the *Raleghs* of *Devonshire* will appear to have flourished there before the conquest ; they might be the progenitors of those in other counties ; as it is expressly intimated out of the records they were of those in *Warwickshire*.<sup>e</sup> But as we are also told of no less than five knights of this name, at one time differently situated in that western county before-mention'd ;<sup>f</sup> and that there were three great families so named also there, contemporary with Sir *Walter Ralegh's*, who bore arms different from those of his paternal coat ;<sup>g</sup> we may conclude, they were not all of one lineage ; and at the same time, that it is owing to the eminency of this great man, that a distinction of the several houses, and his in particular, when all but his were in a manner extinct, has been so elaborately endeavoured by the antiquaries and genealogists of his own time.

As to the family of Sir *Walter Ralegh* therefore in particular, it is generally agreed on, that *Smalridge* in the parish of *Axminster*, in the county of *Devon*, was one of their most ancient seats. But Sir *William Pole*, who is said to have been one of the greatest searchers into the antiquities of that country, has been singularly short in the time of their first settling there. However, if we should agree with him upon that person for Sir *Walter Ralegh's* direct ancestor, who first removed thither out of *Nettlecomb-Ralegh* in *Somersetshire*, in the reign of king *Henry III*, from whom there is a successive descent of those six knights, Sir *Wimond*,<sup>h</sup> Sir *Hugh*, Sir *John*, Sir *Peter*, and two Sir *Johns* more ; besides others, who were either of the same degree themselves, or married into families distinguish'd with it, even down to *Wimond* the grandfather of Sir *Walter Ralegh* :<sup>i</sup> I know not but it may be also allowed, that the honours of this pedigree were sufficient to have been boasted of by some of his traducers. For tho', in the eye of heraldry, many titles are accounted more noble than knight-hood ; tho' native and patrimonial dignities, or such as descend necessarily from father to son, may in the eye of the common lineal claimant appear most legitimate ; and such as are venal, be esteemed in that of the wealthy, most valuable ; yet those which are personal, the individual acquisition, or recompence of every man's proper merit, will, in the eye of reason, be held most honourable.

<sup>a</sup> Among the numerous collections of *Richard Gascoigne*, Esq; a skillful and famous antiquary in the middle of the last century.

<sup>b</sup> *Ralegh* in the parish of *Pilton*, near *Barnstaple* ; *Street-Ralegh*, in the parish of *Atterbeer*, eight miles east of *Exeter* ; *Comb-Ralegh* near *Honiton* ; also *Widdycumb-Ralegh*, and *Coliton-Ralegh*, all in *Devonshire* : Besides *Nettlecomb-Ralegh* in *Somersetshire* ; *Ralegh* in *Essex*, a market-town, thought to be the same called *Ragancia* in *Dooms-day-book*, &c.

<sup>c</sup> *Camden's Britannia* in *Devon*.

<sup>d</sup> *John Prince's Worthies of Devon*, fol. 1701. p. 531.

<sup>e</sup> *Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire*, fol. 1656. p. 412.

<sup>f</sup> *Prince's Worthies*, fol. 517.    <sup>g</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 516.

<sup>h</sup> In a visitation-book, made anno 1623, of the counties of *Wilt*, *Dorset* and *Somerset*, among the MS. collections of *Brown Willis* Esq; of *Whaddon-Hall* in *Bucks*, there is a pedigree of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* family from the reign of king *John* ; with a copy whereof that worthy antiquary having obliged me, I find this *Wymond*, in the time of king *Henry III*, is therein called lord of *Coliton* and *Nettlecomb* : So it may seem, the estate in *Somersetshire* was of later accession to the family, and that in *Devonshire* the more ancient seat ; or that the removal was made rather to the former, than the latter country.

<sup>i</sup> *Prince*, fol. 530.



BUT however grateful it may seem in that author, who has characteris'd the aforesaid Sir *William Pole*, as the first and best antiquary of his county; <sup>a</sup> though none of his works were ever printed; or perhaps now remain sufficient to prove him so to the public; <sup>b</sup> yet we are at liberty to observe, that *John Hooker*, another famous antiquary and historian of the same county, appears to have been his senior; <sup>c</sup> whose actual publications, several years before Sir *William Pole* is said to have privately apply'd himself to these studies, had establish'd his character, through the applauses of the best judges in his own time; <sup>d</sup> and who, with respect to Sir *Walter Ralegh* in particular, being related to, and acquainted with him, had not only the greatest opportunities to be expert in his genealogy, but withal publicly addressing an account thereof to Sir *Walter* himself, when this knight was in the very meridian of envy and detraction, had the greatest obligations upon him to be strictly accurate in displaying it. Now this author, in one of his performances, gives us to understand; that *Smalridge* was in the possession of the *Raleghs* before the *Norman* conquest; and that one of the family, being taken prisoner by the *Gauls*, did, for his deliverance upon *St. Leonard's* day, build, at his return home, a chapel there, consecrated to that saint; and therein, as a grateful monument, hung up his target: <sup>e</sup> the records of which foundation are said to have been given by a priest of *Axminster* to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, <sup>f</sup> as their most rightful owner. So much for the antiquity of the family in *Devonshire*: and as for its derivation, the said *Hooker*, even in a printed dedication to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as I hinted (which he repeatedly confirms in the aforesaid performance) not only avouches his alliance to the *Courtenays*, earls of *Devon*, and other illustrious houses; but traces the stream of consanguinity up to the kings of *England*: where he says, "That one of his ancestors in the directest line, Sir *John de Ralegh* of *Fardel* (another feat of their ancient inheritance in the parish of *Cornwood*, eight miles east of *Plymouth*) espoused the daughter of Sir *Roger D'Amerei*, who married *Elizabeth* daughter of *Gilbert* earl of *Gloucester*, by *Joan D'Acres*, daughter of king *Edward I.* which *Gilbert* was descended of *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*, son of king *Henry I.*" So goes up to the conqueror: and farther adds, "That in like manner he may be derived by his mother also out of the same house."<sup>g</sup> But since these two authors, the likeliest we have in print to have confirm'd us in the truth of this matter, vary thus from each other; since Sir *William Pole* thought it rather another family of the *Raleghs*, which was thus royally descended; since also five or six ancient pedigrees of this family, which I have seen in manuscript, by the heraldical visitors, and antiquaries of those western parts, also differ, not only from *Hooker*, but in several points both from Sir *William Pole*, and from one another; and lastly, since it will be consider'd, that I have not undertaken to account for the whole race of the *Raleghs*, but only one select person of the name, here let the truth, as to these remote ancestors or alliances, hover for me: for I am not moved, on the wings of conjecture, to make my self a party with any of those antiquaries, nor shall endeavour to compromise the difference between them, unless such prevailing authorities had occur'd, as would enable me to do it with certainty. Besides, as those whose virtues have adorned them with a sufficiency of *personal* honours, are ever least anxious about such as are *relative*: so it might well argue but little *weight* in the judgment of a historian, to shew himself contentious

<sup>a</sup> The same *John Prince*, fol. 506, who was honour'd by the descendants of Sir *W. Pole* with the perusal of what remain'd in his time of that knight's collections; as his ancestor had been by Sir *William* himself, with an office which he held under him. *Ib.* fol. 505.

<sup>b</sup> Many of Sir *William's* MSS miscarried in the civil wars so effectually, that the very titles and arguments of them are likewise perished, as *Prince* tells us in the same page; and those four or five volumes this author appears to have had some view of, having been since lent about, are thought, and have been reported by some of the family, to be now also irretrievably lost. See the *English barons*, 12mo. 1728. vol. 1. p. 323. Yet I have been told by a person of great honour and knowledge in curiosities of this kind, that he had heard one volume of those collections, if not more, is somewhere in being.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *William Pole*, who was high sheriff of *Devonshire*, and honour'd by king *James* with knighthood in 1606, when *Ralegh* was in discredit with him, seems to have been a writer chiefly in his reign; for though he might apply himself twenty years to these studies, according to *Prince*, fol. 506. we yet find one of his largest volumes written *Ann.* 1616, in the same page. But Mr. *Hooker*, who was the first chamberlain of *Exeter* about 1554, and twice member of parliament for that city, as we find in the *Notitia Parliamentaria*, by *Brown Willis* Esq; vol. 2. 1716. p. 272; as also for *Athenry* in *Ireland* about 1570, as I

find by his own words; did actually set forth in print his tracts about the government of *Exeter*, and bishops of that see; besides his augmentations of the *English* and *Irish* chronicles, with other pieces, before, or by the year 1587; and, having lived to near eighty years, died in 1601, according to *Anthony Wood*, and my said author *Prince*, in his life; though the former of them quotes from *Hooker's* own words, that he was living in 1605 (if 'tis not a mistake of the press) and the latter has made no boggle at the blunder.

<sup>d</sup> As bishop *Godwin*, *Richard Carew* Esq; the *Cornish* antiquary, and Mr. *Camden*, whose words in one place are, *Vir eruditus, & de antiquitatis studio optime meritus D. Joannes Hookerus.* Britan. 8vo. Franc. 1616. p. 138.

<sup>e</sup> *Hooker's Synopsis Chronographical*: or historical record of *Devonshire*, a MS, as quoted by *Prince*, fol. 530. A copy whereof, in this author's time, was in the custody of Mr. *John Eastchurch* of *Wood* in that county; still extant, as I have heard in those parts; and pity it is, that it has not yet seen the publick light; since above a hundred years ago, it was revis'd by so able a judge of its worth as Sir *John Dodderidge*, and had his recommendation to the press.

<sup>f</sup> *Tristram Risdon's* description of *Devon*, in *Axminster*.

<sup>g</sup> *Hooker's* epistle dedicatory to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, before his translation and continuation of the chronicles of *Ireland*, printed in *Hollinshed*, vol. 2. 1587.



about these *feathers* for his worthy ; especially such a one, as shall be found to have thought so justly *light* of them himself.

HOWEVER, as all accounts allow him a very honourable extract ; let us prefer which we please, the freedom some great courtiers took in calling him *Jack* and *Upstart*, upon his advancement to queen *Elizabeth's* favour, is thought to have somewhat reflected rather on themselves ; in suffering their sprightly parts to take such advantage of their noble principles. One of these sarcasms I find recorded by lord *Bacon*, in his little book of *Apophthegms*,<sup>a</sup> where he says, “ That when queen *Elizabeth* had advanced *Raleigh*, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my lord of *Oxford* with another nobleman stood by ; when it happen'd that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so that they were seen ; whereupon that lord and the other nobleman smil'd and whisper'd a little : the queen mark'd it, and would needs know, *what was the matter ?* His lordship answer'd, *They laugh'd to see, that when jacks went up, heads went down.*” Though the application of this reflection particularly to *Raleigh*, if such was made, is disputable, notwithstanding lord *Bacon's* allusion, yet it is plain, that Sir *Robert Naunton*, who was secretary of state at the time of *Raleigh's* death, and whose *observations* on that queen's favourites were written, though not printed, before those *Apophthegms*, thought also, that it was made upon *Raleigh* : for he has said, with relation to this jest by that witty earl, “ We all know it favours more of emulation and his humour, than of truth ; it being a certain note of the times, that the queen, in her choice, never took into her favour a mere new man, or a mechanick.”<sup>b</sup> But it is believ'd, Sir *Walter Raleigh* himself was afterwards pretty even with his *quality-critics* ; where he so solidly exposes the emptiness of merit, nay, the real detriment to it, in posterity's being entitled to the rewards of their ancestor's virtues, by *hereditary* honours ; succession of *blood* ; and nobility in *parchment* : *those only being truly noble, who by worthy acts have render'd themselves most notable.*<sup>c</sup>

His paren-  
tage.

ALL therefore that needs be added on this head, as a matter more immediately requisite, and indeed sufficient for my present purpose, is, That Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the son of *Walter Raleigh Esq* ; of *Fardel* aforesaid ; who being thrice married, had by his first wife *Joan*, daughter of *John Drake* of *Exmouth* in *Devon Esq* ; two sons, one named *George*, and the other *John* ; which last married *Anne* the daughter of Sir *Bartholomew Fortescue* of *Filley* in *Devon*, and relict of ---- *Gaicrick* of *Ford* ; and they had issue. His second wife was daughter of one *Darell* of *London* ; by whom he had a daughter named *Mary*,<sup>d</sup> who was married to *Hugh Snedale* of *Hilling* in *Cornwall Esq* ; and had issue :<sup>e</sup> his third wife was *Catherine* daughter of Sir *Philip Champenon* of *Modbury*, and relict of *Otho Gilbert* of *Compton* in *Devon Esq* ; He had by this last *Venter*, his third son, *Carew*, afterwards knighted, and of *Wiltshire*, who married *Dorothy* daughter of Sir *William Wroughton*, and relict of Sir *John Thynn* ; by whom he had issue ; and lastly, his fourth son, named *Walter*, the subject of our ensuing discourse ; who was thereby the *uterine* brother of those three eminent knights, Sir *John*, Sir *Humphrey*, and Sir *Adrian Gilbert*. By this last wife, Mr. *Raleigh* had also one daughter, named *Margaret* ; who was married first to ---- *Radford* of *Mount Radford* in *Devon*, clerk of the peace ; and afterwards to ---- *Hull* of *Larkebere Esq* ; in *St. Leonard's* parish, *Exeter*.<sup>f</sup>

THE family was indeed at this time much declin'd from its former splendor of fame and affluence of fortune : for the estate of *Smalridge*, which remain'd in the name of *Raleigh* to the time of king *Henry VIII*, was then sold, by Sir *Walter's* grandfather *Wimond*, to *John* the father of Sir *John Gilbert* of *Compton* ; but I cannot find it reduc'd to that low ebb, in the latter respect, which some have intimated : for *Fardel* remain'd still in their possession ; which, after the death of Sir *Walter's* father, fell to the eldest son *George* ; and there were besides,

<sup>a</sup> I mean the only genuine and uncorrupted edition of them, published by the author himself, in small 8vo, 1625. 'Tis the first *Apophthegm* in the book.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *Robert Naunton's* *Fragmenta Regalia*, 4to. 1642, in his character of Sir *W. Raleigh*, p. 28.

<sup>c</sup> *Hinc dictus nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* See Sir *W. Raleigh's* history of the world, lib. 1. c. 9. sect. 4.

<sup>d</sup> The visitation of *Devonshire*, Ann. 1564, by *William Hervey Esq* ; *Clarenceux*, a MS. in the heralds-office.

<sup>e</sup> Among the errors of the clerk, or transcriber of this visitation, in the paragraph concerning Sir *Walter Raleigh's* father (too obvious and minute to be here taken notice of) that assertion of this daughter's having no issue should not be deem'd one ; that book being written probably before she was married.

<sup>f</sup> Though Sir *W. Pole*, in *Prince's Worthies*, fol. 530, mentions Sir *W. Raleigh's* father to have been but twice married, omitting his second wife, and also his daughters by her, and his third ; yet as one or both of those daughters will hereafter occur, proving him manifestly de-

fective in that omission, I have thought it most reasonable to follow some other antiquaries of those parts and times, who concur in his marriages and issue as they are here display'd. And for this intelligence, the publick is principally obliged to the incomparable *Harleian* library ; its noble owner having honour'd me with the permission of collecting it from the pedigrees of the *Devonshire* gentry, an original MS. by *Tho. Westcot*, recorder of *Totness*, fol. sign. 99, C. 16. pag. 59 ; and of collating it with *Richard Munday's* MS. coll. of pedigrees, fol. sign. 90. A. 10. pag. 53 ; and with the visitation of *Devonshire*, by *Hen. St. George Esq* ; *Richmond-herald*, and *Sampson Lennard*, bluemantle, deputies for *W. Camden Esq* ; *Clarenceux*, Ann. 1620, fol. fig. 64. B. 14. pag. 366. But some of the pedigrees in these books, and others I have seen of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* family, might perhaps be improved, at least with relation to the more ancient branches ; that is to say, from king *Henry II.* down to king *Henry VIII's* reign, out of the valuable old deeds and evidences which remain in the custody of Sir *John Trevelyan* of *Nettlecomb* in *Somersetshire*, Bart.



*Widdycomb-Ralegh*, and *Coliton-Ralegh* in their possession; the former of which was sold, by Sir *Walter's* elder brother Sir *Carew Ralegh*, to *George* the natural son of *George* aforesaid; and the latter was sold, by Sir *Walter* himself, to *Richard Martin*, or his father, of *Exeter*.<sup>a</sup> But neither of these places claim the honour of his birth.

FOR his father having the remainder of a fourscore-years lease, in a pleasant farm call'd *Hayes*, Birth-place. situate in the parish of *Budley*, in that part of *Devonshire* bordering eastward upon the sea, near where the *Ottery*, or river of *Otters*, discharges it self into the *British* channel; and residing upon the said farm during the time of his last marriage: this was the birth-place of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and it is accordingly distinguish'd, as for nothing more remarkable, by topographical writers to this day. After the expiration of that lease, *Ralegh* apply'd, but unsuccessfully, to Mr. *Duke of Otterton*, to whom the estate devolv'd, to sell it him; as appears by *Ralegh's* letter to him, wherein he says, "That for the natural disposition he had to the place, being "born in that house, he had rather seat himself there, than any-where else."<sup>b</sup> From whence, it seems, that what some are, by another *Devonian* antiquary, said to have reported, and himself appears only to have recorded; as if "Sir *Walter Ralegh* was born in the city of *Exeter*, and "in the house adjoining to the palace-gate,"<sup>c</sup> has no authority, and perhaps, had not so much as rumour to countenance it.

As to the time of his birth; I find the computation has been made from *Camden's* account of his age at his death, that he was born in the year 1552. And herewith corresponds an observation I have found in an astrological author, who, fixing his birth in the sixth year of king *Edward VI*, which answers to the year of our Lord aforesaid, calls it "A year remarkable "in our chronicles; first, for that strange shole of the largest sea-fishes, which, quitting their "native waters for fresh and untasted streams, wandered up the *Thames* so high, till the river "no longer retained any brackishness; and secondly, for that it is thought to have been some- "what stain'd in our annals with the blood of the noble *Seymer*, duke of *Somerset*: events " (says he) surprisingly analogous both to the life of this adventurous voyager, Sir *Walter "Ralegh*, whose delight was in the hazardous discovery of unfrequented coasts; and also to "his unfortunate death."<sup>d</sup>

THAT his younger years were season'd at the university of *Oxford*, we may gather from good authorities; as *Hooker* aforesaid, lord *Bacon*, and *Anthony Wood*; which last says, "He Educated at Oxford. "became commoner of *Oriel College*, in or about the year 1568, when his kinsman *C. Cham- "pernon* studied there; and that his natural parts being strangely advanced by academical "learning, under the care of an excellent tutor, he became the ornament of the juniors; and was "worthily esteem'd a proficient in oratory and philosophy"<sup>e</sup>. But in that he came so late thither as this author mentions, and stayed so long there as three years, which he afterwards mentions; and, as the biographical fry who follow have nibbled out of him, they are all mistaken: for he will presently appear two years before that time amounts to, in the wars abroad. What time then can we spare for his residence at *Christ-Church College* also, in that university; whereof Dr. *Fuller* would needs have him a member, either before or after he was of *Oriel*; unless we could find, as I fear we shall not, that he return'd from the school of *Mars*, to that of the *Muses*? Little more can we expect to have been observed of this more remote part of his life; and yet something more in it has been preserved by lord *Bacon* aforesaid, who had the judgment to foresee, that every little circumstance would be acceptable of a man, whose fortunes and misfortunes had render'd him so memorable. And indeed it has been represented to me as a matter of no small honour to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that a casual expression of his, in his immature and greenest years, should prefer it self to the commemoration of that great philosopher, in his sagest and most advanc'd age. But as he had observ'd, on the nature of things; That great objects may be discern'd through a little crevice; so he knew, with respect to the nature of men, that a great discovery of genius may be made through a small and sudden repartee: and hence might he be moved to remember; "That while *Ralegh* was a scholar at *Oxford*, "there was a cowardly fellow, who happen'd to be a very good archer; but having been grossly "abused by another, he bemoaned himself to *Ralegh*, and ask'd his advice; *What he should do "to repair the wrong that had been offer'd him?* *Ralegh* answer'd, *Why, challenge him---at a "match of shooting."*<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Prince's Worthies*, fol. 531.

<sup>b</sup> Dated from the court 26 July 1584, and quoted by *Anthony Wood* in *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 435.

<sup>c</sup> The antiquities of *Exeter*, by *Richard Isacke*, chamberlain of that city, 8vo. 1681, p. 147.

<sup>d</sup> Supplement to *G. Le Neve's* collection of natiivities MS. pence me, fol. 9.

<sup>e</sup> *Anthony Wood's Athen. Oxon.* as before in Sir *Walter Ralegh's* life.

<sup>f</sup> See Dr. *Tho. Fuller's* church-history, fol. 1656, in his table of the learned writers of *Oriel College*, lib. 4. fol. 104; and also that of *Christ-Church*, lib. 5. sect. 32.

<sup>g</sup> Lord *Bacon's* Apophthegms new and old, 8vo. 1625. p. 292.



How long he continued at the university, is at last rightly concluded by *Anthony Wood* to be uncertain; but as sure as he thinks himself right in settling him a student of the municipal laws in the *Middle Temple*, upon seeing a copy of verses he might write in that inn of court; I take this assertion to be a greater uncertainty than the other. For though *Sir Robert Naunton*, and possibly from him most other writers of *Raleigh's* life, have also consign'd him to the study of the law, on his leaving *Oxford*; there is a late author who believes it a mistake so obvious, that no merit can reasonably be assum'd from correcting it:<sup>a</sup> for *Sir Walter*, at his arraignment, in a reply to the attorney-general, lays a heavy imprecation upon himself, *If ever he read a word of law or statutes, before he was a prisoner in the Tower.*<sup>b</sup> So that if this *Raleigh* was the author of that poem before-mention'd, and of the *Middle-Temple* in that year it was written, which we shall presently arrive at, we must yet take care to keep the lawyer clear from the *templar*.

For we are expressly told by *Hooker*, "That, after *Raleigh* had laid a good ground to build his actions on at the university, he travell'd into *France*;"<sup>c</sup> and this is confirm'd by *Camden*, according to whose account of the time, *Raleigh* could not be, at his departure, above seventeen years of age; and by the occasion of his first going over, it will appear that a military course of life first fledg'd his fame. For as it has been rightly observ'd, *Raleigh* had the advantage of a stirring age to encourage and exercise his active genius, throughout the whole series of his first engagements. *France* was now embroil'd in civil wars; *England* soon after, to divert a menaced danger from the encroaching power of *Spain*, lent assistance to the then distress'd and humble *States of Holland*; *Spain*, by a political reprisal, rais'd stubborn insurrections in *Ireland*; and the *Pope*, to make the rebellion more permanent, and more plausible, religiously pretended that kingdom was a perquisite of *St. Peter*.<sup>d</sup>

BUT first of *France*: and here we need not recur to the original of those commotions there; need not trace the *Hugonots* to their fountain-head;<sup>e</sup> apologise for their oppositions against the *Guisards*; <sup>f</sup> labour to reconcile queen *Elizabeth's* defence of another prince's oppressed subjects, to the laws of nations, when imminent danger, by such oppressions, threatned her own;<sup>g</sup> nor, lastly, aggravate her motives against *France* in particular, from their late violation of covenants, relating to the rendition of *Calais*:<sup>h</sup> these topics being to be sought where they have already been, and it is more proper they should be directly discuss'd. Sufficient therefore it will be, to observe in this place, out of *Camden's* annals, that though the queen had her hands full of disorders at home, yet she was not wanting either in commiseration or relief to the persecuted protestants of *France*; and not only exhorted other princes of the same persuasion to lend their hands to the common cause, but supply'd the queen of *Navarre* with money and men to support it; permitting *Henry Champenon*, a relation by marriage of the earl of *Montgomery*, to march with a select troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, well mounted and accoutred, into *France*; who bore in their standard this motto: *FINEM DET MIHI VIRTUS: Let valour decide the cause.* In the list of these volunteers, was *Philip Butshed*, with *Francis Barclay*, men afterwards of note in their time; and this *Walter Raleigh*, the most noted of all, then a very young man, and first beginning to push his fortune in the world; *admodum adolescens, jam primum satis monstratus*, says our above-cited annalist.<sup>i</sup>

The greatest historian in *France* of those times, tells us, this select troop of horse arrived in the *French* camp, on the 5th of *October* 1569, and that they were very honourably receiv'd by the queen of *Navarre* and the princes.<sup>k</sup> But what services distinctly they perform'd in *France*, or how long they continued there, neither the writers of that country, nor of our own, have, I think, given full satisfaction. This consequence we draw from some circumstances in the latter part of *Raleigh's* life, that he established himself a considerable reputation while he was in that kingdom; and from our author *Hooker* aforesaid, "That he spent good part of his youth in wars and martial services there:"<sup>l</sup> agreeable to which, is that passage in another author, who also seems to have known him; where, speaking of his education, he adds; "It was not

<sup>a</sup> Mr. *Lewis Theobald's* memoirs of *Sir W. Raleigh*, 8vo. 1719. p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> The trial of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, 8vo. 1719. p. 25; and in the *State Trials*, vol. 1. fol. 180.

<sup>c</sup> *Hooker's* epist. dedic.

<sup>d</sup> *Theobald's* memoirs of *Sir W. Raleigh*, p. 5.

<sup>e</sup> The original or derivation of the *Hugonots* is differently given by *French* authors. See the *Sieur Castellan's* memoirs of *Francis II.* and *Charles IX.* of *France*. lib. 2. cap. 7. And in *Estienne Pasquier's* *Recherches de la France*, among his works. *Amsterd.* 1723. tom. 1. fol. 858, a whole chapter on the word *Huguenot*.

<sup>f</sup> See *Sir Jerom Bowes's* translat. of an apol. for the Christians in *France* of the evangelical or reform'd religion, 8vo. *Lond.* 1579.

<sup>g</sup> Hereof, besides *Albericus Gentilis*, *De Jure Belli*; *Grotius*, and *Puffendorf*. See the *Bishop of St. Asaph's* discourse of God's disposing of kingdoms, 4to. 1691.

<sup>h</sup> Of these covenants, see at large in *Speer's* chron. 2d edit. fol. 1163.

<sup>i</sup> *Annal. Reg. Eliz. Ann.* 1569.

<sup>k</sup> *Jac. Aug. Thuanus* *historiarum sui temporis*, tom. 2. fol. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

<sup>l</sup> *Hooker's* epist. dedic. &c.



“part, but wholly gentleman, wholly soldier.”<sup>a</sup> And hence may we not only account for the greatest *chasm* in all the memoirs which have hitherto appear’d of Sir *Walter Ralegh*’s life; but also presume, that he was here initiated in those accomplishments both civil and military, through the language and politeness of the people, as well as their warlike and ministerial affairs, whereof he afterwards gave such manifold proofs; and of which, in a period cluster’d with such extraordinary events, he must have here had such an extensive and instructive prospect.

Some *French* historians tell us, that what with the supplies of queen *Elizabeth*, who sent the *French* protestants a hundred thousand angels, besides some pieces of cannon and ammunition; and what with the aids of their other allies, the protestant army, which took the field under admiral *Coligny* and the prince of *Conde*, and encamp’d about *Limosin*, this year of *Ralegh*’s going over, being in the beginning of their third civil war, amounted to no less than twenty-five thousand fighting men; when the king’s army under his brother the duke of *Anjou*, being encamp’d at *Rochebeille*, amounted to above thirty thousand.<sup>b</sup> But others reckon the protestant army of equal number; and observe, tho’ their men and horse died at *Limosin* in great numbers for want of food and forage; and tho’ a great reward was offer’d for the admiral, dead or alive, that it only added fuel to the fire: for what terror could it strike, says my author, into persons, who headed an army of thirty thousand men, and ventur’d their lives with the utmost bravery on all occasions?<sup>c</sup> As for the insincere league or union of *France* and *England*, by the pretended marriage, which appears to have been negotiated two years after between the two crowns;<sup>d</sup> it seems not to have withdrawn these *English* auxiliaries, at least not him along with them; because *Ralegh*’s continuance in *France* would then fall short of *Hooker*’s implication afore said. But as we shall discover him to have been in that kingdom beyond the death of king *Charles IX.*, which from *Ralegh*’s entrance thither is about five years; and that in this compass of time near thirty battles, sieges, overthrows, treaties, and capitulations on one side or other may be enumerated; it is manifest that our young volunteer was hazardously engaged in some, if not several of them. He had afterwards occasion to mention, upon his observing here, the ill consequence of having commanders in equal power, whom it is almost impossible to chuse of equal courage and discretion, “How well he remember’d, that when the prince of *Conde* was slain after the battel of *Jarnac*, the protestants did greatly bewail his loss, in respect to his religion, person, and birth: yet that comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than hinderance to their affairs; for (as he judiciously proceeds to distinguish between the military virtues of this prince, and the admiral afore said) so much did the valour of the one out-reach the advisedness of the other; that whatsoever the admiral intended to win, by waiting the advantage; the prince adventur’d to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage.”<sup>e</sup> In another place *Ralegh* speaks of a stratagem which he and his company used with success at *Languedoc*, where the enemy had fortified themselves in certain caves which had but one narrow entrance cut in the mid-way of the high rocks, and “which (says he) we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine; till at last, by certain bundles of lighted straw let down by an iron chain with a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it were so smother’d, that they surrender’d themselves, with their plate, money, and other goods, therein hidden; or they must have died like bees that are smoak’d out of their hives.”<sup>f</sup> And in another place he gratefully takes notice of a deliverance he had in these wars. ’Tis where, reasoning upon the manner and opportunities of retreats in battle (with that sagacity and experience which are no strangers in his writings) he first gives an example of its being less dishonour to retire in the dark, than to be ruin’d in the light, in the sentiment of *M. de la Noue*, upon the retreat made just before the battle of *Moncouthour*. “For (says that *Frenchman*) staying upon our reputation in *shew*, not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeed, in dislodging by day; whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruin: yet (says *Ralegh*) did that worthy gentleman count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, brother to the late famous prince of *Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncouthour* with so great resolution, as he saved one half of the protestant army, then broken and disbanded, of which my self was an eye-witness, and was one of them who had cause to thank him for it.”<sup>g</sup> But by what means *Ralegh* escaped that comprehensive de-

His character of the *French* generals.

Stratagem at *Languedoc*.

Deliverance at the battle of *Moncouthour*.

<sup>a</sup> See Sir *Walter Ralegh*’s ghost; or *England*’s fore-warner, &c. *Utrecht*, printed by *John Schelleem*, 4to. 1626. p. 15.

<sup>b</sup> *J. de Serres*, Anno 1569.

<sup>c</sup> *Mich. de Castelnau*’s memoirs, lib. 7. cap. 7, 8.

<sup>d</sup> Certain articles, considerations, demands, and answers, about the league between us and *France*, under the year 1571, are refer’d to in Sir *Francis Walsingham*’s table-book, or repertory of all his state-papers, a MS in my possession,

written in 8vo. about the year 1588. p. 147. And these articles, &c. are mention’d there to be enter’d in his diarium of foreign matters, lib. A. pag. 25. As for the letters of the *English* ambassadors upon this occasion, they were collected by Sir *Dudley Digges*, and printed under the title of the compleat ambassador, fol. 1655.

<sup>e</sup> See Sir *Walter Ralegh*’s history of the world, lib. 5. cap. 2. sect. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. lib. 4. cap. 2. sect. 16. • Ib. lib. 5. cap. 2. sect. 8.

“instruction,



struction which broke out in the third year of this turbulent period, unless with young *Sidney* (afterwards a knight of great renown for his own accomplishments, and the patronage of other men's, then upon his travels in *France*) he took sanctuary in the ambassador *Walsingham's* house,<sup>a</sup> we despair at this distance of learning: for then the cruel and insidious young king aforesaid, inflam'd by the *queen mother*, and her firebrands of religion, perpetrated that horrible massacre of all the *protestants* in the capital city, and other parts of his realm; the invitation to which was the nuptials of his sister; the signal to which was the bell they rung to their pious mattins; and in the execution whereof, among many thousands, fell the great *admiral* aforesaid, by the procurement of his implacable enemy the duke of *Guise*.<sup>b</sup> And though the comet, which soon after glar'd out of the face of heaven upon these bloody actors for many months together,<sup>c</sup> seems to have wrought little remorse or contrition in them during life; yet is their untimely and violent end, with the extirpation of the very line of *Valois*, somewhat remarkable; especially that of this king himself, whose early delight in hunting of wild beasts, thus improved to the slaughter of his fellow-creatures; till in less than two years after that inhuman massacre, his insatiable thirst of his people's blood, was quenched by an irresistible extravasation of his own.<sup>d</sup>

Now that *Raleigh* was, till the death of that king, and even longer, in *France*, we may be fully convinc'd, from the further light I have fortunately met with, in an eminent author of his own time. For Mr. *Richard Hakluyt*, in his most excellent collection of voyages, dedicating his translation of a *French* adventure therein to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, tells him, That "calling to mind you had spent more years in *France* than I, and understand the *French* better than my self; I perceiv'd you approve my endeavour, not for any private ease, but for the special care you had of those to be employ'd in your own-like enterprize."<sup>e</sup> And how long *Hakluyt* had been in *France*, appears in his dedication to Sir *Francis Walsingham* of his first edition of those voyages;<sup>f</sup> where he takes the occasion to tell his patron, that *himself* had been five years in that kingdom: so that *Raleigh* must have been at least six years there.

AND this will lead us near the time we are to look for him in *London*, if we take for our guide in the chronology of *Raleigh's* life, that copy of verses before-mentioned which *Anthony Wood* took for his, in relation to *Raleigh's* profession. These verses I have found to be a commendatory poem of three stanza's, by *Walter Rawley* of the *Middle Temple*, as he is there written; and printed among others, before a satire call'd the *Steele glass*, published in 1576, by a learned and ingenious poet of repute in those days, named *George Gascoigne* Esq;<sup>g</sup> an *Essexian* born, and therefore nearly related, as I take it, to that excellent genealogical antiquary of the same surname, who afterwards lived, and died I think, in *Yorkshire*; and of whom I

<sup>a</sup> See *Digges's* compleat ambassador, fol. 250.

<sup>b</sup> The massacre of *Paris* was begun on *St. Bartholomew's* day 1572. And if between *Mexeray's* estimate of the numbers that were butcher'd over *France*, which is one of the least; and *Perefixe's*, which is one of the largest, we incline to the medium; we shall prefer the computation of *Natalis Comes*, who wrote earlier, and about the very time. He reckons them at three score thousand. And so insatiable was the fury of these parricides, that they spared neither age, sex, nor quality; *vel puberes, vel impuberes*, says he, *trucidati sunt; neque ullius sexus, vel ætatis, vel dignitatis, habita est ratio*. vid. *Hist. Nat. Com. lib. 23. p. 508*. But yet Sir *W. Raleigh*, in one of his MS discourses on the marriage between *England* and *Savoy*, hereafter more particularly spoken of, numbers them (not yet so high as some of their own historians) at no less than a hundred thousand. And *Margaret*, queen of *Navarre*, confesses in her memoirs, liv. 1. That several of her brother's friends fell as well as his enemies, in the blind rage of this diffusive and undistinguishing desolation. Insomuch that in contempt of all princely promises and protestations of amity, their historians were suffer'd to boast, *More hereticks had been destroy'd in that one day, than in all the twelve years of the war*. Well therefore did that deputy of the reformed religion, in his treaty for a peace with the king and queen mother, which they agreed to, insist upon security for the preservation of it: and when the queen mother said, *Why, is not the word of a king sufficient security?* Well did he answer; *No, by St. Bartholomew, Madam*. How much this flagrant exploit was gloried in over *France* and *Rome*, their processions, thanksgivings, medals, and jubilee, will sufficiently declare.

<sup>c</sup> This blazing star, on which 30 different books were written, which had been read by *Tycho Brahe*, the noble Dane, before he compos'd his larger work thereon, first appear'd on the 9th of November 1572, in the form of a lozenge of four points, and continued immoveable nine months, says *De Serres*. Sir *Thomas Smith*, in a letter dated December 11. that year to Sir *F. Walsingham*, describes it a fair comet with-

out beard or tail, on the back-side of *Cassiopeia's* chair, and on the edge of *Lactea via*; that it was between the size of *Jupiter* and *Venus*, and had then appear'd three weeks in *England*. In another letter to *Walsingham*, he notes how much the *French* and *English* astronomers varied as to the placing this star in the signs of the *Zodiac*. See Sir *Dudley Digges's* compleat ambassador, fol. 299, and 316. But *Camden*, in his annals of queen *Elizabeth*, more particularly observes it to have shone brighter than the planet of *Jupiter* in the perigee of his eccentric and epicycle; that it continued in the same place full sixteen months; though after eight months it visibly diminished. Mr. *Thomas Digges* and Dr. *John Dee*, two famous mathematicians of those times, have learnedly proved by the doctrine of *Parallaxes*, that it was fixed in the celestial, not the elementary region; and that it disappeared by ascension. *Theodore Beza* very ingeniously apply'd it to the star which appear'd at the slaughter of the *Innocents* under *Herod*. And queen *Elizabeth's* gallant comportment at the sight of it, from her window at *Richmond*, which ought not to have escaped her annalist aforesaid, is preserved by the earl of *Northampton*, in his learned *Defensative against the poison of supposed prophecies*. 2d edit. fol. 1620. p. 77.

<sup>d</sup> That extraordinary eruption of blood carried off king *Charles IX*, on the 30th of May 1574, in the 24th year of his age. His successor, *Henry III*, was stab'd to death by a *Jacobin* frier, named *James Clement*, Anno 1589, in that very chamber where the council had been held for the fatal *Bartholomew's* day; so made way for the house of *Bourbon*: and the duke of *Guise* was murder'd in the said king's cabinet at *Blois*, about a year before. See the historians of *France*.

<sup>e</sup> *Hakluyt's* voyages, &c. second edit. tom 2. fol. 301.

<sup>f</sup> Printed in one vol. fol. 1589.

<sup>g</sup> This satire is printed in one of the said *Gascoigne's* collections of poems, called a *Hundred several flowers bound up in one small poesy*, 4to. without date; but set forth, I take it, the same year with that satyr.



have elsewhere more particularly spoken. Now though I have had the opportunity of seeing some original manuscripts of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* writing, and his name written several times by his own hand, I shall not cavil at the *pseudography* thereof before the said printed copy of verses; because I could instance greater errors of the like nature, which yet have not excluded authors from the reputation of their compositions; but more especially, because there are some glimmering circumstances which render the writing of that piece by this our author probable to me: as namely, a kind of familiar dependency which that *Gascoigne* had upon the lord *Gray of Wilton*; as in the dedication of this, and some other of his works, is evident; under which nobleman *Raleigh* will soon after appear to have served in the wars of *Ireland*. Again, *Gascoigne* had led a life somewhat like *Raleigh* in foreign travel and military services: then 'tis to be noted *Gascoigne* used the very motto, under his picture prefix'd to that satyr before-mention'd; which, after his death, is so well known to have been assumed by, or appropriated to, *Raleigh* himself; *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*. All which seem to shadow out the links, if not the perfect chain, of some acquaintance between them. But the poem it self, to me, discovers, in the very first line of it, a great air of that solid axiomatical vein, which is observable in other productions of *Raleigh's* muse:

*Sweet were the sauce would please each kind of taste.*

And the whole middle *Hexastic*, is such an indication of his own fortune or fate; such a caution against that envy of superior merit which he himself ever struggled with; that it could proceed from no hand more properly than his own.

*Though sundry minds in sundry sort do deem;  
Yet worthiest wights yield praise to every pain:  
But envious brains do nought, or light esteem,  
Such stately steps as they cannot attain:  
For who so reaps renown above the rest,  
With heaps of hate shall surely be oppress'd.*

Lastly, As to the particular of his being at this time of the *Middle Temple*, all we can conclude of it is, since he has so publicly and solemnly protested he never studied the law there; that it might be as customary in the inns of court then, as it is now, for a young gentleman to be with a friend, or have the use of his chambers while he is out of town, or even have chambers of his own, rather than be confin'd to the singularities of a family in lodgings, and never read a word of the law; much less have any purpose to practise it. And this is strengthened by what I have met with both in some old writings, and some historians of those times, which observe, that the inmates not only in private houses, but those who dwelt among the lawyers, and did not follow their profession, grew so numerous and inconvenient, that there was an order or proclamation for their removal out of the inns of court about the latter end of queen *Elizabeth's*, or the beginning of her successor's reign.<sup>a</sup>

In what sense he might be of the *Middle Temple*.

His next stage of action was in the *Netherlands*, according to one of the writers of his life; who tells us he served under the prince of *Orange*, as a volunteer against the *Spaniards*; making himself, in the *low-countries*, master of the art military; and confirming, through the success of his first campaigns, his resolution to advance himself by arms, as the nobler and readier way to glory.<sup>b</sup> Sir *Robert Naunton* also intimates, that before he was in *Ireland* under the lord *Grey*, he was engaged in the *Low-countries*, and also in a voyage at sea.<sup>c</sup> Another author likewise agrees in this *Low-countries* service, and voyage at sea, before *Raleigh* was known at court.<sup>d</sup> But whereas the first of these two writers mentions an earlier expedition of *Raleigh's* in *Ireland*, before this of the *Low-countries*, as his first exposure to a military life, being ignorant of all the time he pass'd in the *French* wars; and whereas the last fixes him in that first *Irish* expedition, under general *Norris*; I apprehend them to be herein both mistaken; the former, in that *Raleigh* appears not to have been twice against the rebels in *Ireland*, nor once as his first engagement in war; and the latter, in that this *Norris* appears not to be in *Ireland*, when the course of *Raleigh's* employments will allow him to have been in that kingdom:

Goes to the *Netherlands*.

<sup>a</sup> Further; to confirm this conjecture of *Raleigh's* being only an inmate there, I have been led to enquire after the registers of the *Middle Temple*, which are still extant, of those times; and upon a diligent search, have satisfy'd my self that there was no such person enter'd as a student of the law in that inn, by the name of *Walter Raleigh*, or any name like it, either in this year that he

wrote the abovesaid poem from thence, or any other year before, up to the beginning of queen *Elizabeth's* reign: though some of his countrymen, and I think relations, occur there in that space of time.

<sup>b</sup> In lives *English* and foreign, 8vo. 1704. vol. i. p. 76.

<sup>c</sup> *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 28.

<sup>d</sup> *Aulicus Coquinarius*, 8vo. 1650. p. 74.



But now that there is room for *Raleigh's* being in the *Netherlands* we find general *Norris* to be there.

For the emperor *Charles's* natural son *Don John* of *Austria*, a brisk, forward young man, flush'd with the late victorious battle of *Lepanto* against the *Turks*, and high in the Pope's favour; being sent by his brother the king of *Spain* in the year 1577 governour of the *Low-countries*, to divert his mind from higher reaches at home; and having incurr'd the general odium of the states for his tyranny over them, no less than the jealousy of the *English*, for his treachery to this nation; queen *Elizabeth* thought the *Dutch* now more immediately needful of her notice; and more particularly from a discovery that had been made to her, some say, by the prince of *Orange*, of a vain project the said *Don John* had form'd of rescuing the queen of *Scots* out of prison; and by marriage with her, or the force of arms, to dethrone the queen of *England*, and make himself master of her crown: for *Don John's* haughty conceit of himself, says *Raleigh*, *overcame the greatest difficulties, tho' his judgment was over-weak to manage the least.*<sup>a</sup> Wherefore the queen not only receded from that peace with the *Spaniards*, and neutrality then in agitation; but sent the *States* both men and money, as they had requested, to carry on the war more powerfully against them. Among the forces, both *English* and *Scotch*, which now poured over, under Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Robert Stewart*, colonel *John North*, *Henry Cavendish*, and others, not to forget colonel *Thomas Morgan*; whose veteran troops were the first perfect harquebusiers of our nation, and the first who taught us to like the musket;<sup>b</sup> there is here, and here only, I think, a vacancy in the story of *Raleigh*, that will admit of him under the first of those commanders: so might he probably share in the danger and honour of that memorable *Lammas* day, *Anno* 1578, which buried the reputation of *Don John*; which this governour did not two months survive; and which has raised the emulation of pencils, as well as pens, to commemorate. For the states having thus gather'd a powerful army, and planted themselves near the village of *Rimenant*, about a league from *Mecklin*; *Don John*, at the head of, some say thirty thousand men;<sup>c</sup> being assisted by the prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best commanders of *Spain*, now resolved to give them battle. He made a furious onset; but in the end, by a notable stratagem, was deluded to a great overthrow.<sup>d</sup> For perceiving, as he thought, the whole confederate army encamped before the said village, in an open and inviting plain; *Don John*, too rash to take advice, and too raw to prevail without it, precipitously detach'd a stronger force to encounter them; which so succeeded on both sides, that the states army, after a convenient resistance, feigning a flight, quitted this their counterfeit camp; the *Spaniards* eagerly pursuing, in a scattered and disorderly manner, to compleat their supposed victory; till, amaz'd, they found themselves in the midst of the fugitives true camp, environ'd with nineteen thousand horse and foot; a number considerably greater than the assailants. To extricate themselves was impossible; there was a river on one side; when they attempted the thicket on the other, it was lined with an armed ambuscade of *English* and *Scots*; and when they assaulted the trenches, they could not sustain the fury of the artillery. Yet was the battle vigorously maintained from morning till night; tho' the *English* and *Scots*, harrafs'd by a long and wearisom march, came but a day, some say but an hour, to the field, before the encounter began: and yet partly thro' bravery, partly thro' the sultry warmth of the weather; or, as one author has it, more sensible of a little heat of the sun, than any cold fears of death,<sup>e</sup> they made themselves further remarkable, by stripping off armour and cloaths, and fighting in their shirts; till at last, those who had pursued the states army in a pretended flight, were themselves driven, with great slaughter, to a real one. And had count *Bossu*, *La Noue*, with the rest of the states commanders, been but vigorous in charging the *Spaniards* upon this retreat, it would have proved an absolute discomfiture, and might have put an end to all succeeding oppressions. But it was sufficient to chastise *Don John* for the faithless treaties of peace wherewith he had abused the states, upon his entrance into that government. "The fortune of the day (says my last author) may be better ascribed to the service of the *English* and *Scots*, by comparing this charge near *Rimenant*, where the *English* and *Scots* were in great numbers, with the like charge given by *Don John*, half a year before at *Gemblosers*, where the success was contrary; there being at that time but a handful of *English* and *Scots*, and they put into confusion by their own horses."<sup>f</sup>

Soon after, a prospect presented it self for *Raleigh* to try his fortune in another element; for his brother Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, having now newly obtain'd a patent of the queen to plant

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's* History of the World in Pref.

<sup>b</sup> See Sir *Roger Williams's* brief Discourse of the Spanish discipline in war, 4to. 1599. Also his Actions of the Low-countries, 4to. 1618, p. 126.

<sup>c</sup> *Grimstone's* general History of the Netherlands, Vol. 1609, p. 662.

<sup>d</sup> *Fam. Strada de Bel. Belg.* Anno 1578.

<sup>e</sup> Lord *Bacon's* Discourse of Wars, II.



and inhabit some northern parts of *America*, unpossess'd by any prince with whom she was in alliance, soon engaged *Raleigh*, upon his return into *England*, who was always ready to grasp at every occasion, that might reputably advance his fortune or his knowledge, to embark in this adventure. For tho' the coasts from the cape of *Florida* northwards to the isles now called the *Newfoundlands*, had been before discovered by *John Cabot* the father, with *Sebastian* and *Sancius* his sons,<sup>a</sup> both *Englishmen* born, through the authority and expence of king *Henry* the seventh; yet there wanted not only more inland researches and the establishment of Christianity, but the very trade and commerce with *Newfoundland* was very slothfully neglected, even since the reign of king *Edward VI*;<sup>b</sup> for our merchants and adventurers in his time enrich'd this nation considerably from their fishery in those parts, as appears by that act,<sup>c</sup> wherein care is taken to prevent the exaction of any doles or taxes from them by the officers of the admiralty, that they might not be discourag'd from the merchandise of fish, but transport it more plentifully into the realm, and at more reasonable rates. Now *Gilbert* having, as I said, procured an ample commission to repossess these advantages with improvement, by piercing more effectually into the bowels of those tracts which extend immensely into the north from thirty, or rather twenty-five degrees of septentrional latitude, many gentlemen of good account resorted to him, among whom we shall find his brother *Raleigh* to be one; so that from these preparations was expected a potent fleet. Nevertheless, among such variety of volunteers, dispositions were various; which in the end bred division, and even confusion of the attempt: for, after the shipping was by degrees prepared, and the men ready to go aboard; some disagreeing in opinion, some shrinking at obedience, and others failing of their promises and engagements; the greater number were dispersed, leaving the general, with a few only of his assured friends. "However, with these he ventur'd to sea; where, having tasted  
 " of no less misfortune, he was shortly after driven to retire home with the loss of a tall ship;  
 " and more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman named *Miles Morgan*."<sup>d</sup> Now this misfortune at sea, and loss of a ship with that valiant gentleman, I have not only reason to believe was by a sharp encounter they had with the *Spaniards*, however tenderly touch'd at that time, perhaps to avoid their triumph, by my author before referr'd to; but that *Raleigh* was in this very engagement, and his life in great danger thereby. For there is another author, who, in his *address* to him before-mention'd, tells him, that after his return from his land-services, having gained sufficient knowledge and experience therein, "To the end that you might be every way  
 " able to serve your prince and commonwealth (says he) you were desirous to be acquainted  
 " with *maritimal* affairs: then you, together with your brother Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, travel-  
 " led the seas for the search of such countries as, if they had then been discover'd, infinite com-  
 " modities in fundry respects would have ensued; and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet  
 " then accompanying you had, according to appointment followed you; or your self had  
 " escaped the dangerous *sea-fight*, when many of your company was slain, and your ships  
 " therewith also sore batter'd and disabled."<sup>e</sup> This unfortunate adventure cannot, I think, be  
 confounded with that second attempt upon *Newfoundland*, made afterwards by these two brothers, because from this, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* never return'd, as we shall hear; besides, the course of this voyage is so particularly recorded, that we may affirm no sea-fight, or any such desertion of adventurers happen'd therein; and as we know how to account for a good part of *Raleigh's* time, till that second attempt was more notoriously made; so we may from thence, and the delays aforesaid, be able to compute that this first, happen'd in 1579; for I have at last found the fleet was preparing, but not set out, in the latter end of the foregoing summer.<sup>f</sup>

In a dangerous sea-fight.

<sup>a</sup> And perhaps before them, by *Madoc ap Owen Guyneth*, a *British* prince, who is said in the *Welsh* chronicles to have transported himself and some colonies to these parts about the year 1170, where he named several of the places and productions after the language of his own country, which remain to this day; as the fruit called *Guyneth*, from his own name; and the bird call'd *Pengwin*, which is *Welsh* for *white-head*, whereof, from the abundance of the birds so marked, there is an island still so call'd: and many other *Welsh* words they have in use. See Sir *George Peckham's* report of the discovery and possession of *Newfoundland* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 173. And *Hessel's* letters, vol. 2. no. 54.

<sup>b</sup> And yet within four years before Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* obtain'd his patent, there resorted to the coasts of *Newfoundland* for fish about fifty sail, of *English*, above a hundred sail of *Spaniards* for cod, and thirty more from *Hiscoy* for whale to make train oil; about fifty sail of *Portuguese*; and about an hundred and fifty sail of the *French* and *Irish*. My author observes, that the trade our nation

had then to *Iceland*, was the reason the *English* were not there in such numbers as other nations. See *Ant. Parkhurst's* letter in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 132.

<sup>c</sup> *Ann. 2. Edwardi sexti.*

<sup>d</sup> Captain *Edward Haies's* report of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert's* voyage to *Newfoundland*, &c. in *Richard Hakluyt's* collection of voyages, &c. of the *English* nation, tom. 3. printed *Lond.* 1600. p. 164.

<sup>e</sup> *Hooker's* epistle dedicatory to Sir *Walter Raleigh* before his translation, and continuation of the chronicles of *Ireland*, cited.

<sup>f</sup> There is an old dramatic performance (lately imparted to me by Mr. *Thobald*) entitled, *The history of Promos and Cassandra*, written by *George Wretstons*, Gent. who, in his dedication thereof to *W. Fleetwood Esq;* recorder of *London*, expresses himself, "Resolved to accompany that excellent captain Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, in this honourable voyage" and concludes with his prayers that God would preserve him in it, 29 *July* 1578.



THIS ill success kept not these adventurers long abroad; and now new disturbances broke out which call'd for men of experience in war at home. For the first dart of any consequence which was thrown from *Spain* or *Rome* upon *Ireland*, being in 1580, we shall then find *Raleigh* among that body of his countrymen which effectually broke its force, and shielded off the mischief wherewith it would otherwise have gall'd that kingdom. For as to the invasion of *Thomas Stucley*, two years before, it blew over into *Africa*; where that meteor of ostentation, and tool of ambitious princes, fell in the plains of *Alcazar*, and with royal company expir'd. But now that *James Fitz-Morris* of the *Geraldine* family was come over,<sup>a</sup> and not long after *San Josephe*, under the pope's banner, with *Spanish* and *Italian* forces, to assist the *Desmonds* in the *Munster* rebellion, and had landed in three ships at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*; where having built a fort which they call'd *Fort del Ore*, and re-fortify'd it with the benedictions of *Allen* an *Irish*, and *Sanders* an *English* jesuit; the *Irish* rebels under Sir *James* and Sir *John*, brothers to the earl of *Desmond*, soon resorted thither to join, as the *English* forces also did to disperse them. Their ships were soon taken by *Thomas Courtenay*, a *Devonshire* gentleman; and *Fitz-Morris* himself, for a prey he had made of some *garons* and other cattle, was by Sir *William Burk* and his sons soon slain, and his quarters expos'd at *Kilmallock*. The next, whose fate drew on, was Sir *James Desmond*; who, on the fourth of *August* in the above-mention'd year, having made an inroad upon *Muskerry*, and taken a great booty from Sir *Cormac Mac Teige*, sheriff of *Cork*; the said sheriff making head against him, recover'd the booty, wounded Sir *James* mortally, and took him prisoner. In that condition he was kept, till by letters from the lord justice named Sir *William Pelham*, and the council, he was deliver'd to Sir *Warham Sentleger*, then provost-marshal of *Munster*, and to captain *Raleigh*; and according to the commission directed to them, he was examin'd, indicted, arraign'd; and then, upon judgment, drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd; and his head and limbs impal'd upon the city gates of *Cork*, for a terror to his associates, and a prey for the fowls of the air. Thus the pestilent *Hydra* of this rebellion lost another of his heads:<sup>b</sup> and this is the first appearance we meet with of *Raleigh* in *Ireland*; <sup>c</sup> enough to shake the report of those who say he was a *militia* there,<sup>d</sup> and had his first commission from *Arthur* lord *Grey*, baron of *Wilton*; tho' indeed under him we shall find the greatest part of *Raleigh's* services in this kingdom perform'd: for that lord came over deputy of *Ireland* on the twelfth of *August* aforesaid; but the sword was not resign'd to him by the lord justice *Pelham* till a month after.<sup>e</sup>

A captain in  
the wars of  
*Ireland*.

THIS lord *Grey* was reputed a warm and sanguine man, somewhat wanting among the *Irish*, perhaps in *Julius Agricola's* qualification, who knew how to temper what was *necessary* in his government of the *Britons* with what was *agreeable*: for the *English* governor is thought to have been so zealous of a healthy constitution, as scarcely to refrain from scarifying the parts which were sound, that he might be sure of clearing away those which were infected; and gave some proofs he agreed in the sentiment of a succeeding deputy, *That the Irish were like nettles, sure to make those smart who gently handled them; but must be crushed to prevent stinging*. His first expedition against the *Obrines*, whom he is thought to have attack'd rashly to his disadvantage in their woods and fastnesses before he was sworn, lost him some credit, and several brave *English* officers. But the chief commander in these parts at this time was the earl of *Ormond*, soon after governor of *Munster*, a man of such loyalty, as to have reduc'd his rebellious brothers to allegiance; and of such courage, as constantly partaking in every danger with his own soldiers, made him much beloved by all his adherents; while his apparent contempt thereby of that danger, gain'd him no less fear from all his adversaries. He, on the other side, bending his course against the foreign enemy, encamped his army at *Tralegh*, within ken of the *Spanish* fort aforesaid: hereupon many of those invaders dislodged, whom the earl valiantly engag'd, slaying some, and taking others prisoners; the rest flew to the coverts of *Glaningell*. The prisoners he took, confess'd their force was not above seven hundred strong; but that they had brought arms and ammunition for five thousand natives, besides a mass of money for the *Desmonds* and Dr. *Sanders*, and daily expected farther supplies from *Rome*; for it was absolutely determin'd by the pope and king *Philip* to make a compleat conquest of *Ireland*, and *England* besides; nay, so confident they seem'd of success, if we can credit the assertion of an author who was this year in *Spain*, that his *holiness* had provided a chalice to drink the queen of *Eng-*

<sup>a</sup> About the beginning of *July* 1579, says *Hooker*, in his supply of the *Irish* chron. fol. 154. And bishop *Carte-ton*, in his thankful remembrance of God's mercy: being an historical collection of the deliverances in church and state, from the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*, 4to. 1624.

<sup>b</sup> 38

<sup>c</sup> The lord justice's letter to the queen, in commendation

of this service, dated 12 *August* 1580.

<sup>d</sup> *Hooker's* supply of the *Irish* chronicles, in the 2d vol. of *Hollinshed*, fol. 168.

<sup>e</sup> *Fragmenta Regalia*.

<sup>f</sup> *History of Ireland*, by *Richard Cox* Esq, 1689. fol. 366, &c.



*land's* precious blood,\* says he, as soon as she should be made a sacrifice. Now after the aforesaid defeat, about three hundred of the enemy having made their way back to the fort, the earl followed them close, and encamped at *Dingle*: but wanting ammunition for a battery, was forced to retire. And, finding himself of unequal force to withstand another salley the *Spaniards* made, return'd to join the deputy at *Rakele*; who having now about eight hundred horse and foot with him, under the conduct of captain *Ralegh*, *Zouch*, *Denny*, *Mackworth*, and others, decamped and marched up towards the fort. But *Ralegh*, who had observ'd it to be the custom of the *Irish Kerns*, upon any dislodgment of the *English* camp, to flock in parties thither, and glean away whatever they saw left behind; linger'd, and lay in ambush to receive them. They came accordingly with their wonted constancy and greediness; but in the midst of their proling, *Ralegh* fell upon them so advantageously, that he enclos'd them all with his men, and took every rebel upon the spot, who was not slain in resistance. Among them there was one laden with withies, who being demanded, *What he intended to have done with them?* Boldly answer'd, *To have hung up the English churls.* Well, said *Ralegh*; but they shall now serve for an *Irish kern*: so commanded him to be immediately tuck'd up in one of his own neckbands; and dealt with the rest of these robbers and murderers according to their deserts.<sup>b</sup> We read of another *Irish* rebel, but of greater rank, named *Brian O Rourk*; who being afterwards to suffer at the gallows, shew'd great concern that it was to be by the common halter; and earnestly petition'd, not for pardon or preservation of his life, but that they would change the instrument of his death; and instead of a rope, to let him take his swing in a withy: but being ask'd, *Why he insisted upon such an insignificant distinction?* he answer'd, 'Twas a distinction had been paid to his countrymen before him. I remember lord *Bacon* ingeniously applies this example to illustrate the force or tyranny of custom.<sup>c</sup>

Surprises the  
*Irish Kerns* at  
*Rakele*.

WHILE the lord deputy lay before the fort, there arriv'd in the bay of *Smerwick*, vice-admiral *Bingham*, and soon after Sir *William Winter*, admiral of the fleet, with fresh supplies: hereupon the lord deputy resolv'd to besiege the fort by land, while the admiral should batter it by sea. But first the *Spaniards* were summon'd to surrender at discretion: they answer'd, "They were sent, some, from the holy father, who had given that realm to king *Philip*; and some from that king, who was to recover this land to the church of *Rome*, which by her majesty's means was become schismatical and excommunicate; therefore, in short, were obliged to retain what they had, and recover what they could."<sup>d</sup> Nor did they omit the advantage they thought this parley would produce of finding the *English* unguarded, to make a sally upon them; but they were so disappointed, through the vigilance and valour of *Ralegh's* company, and that of captain *Denny*, that such as were not left dead behind, were forced to retreat with more haste than good speed. The culverins and other pieces of ordnance being now landed, and a large mountainous bank laboriously cut through, for the carriages to pass to the place convenient for planting them; the deputy is said, by my author *Hooker*, to have given the enemy another summons by cannon-shot to surrender, and receive mercy.<sup>e</sup> But they answer'd as before: thereupon the artillery was order'd to attack the fort both by land and water. *Ralegh*, as the same historian records, commanded the first three days after the opening of the trenches; and assaulted the fort so roughly from his battery, that he forced the *Spaniards* to several excursions; but they skirmish'd so warily, and hived again so nimbly, that there was no closing with them effectually. The fourth day was commanded by *Zouch*, under whom a tall proper gentleman, named *John Cheke*, the son of a knight well known among the learned for his writings, venturing so near the fort as to look over the parapet, paid his life for his curiosity; being observed by a *Spaniard*, who levell'd his piece, and brought him to the ground. But now the trenches for the full battery were drawn so near the *Spaniards*, and the *English* play'd their cannon so furiously and incessantly upon them from every side, that the enemy began to fear, somewhat prophetically, what they had built for a garrison would prove their monument, and they should be buried alive in the ruins of it. Therefore, finding no succours arrive, they beat a parley, and hung out the white flag, crying out *Misericordia, Misericordia*; but the lord deputy would not listen to any treaty with the confederates of traitors and rebels; no, not so much as to their departure with bag and baggage, or free passage to any one particular person; nothing but an absolute surrender. And as for mercy, which *Hooker* before intimates to have been offer'd on proviso of their timely submission, we find by

Besieges fort  
*Del Ore*.

\* *Geo. Whetston's English Myrror*, &c. dedicated to queen *Elizabeth*. 4to. 1586. p. 154.

<sup>b</sup> *Hooker's* supply, &c. fol. 107, &c. *Cox's* history of Ireland, fol. 36.

<sup>c</sup> Lord *Bacon's* essays.

<sup>d</sup> *Hooker's* supply, fol. 171,      <sup>e</sup> *Idem*, *Ibid*



*Edmund Spenser*, who was then secretary to the lord deputy, and upon the very spot, that his lordship never gave the *Spaniards* any hopes of it. For as this author writes, “ When first  
 “ their secretary Seignor *Jeffrey*, an *Italian*, was sent to treat with the lord deputy for grace,  
 “ he was flatly refused it ; and afterwards, when their colonel, named *Don Sebastian*, came forth  
 “ to entreat that they might part with their arms like soldiers, and at least be spared their lives,  
 “ according to the *custom* of war and law of nations ; it was strongly deny’d him, and told  
 “ him by the lord deputy himself, that they could not justly plead either *custom* of war or law  
 “ of nations ; for that they were not any lawful enemies ; and if they were, he insisted upon  
 “ their shewing by what commission they came thither, into another prince’s dominions, to war ?  
 “ And when they said they had none to produce ; but were only adventurers, that came to  
 “ seek fortune abroad, and to serve in wars among the *Irish*, who desired to entertain them,  
 “ it was then answer’d, that the *Irish* themselves, as the *earl* and *John* of *Desmond*, with the rest,  
 “ were no lawful enemies, but rebels and traitors ; and therefore they, who came to succour  
 “ them, no better than rogues and runnagades ; especially coming with no licence or commis-  
 “ sion from their own king : wherefore it would be dishonourable for him, in the name of his  
 “ queen, to condition, or make any terms with such rascals. So left to their choice, whether  
 “ they would yield themselves, or not.”<sup>a</sup> Then the said colonel did absolutely yield him-  
 self, the fort, with all therein ; and craved only *mercy*, which it was not thought good (says my  
 said author) to shew them.

Enters the  
fort.

Puts the *Spaniards* to the  
sword.

For after the lord deputy had by captain *Jaques Wingfield*, master of the ordnance, disco-  
 ver’d they were in earnest ; that they had yielded, and surrender’d the fort, on the ninth of  
*November*,<sup>b</sup> *Raleigh* and *Mackworth*, who had the ward of that day, first enter’d the castle,  
 and, with their companies, made a great slaughter ; so that except one *Irish* nobleman, who  
 was repriev’d ; another *Irishman*, and an *Englishman*, who were sent to publick execution ;  
 except also *San Josepbo* the *Spanish* commander, and his camp-master ; with a few *Spanish*  
 officers, who were sent prisoners into *England*, and reserv’d for ransom ; all the invaders, be-  
 tween four and five hundred, were, according to the deputy’s positive command, put to the  
 sword ; and the country was thus weeded of these noxious foreigners. As for *Raleigh*, he never  
 was taxed, that I can learn, with any cruelty upon this account, more than *Mackworth*, or the  
 rest of the officers : but notwithstanding it was afterwards alledg’d, that the *English* army there  
 was not enough to keep the enemy all prisoners, and ready to mutiny for want of their provi-  
 sions out of the fort ; or that the *English* expected hourly assaults from the *Irish* rebels, more  
 than fifteen hundred at hand ;<sup>c</sup> or fresh opposition from *Spain*, three thousand carbines being  
 in readiness to come over ;<sup>d</sup> or that they had not barks enough to transport their prisoners into  
*England* ; or that an article in the deputy’s instructions themselves, was to shorten the war by ef-  
 fectual prosecutions ;<sup>e</sup> queen *Elizabeth* did afterwards express much dissatisfaction at this decisive  
 conduct in the said lord deputy.

His commis-  
sion to seize  
upon *Barry-  
Court*.

*RALEIGH*, as *Hooker* goes on, was quarter’d this winter at *Cork* ; where he observ’d the se-  
 ditious practices of *David* lord *Barry*, *Patrick Condon*, and other ringleaders of the rebellion  
 in those parts, to distress so intolerably those subjects who were peacefully inclin’d, and fo-  
 ment the disaffected to an insurrection ; that he was forced to take a journey in person to the lord  
 deputy at *Dublin* ;<sup>f</sup> where he remonstrated the dangerous consequences he foresaw, so urgently,  
 that, the case being taken into consideration by his lordship and the council, they return’d  
 him with a full commission to enter upon the castle called *Barry-Court*, with all other lands of  
 the said *Barry* ; and to reduce him to peace and subjection, by such means as he judg’d most  
 feasible ; appointing him for his farther enablement a party of horse. In the interim, such mea-  
 sures were used with those in authority at *Cork*, that the commission proved of little effect ; but  
 though the said estate of *Barry-More*, was made over to the mother of *David Barry*, and only  
 rented to the son ; and though it was his principal seat ; yet partly in fear of that commission,  
 partly through spite and indignation, he burnt the castle himself to the ground, and wasted the  
 country about it with greater outrage and destruction, than his enemies, had they taken it,  
 would have done. Moreover, as *Raleigh* was on his journey back to his quarters, an old rebel  
 of *Barry*’s faction, named *Fitz-Edmonds*, who was seneschal of *Imokelly*, lay in wait to set upon  
 and seize him, with a party of horse and some *Kerns*, at a ford through which he was to pass  
 between *Yongall* and *Cork* : some historians call the place *Corabby*.<sup>g</sup> *Raleigh* was much inferior

<sup>a</sup> *Spenser’s* view of the state of *Ireland* ; in the last edi-  
 tion of his works, vol. 6. 12mo. p. 1611.

<sup>b</sup> *Stow’s* chronicle in that year.

<sup>c</sup> *Bishop Carleton’s* historical collection of deliverances,  
 p. 43. And lord *Bacon’s* discourse of war.

<sup>d</sup> *George Whetstone’s* *English Mirror*, p. 157.

<sup>e</sup> *Cox’s* history of *Ireland*, fol. 366.

<sup>f</sup> *Spenser*, in his view of *Ireland*, gives some politic  
 reasons why the lord deputy’s seat of residence had better  
 be more in the middle of the kingdom, than at *Dublin* :  
 agreeable to the ancient observation on the hide of leather ;  
 which, being prick’d or trod upon only on one side, the dis-  
 tant parts will rise, but in the centre, keeps all parts down.

<sup>g</sup> *Cox’s* history of *Ireland*, p. 77.



in number, being, at his setting out, accompanied but with six men, and they scatter'd behind when he approach'd the ford. Here *Fitz-Edmonds* and his crew fallied from their ambuscade; and cross'd him, to oppose his passage, whom *Raleigh* manfully encounter'd and defeated, or at least broke through them, so that he got clear over the river :<sup>a</sup> but one of his company, Mr. *Henry Moyle*, following, either took a part too deep and unfordable, or plung'd into a quick-spring; or his horse, otherwise foundering, threw him down in the middle of it; where, between fear of drowning and being taken by the enemies, he called out to *Raleigh* for help; who, tho' he had escap'd both dangers, yet incurred them again to save his companion's life: but *Moyle*, in haste and confusion remounting, over-leap'd his horse, and fell down on the other side into a deep mire, where he might have been stifled, had not *Raleigh* recover'd him a second time, and brought him safe to land; but his horse run over to the rebels.<sup>b</sup> *Raleigh* waited on the opposite bank, with his staff<sup>c</sup> in one hand, and a pistol in the other; for the rest of his company who were yet to cross the river; among whom was his servant *Jenkin*, who had two hundred pounds of his money in charge; a sum in those days enough to make a soldier of fortune in these circumstances look about him; especially now the *seneschal* had got a recruit of twelve men, and was in all above twenty strong against him. Yet this hero, as his party called him, when he beheld *Raleigh* stand his ground, and the rest of his company advance, whom he possibly thought might be of greater number than they were, only exchanged a few rough words with him, and thought it best to offer no further molestation. Not long after, there being a parley between the earl of *Ormond* and the rebels, where the *seneschal* beginning to vaunt of his own exploits, *Raleigh*, who was present, charg'd him openly with flat cowardise, as having lately twenty to one on his side, and durst not encounter him alone. One of the rebels own comrades pretended an unwonted diffidence in their champion upon that rencounter; but gave confident assurances he would never be so remiss again upon any like occasion. This so chaff'd the earl of *Ormond*, that he challeng'd the *seneschal*, with Sir *John Desmond*, and any four they would nominate, to meet himself, captain *Raleigh*, and four more whom they would bring, at the place aforesaid; where they would pass the great river to them, and there, two to two, four to four, or six to six, fight and determine the point in debate between them; but no answer was then return'd: wherefore the *white knight*, named *Fitz-Gibbon*, was afterwards sent to him with a repetition of the challenge; but the rebels then absolutely refused it. Soon after the earl of *Ormond* departed from his long and wearisome services here to *England*, about the spring of the year 1581. His government of *Munster* was given to captain *Raleigh*, in commission with Sir *William Morgan* and captain *Piers*. *Raleigh* lay for the most part at *Lismore*; and, in the country and woods thereabouts, spent all this summer in continual action against the rebels.<sup>c</sup>

Defeats *Fitz-Edmonds*.

Saves his friend's life.

In a challenge.

Commissioner for the government of *Munster*.

THEN *Raleigh* remov'd with his little band of fourscore foot and eight horse, to his old quarters at *Cork*; but receiving intelligence by the way, that the arch-traitor *Barry* was at *Glove*, with several hundred men, he resolv'd to pass through that town, and offer him the combat. Accordingly at the town's end he met *Barry* and his forces, whom *Raleigh* charged with great bravery, and put him to flight. As he pursued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy in a plain, by a wood-side; upon whom, having only six horse-men with him, expecting probably his company would soon join him, he gave the onset; but the rebels, who were in much greater number, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very desperately, killing five of the horses belonging to *Raleigh's* company, whereof his own was one, and he himself very near being over-borne by the numbers upon him, had not his trusty servant *Nicholas Wright*, a *Yorkshire* man, interpos'd; who perceiving his master's horse so mortally wounded with darts, and plunging past all recovery, encounter'd six of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while another of his fellow-servants, named *Patrick Fagaw*, rescued *Raleigh*; which had been so unsuccessfully attempted by *James Fitz-Richard* and his *kern*, both of *Raleigh's* company, that the man was slain, and the master very near the same fate; whereupon *Raleigh* would not suffer *Wright* to fight by him any longer, but order'd him to charge above-hand, and save the gentleman: at which command he rush'd into the throng of the enemy, dispatch'd the antagonist who press'd foremost upon Mr. *Fitz-Richard*, and rescued him. In this sharp skirmish, there were many of the rebels slain, and two taken prisoners, whom *Raleigh* carried with him to *Cork*; and while he lay here, he performed several other notable services, which deserve (says my author *Hooker*) to be for ever register'd.<sup>d</sup>

Puts lord *Barry* to flight.

Rescued in a dangerous engagement.

<sup>a</sup> Cox's history of *Ireland*, fol. 367.

<sup>b</sup> *Hooker's* supply, fol. 173.

<sup>c</sup> These slaves were not short like truncheons, but rather like poles, or watermen's stretchers, though not so

long or clumsily made; for being headed at one end with a sharp point or pile of iron, they might be used for defence, or offence, either as quarter-staves, or spears. <sup>d</sup> *Hooker's* supply, fol. 173. <sup>e</sup> *Id.* 174.



Seizes lord  
Roch in his  
own castle.

AMONG the rest, his excellent conduct in the seizure of the lord *Roch* is more particularly remember'd and applauded. This nobleman, being much suspected to hold confederacy with some of the chief rebels, *Raleigh* undertook to bring, with his family, before the earl of *Ormond* at *Cork*. But the design of this hazardous surprise took air among the enemy, and a party of eight hundred men, under *Fitz-Edmonds* and *Barry*, were gather'd to way-lay the *English* either going or coming. However *Raleigh*, knowing the lord *Roch* to be a powerful and popular man among the *Irish*, so suddenly commanded all his company to be in readiness by eleven a-clock that night, and they were so punctual to the hour, that he directly marched away to *Bally in Harsh*, which was *Roch's* seat, about twenty miles from *Cork*, and escaped the ambuscade. He arrived there by break of day; but the townsmen were so alarmed, that they soon gather'd five hundred strong. *Raleigh* drew up, and in such manner bestowed his men in the town it self, that he soon quell'd and restrain'd the people there; then selecting half a dozen out of his company, among whom were *Arthur Barlow*, hereafter to be spoken of, with *Nicholas Wright* before-mention'd; and having appointed another little party to follow him, he marched up to the castle. He was met by three or four of *Roch's* gentlemen, of whom he desir'd to speak with their lord; which was agreed to, on condition he would dismiss three or four of his own attendants; to which, with apparent readiness, he comply'd; but so contriv'd, that none of them were lock'd out. Then he gave them directions which way the rest also, without the gates, might be admitted, whilst he should hold the lord *Roch* in discourse; which succeeded so happily, that by degrees his whole complement were got within the court-yard; some guarding the gates, others watching in the hall, each having his piece loaden with a brace of balls. The lord *Roch* was amaz'd and terrify'd at so silent and insensible a seizure; but, dissembling his uneasiness, he would needs have *Raleigh*, and the gentlemen with him, participate of his plentiful table: yet the policy of his hospitality did not defeat that of their enterprise; for, as soon as the dinner was over, *Raleigh* ingenuously laid open the occasion of his visit. Lord *Roch* made many excuses, and in the end absolutely refused to go along with him. But when the commission was produced, and he found *Raleigh* inflexible, he chose to do that by consent, which he found he must do by compulsion. Then *Raleigh* urged him to oblige his townsmen likewise, who had so faithfully risen for his defence in his neighbourhood, to escort and defend him in his journey; to which lord *Roch* also consented, professing he doubted not but to clear himself of whatever allegations should be laid to his charge. When his lordship, with his lady and attendance, had made themselves ready, *Raleigh* was for another nocturnal progress; but though the night fell out so very dark and tempestuous, and the ways were so full of hills and dales, rocks and precipices, that many of his soldiers were much bruised by falls, and one of them so mortify'd, that he lost his life in the march; yet the veil wherewith the rest were shelter'd, by that obscurity, from the more dangerous ambuscades of their enemy, who had every-where bestrew'd the passages to intercept them, made such sufficient compensation for those disasters, that by the next morning early he safely presented his prisoners to the general; not without raising an universal astonishment at his dexterous evasion of so many perils. But the lord *Roch*, upon examination, did make his words good; for being honourably acquitted, he approved himself a faithful subject ever after, and three of his sons laid down their lives in her majesty's service.<sup>a</sup>

governor of  
Cork.

IN the month of *August*, the same year, the lord deputy made the aforesaid captain *John Zouch* governor of *Munster*, with whom *Raleigh* and *Dowdal* made several journeys to settle and compose the country; but the certain place of their residence was at *Cork*. And when *Zouch*, with *Dowdal*, made that secret expedition, in which he lopp'd off the third branch of this venomous hydra, Sir *John Desmond*; whose body was hung by the heels on a gibbet, then fix'd on the gates of that city, and his head sent to *London*: he left the government of *Cork* to *Raleigh*.<sup>b</sup> I have observ'd this service against that Sir *John Desmond* to have been commemorated by *Raleigh* himself in honour of *Zouch*, though in a discourse on a different subject, and some years after his death;<sup>c</sup> for soon after his return with the lord deputy into *England*, he was kill'd in a duel by one of his intimate friends: and this I remark here, as somewhat disproving the insinuation that *Zouch's* superior preferment should have nourished any such discontent in *Raleigh*,<sup>d</sup> as might occasion that dispute we shall hear of between him and the lord deputy afterwards in *England*. Nor can I impute it to the disbanding his company, which might happen about this time; it seeming reasonable, upon the silence of the earl of *Desmond*,

<sup>a</sup> *Hooker's* supply, p. 174.

<sup>b</sup> *Cox's* history of *Ireland*, p. 367.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's* true report of the desperate fight

near the *Azores*, &c. in *Hakluyt's* voyages, vol. 2. part 2. p. 173.

<sup>d</sup> *Lives English* and foreign, more particularly cited in a succeeding note.



the slaughter of his brothers, and the submission *Barry* had newly made, that the deputy, thinking *Munster* was now growing quiet, should not only lessen the queen's expences there, by cashiering several companies, and discharging many garrisons, which he did, so as to have for the whole service of that province, only four hundred foot and fifty horse; but that in the command of these, the *senior* officers should be continued. However it was, *Raleigh* appears no longer, after this reduction, in the wars of *Ireland*: but how well his services were received by the queen, and how nobly she rewarded him for them after the earl of *Desmond* himself was slain, we shall hear when we arrive at the time that his large possessions came to be divided among those who had assisted in quenching the flames of his rebellion.

*RALEGH* was not long in *England*, before his relation in some degree to the court began to appear. Tradition has industriously ascrib'd his first introduction thither to a piece of gallantry, wherewith he surpris'd the queen accidentally in one of her walks. "Her majesty meeting (says my author) with a plashy place, made some scruple to go on; when *Raleigh* (dressed in the gay and genteel habit of those times) presently cast off and spread his new plush cloak on the ground, whereon the queen trod gently over, rewarding him afterwards with many suits for his so free and seasonable tender of so fair a foot-cloth: thus an advantageous admission (says he) into the notice of a prince, is more than half a degree to preferment." <sup>a</sup> After this, as the same author tells us, *Raleigh* coming to court, and finding some hopes of the queen's favour reflecting upon him, he wrote in a glass window, obvious to her eye,

*Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall*

UNDER which her majesty soon after wrote,

*If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.*

No romantic air, that may appear in these passages, has been able to deny them a recital by several serious authors: and indeed readers of experience, knowing how often an unusual compliment, or artificial bait for favour, catches it, before the most substantial services, will not only be apt to doubt whether such incidents are to be call'd accessories, so much as principals in worldly promotion; but esteem those as the most instructive circumstances in the lives of great men, which display the foot-steps of their advancement; and how they first fell into the track of distinction: for the acquisition of glory is like that of riches; the profound mystery lies in coming at the prime stock; an ordinary prudence will increase it.

BUT though he always made a very elegant appearance, as well in the splendor of attire, as the politeness of address; "having a good presence, in a handsome and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment; with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage;" <sup>b</sup> all very engaging advocates for royal favour, especially in a female sovereign: yet, observing *Raleigh* had, at this time, render'd himself considerable enough by his actions; and that the queen was not wanting in due notice towards such as were of a publick nature; I should think these, of a more private and particular nature, might be accounted only as concurrent causes of his favourable reception at court; and especially seeing others, about the same time offering, sufficient of themselves to establish him there: but be that as it may, we find him, upon his return into *England*, employ'd in an expedition or two, by authority belike from the court; they being upon occasions of state. And though it imports not much whether it was now, or before he was in *Ireland*, that he accompanied the *French* ambassador, Monsieur *Simier*, among those gentlemen who were appointed for his safe convoy to *France*: yet if that ambassador return'd home, when his master the duke of *Anjou* came last over in *November*, the year before-named, this is the place for it to be mention'd in. That *Simier* was, it seems, a proper advocate for the cause he came to plead; skill'd in all the insinuating arts and devices of amorous address, and thereby perhaps won more of the queen's attention to his master's suit, than sat easy upon the earl of *Leicester's* mind: for though this earl was now privately married to the late earl of *Effex's* widow, yet his prejudice might at this time be renewed against the ambassador, for procuring him the queen's displeasure, by discovering that marriage; as it was at first created, by supplanting him in his higher hopes. Indeed, the earl's animosity is said to have extended to the hiring of *bravo's* to assassinate the ambassador; and *Camden*, who relates thus much, assures us the queen publish'd (about two years before this time) a proclamation, commanding that no man should offer any affront to *Simier*, or any of his attendants: <sup>c</sup> nay, if we will believe a certain collection of most flagrant accusations against that earl, to which *Camden*, who seldom spares him, has paid much credit; the land it self

His introduction at court.

Description of his person.

Accompanies Monsieur Simier to France.

<sup>a</sup> Fuller's worthies of *England*, fol. 1662. in *Devon*.

<sup>b</sup> *Camd. Annal. Reg. Eliz. Anno 1579*

<sup>c</sup> *Eng. Reg.* p. 28, 29.



was no boundary to the earl's revenge: for when other attempts fail'd, he is said, among those accusations, to have "dealt with certain *Flushingers*, and other pirates, to sink the ambassador "at sea, with the *English* gentlemen, his favourers, who accompanied him at his return into "France; and though they missed of this practice also (as not daring to set upon him for "fear of her majesty's ships; which, to break this design, attended by special command, to "waft him over in safety;) yet the foresaid *English* gentlemen were holden four hours in chase "at their coming back, as Master *Raleigh* well knoweth (says my author) being then pre- "sent; and two of the chafers, named *Clark* and *Harris*, confessed afterwards the whole de- "signment."

And the duke  
of Anjou to  
Antwerp.

BUT after the duke of *Anjou* himself had been three months in *England*, he also departed to take upon him the government of the *Netherlands*. This departure was in *February* follow- ing; and though the queen seems to have declin'd the marriage with him, principally because she found her ministry so averse to it; yet there was an author, and his printer, who, for ha- ving published a little treatise against it about two years before,<sup>b</sup> had their hands cut off but a few days after the duke came to *London*.<sup>c</sup> And she shew'd him many other marks of favour and distinction; particularly, when he left the kingdom, she bore him company in person to *Dover*, and having appointed a most splendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen to wait upon him to his new government; I find that *Raleigh* was also among this grand assembly. They attended the duke to *Antwerp*, where, making a most magnificent procession, he was created duke of *Brabant*, &c. and invested with his charge. *Raleigh* seems not only to have staid there some time after the lord admiral *Howard*, *Leicester*, young *Sidney*, and the rest were re- turn'd; but, through the opportunity of being personally known to the prince of *Orange*, ho- nour'd with some special acknowledgments from him to the queen of *England*. And *Raleigh* mentions thus much himself, in a discourse he wrote many years afterwards; wherein, speaking of the *Hollanders* flourishing state, he lays down, as the first cause thereof, the favour and as- sistance granted them by this crown; "which, says he, the late worthy and famous prince of "Orange did always acknowledge: and in the year 1582, when I took my leave of him at "Antwerp, after the return of the earl of *Leicester* into *England*, and *Monseigneur's* arrival there; "when he delivered me his letters to her majesty, he pray'd me to say to the queen, from "him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegemur*: for certainly (says he) they had wither'd in "the bud, and sunk in the beginning of their navigation, had not her majesty assisted them."<sup>d</sup>

Brings over  
the prince of  
Orange's ac-  
knowledg-  
ments to the  
queen.

His dispute  
with the lord  
Grey, reckon'd  
among the  
causes of his  
preferment.

TOWARDS the end of *August*, this last mention'd year, the lord *Grey* resign'd the sword of *Ire- land*, after he had been two years deputy in that kingdom:<sup>e</sup> and this must be the time, that dispute between him and *Raleigh* was brought to a hearing, of which authors have so blindly written. Sir *Robert Naunton* "is confident, that among the second causes of *Raleigh's* growth (not de- "nying, or rather acquiescing in his actions and accomplishments to have been the first) "that variance between him and the lord *Grey*, in his descent into *Ireland*, was a principal; "for it drew them both over (says he) to the council-table, there to plead their cause; where " (what advantage he had in the cause, my said author knew not, but says) he had much the "better in telling of his tale; and so much, that the queen and the lords took no slight mark "of the man and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to "the queen and the lords."<sup>f</sup> Now if this author is so defective, as not to have known the cause or subject of their quarrel; or, that *Raleigh*, leaving *Ireland* long before the lord *Grey*, was not likely to be drawn over together with him to the council-table; how much more must those writers following him be so, who have confus'd this matter with several other particulars; though they seem to have had no other authority? One of them says, *Raleigh* had in deed, but not in truth, the better by the tongue;<sup>g</sup> and insinuates (with great caution and delicacy he thought, no doubt) that the queen had been told something so engaging of *Raleigh*, besides his advantage in pleading, that it was *not to be mention'd*; <sup>h</sup> as if any of her courtiers dared

<sup>a</sup> *Leicester's* commonwealth, 8vo. 1641. p. 37.

<sup>b</sup> This treatise is entitled, *The Discovery of a gaping gulph, wherein England is likely to be swallowed by another French marriage*, &c. Printed with a small letter, in a thin *Octavo*. 1579.

<sup>c</sup> The names of this author, and his printer or publisher, were *John Stubbs* and *William Page*; and that sentence was executed on them at *Westminster* November 3. 1581, vide *Stow's* chronicles and *Camden's* annals in those years.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's* invention of shipping, in his select essays, 8vo. 1650. p. 36.

<sup>e</sup> The sentiments of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, upon the short term even of three years (in those unsettled times) to which the deputies of *Ireland* have been commonly circumscrib'd, may be read in his *history of the world*, lib. 5. cap. 3. sect. 5.

<sup>f</sup> *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 29.

<sup>g</sup> *Aulic. Coq.* p. 90.

<sup>h</sup> The same author of *Aulic. Coquin.* says a little before, "that *Raleigh* so took them (meaning the lords) by his plead- ing, especially the earl of *Leicester*, that the queen was "told the tale, and something more of him; and no sooner "he came to be known to her, but she took him to grace." Id. p. 75. I cannot be sure this is the style of a reverend father in God, tho' Mr. *Tindal*, in his notes upon *Rapin*, would in- duce us to think so, in calling the author of this *Au- licus Coquinarius*, by the name of *Goodman*, who was bishop of *Gloucester*, and did indeed write a *reuerce* of Sir *Anthony Weldon's* court and character of king *James*; which *reuerce* is said by *Anthony Wood* to be in- volv'd in this *Aulic. Coquinarius*; but the *reuerce* it self, written in a thin *Folio*, and sometimes quoted by *H. Foulis*, in his *Romish treasuries*, remains still in MS. in the *Bodleian* library, and begins differently from this printed answer to that court and character.



to say any thing to the queen's face, which this anonymous writer, near fifty years after her death, would be either ashamed or afraid to repeat. A later writer makes such distinctions of *Raleigh's* extraordinary behaviour in this dispute, as if he had been at the council-table, and seen as well as heard him.<sup>a</sup> And another, after them all, has found out the cause of this difference between them to be captain *Zouch's* preferment;<sup>b</sup> of which we have before spoken, as improbable. But passing these over, our author *Naunton* goes on; and tho' he does not determine, whether the lord *Leicester* had then cast in a good word for *Raleigh* to the queen; yet says "it is true, that he had gotten the queen's ear at a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands: and the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea, those he relied on, began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm; to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his; which made him shortly after sing, *Fortune my foe, &c.*"

It is hinted to us somewhat more expressly, by another court-writer of those times, and that's a rarity, such being commonly too polite or political to be very obliging in historical particulars; that the earl of *Leicester* befriended *Raleigh* (perhaps through his friendship with young *Sidney*, that earl's worthily beloved nephew) in his first advancements at court; and that being willing, for his own ease, to bestow handsomely upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy, to which a long indulgent fortune is obnoxious, either brought, or let him into that promising sphere of preferment; where the earl soon found him such an apprentice, as knew well enough how to set up for himself, says my said author.<sup>c</sup> So that if the earl of *Suffex*, who was *Leicester's* antagonist, had any hand in *Raleigh's* rise, as some later writers of less authority have suggested,<sup>d</sup> it seems to have been afterwards, when *Raleigh's* courtly splendor was, by occasion, somewhat obstructed; and *Leicester* meant to allay it, by interposing the young earl of *Effex*: for *Raleigh* continued, during that storm, in some lustre of a favour'd man, like billows which sink but by degrees, even when the wind is down that first stirr'd them. But this we shall observe as we go on, that in all the different aspects or conjunctions of interest, through the access or change of new favourites in this long reign, none were less emerg'd by the smiles of the court, in the luxuries and vanities of it, nor more animated by its frowns to the enterprising of publick and superior difficulties for the honour and aggrandisement of his country. Not that he set out to sea, but when he had despaired of raising himself on shore: for these publick enterprises were rooted so early in *Raleigh's* aspiring mind, that we perceive, even now, before factions at court could drive him from the land, or preferments and grants from the crown enable him for the sea; that he had built at his own expence, to prosecute them, a strong handsome ship, which was named *Bark Raleigh*, of two hundred ton burden.

AND now that the six years period of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert's* patent grew short, four of them being elaps'd, he thought it high time to make a new attempt in person (since his assignments had proved of little consequence) at those discoveries he had before fail'd in, that he might confirm by experience what he had so excellently advanced in theory. Accordingly, having fitted out a fleet of four ships, *Raleigh* also victuall'd, and mann'd out his before-mention'd, which was the largest among them; and, in the quality of vice-admiral, set out to bear his brother *Gilbert's* company, in this his last expedition to *Newfoundland*. The fleet departed from *Plymouth* on the 11th of *June* 1583. My author, who was in this voyage, tells us, no cost was spared by *Raleigh* in provisions and necessaries for the happy accomplishment of it; yet that in two or three days following he return'd greatly distress'd to *Plymouth*, by reason his whole ship's company was infected with a contagious sickness.<sup>e</sup> But lucky to him, perhaps, was this visitation; since the voyage proved so fatal to those who went through it, particularly Sir *Humphrey* himself; who, tho' he arrived in *Newfoundland* in the beginning of *August* following; took possession of the country in right of the crown of *England*, by digging up a turf,

<sup>a</sup> *David Lloyd* says, *Raleigh*, upon this occasion, stated his case with that clearness; urg'd his arguments with that evidence and reason; offer'd his apologies with those pertinent and taking allegations, and his replies with that maturity; express'd himself with that fluency and eloquence, and manag'd his carriage and countenance with that discretion, that he was, first, the statesman's observation; next, her majesty's favourite; and at last, her oracle. See this author's *Observations on the statesmen and favourites of England since the Reformation*, Octob. 1665. p. 487.

<sup>b</sup> The author of *Sir Walter Raleigh's* life, in *Lives English and foreign*, 1704. vol. 1. p. 86, says, that *Raleigh's* disgust at the deputy's preferring *Zouch*, grew to a difference between him and the said lord *Grey*, which was settled by the council of war in *Ireland* to that in *England*;

and there decided in *Raleigh's* favour: the soliciting of which business was the true cause of his leaving *Ireland*. But he quotes no authority; and I think by what is before said of the matter, this true cause will appear a groundless conjecture; at least less probable, than what might perhaps be drawn from *Spenser's View of Ireland*, vol. 6. p. 1609.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Henry Wotton's* parallel of *Robert Devereux* earl of *Effex*, and *George Villiers* duke of *Buckingham*.

<sup>d</sup> *Shirley's* life of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, 8vo. 1677, p. 19. and the same in fol. p. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Captain *Edward Hayes's* report of Sir *H. Gilbert's* voyage to *Newfoundland*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 149. See also Sir *George Peckham's* report of the discovery and possession of *Newfoundland*, by that valiant and worthy gentleman Sir *H. Gilbert*, in the same volume, p. 165.

As also the patronage of the earl of *Leicester*.

And earl of *Suffex*.

*Bark Raleigh*.

Sets out with Sir *H. Gilbert* to *Newfoundland*.



and receiving it with a hasel wand, deliver'd to him according to our law and custom; also had assign'd lands to every man in his company, and was got three hundred leagues in his way home again, with full hopes of the queen's assistance to fit out a fleet not only for the north, but one also for the south next year; yet over-hardily venturing in a little frigate of but ten ton burden, called the *Squirrel*; he was on the ninth of *September* following at midnight, in a high sea, swallowed up.<sup>a</sup> Another of the vessels, called the *Delight*, but few days before also suffer'd the same fate; and even the rest return'd not without great hazard, hardship, and loss: teaching (says *Camden*) that it is a more difficult matter to carry over colonies to remote countries upon private men's purses, than he and others had persuaded themselves, to their own loss and detriment:<sup>b</sup> but neither these unfortunate attempts by sea hitherto, nor the ruin of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert's* estate, nor the loss of his life, nor the hardships of all his company besides, could teach *Raleigh* that lesson: these examples and this experience were so far from satiating, that they did but sharpen his appetite to such honourable dangers.

AND as we are assur'd from family tradition, by a late author of his own name and lineage, that the discoveries of the great *Columbus*, the conquests of *Fernando Cortez*, the famous *Francis Pizarro*, and other leaders of the *Spaniards*, who under the emperor *Charles* and his son *Philip II*, had made the greatest and most surprising additions to their empire that ever prince received, or subjects wrought, were the favourite histories that took up *Raleigh's* early reading and conversation while he was but a young man;<sup>c</sup> we may presume they so possess'd his noble genius (with perhaps also some late domestic and living examples) that no little personal oppositions at home, or particular misadventures abroad, could ever discourage him from the pursuit of these grand and national undertakings. But when, by his own observation, he found the *Spaniards* had only settled upon the middle and southern parts of *America*, and that there were certain vast territories yet unknown to the north of those lands, which the *Spaniards* already enjoy'd, as fit perhaps for settlement, and as easy to conquer, as any they did enjoy: and when, by his enquiries, among the most observant pilots and mariners who had sailed in the *Spanish* ships to the gulph of *Mexico*, many of whom he had opportunity to meet and discourse with in *Holland* and *Flanders*, he had learnt that the *Spaniards* always went into the gulph of *Mexico* by *St. Domingo* and the island of *Hispaniola*, where the currents with the trade-winds always ran together, and set into the bay; that they always disembogu'd, as they call'd it, or came out by the *Havana* and the channels of *Bahama*, which they now call the gulph of *Florida*; and that, as they return'd by this gulph, they found a continued coast on the west-side trending away north, which they generally lost sight of by standing away to the east, to make for the coast of *Spain*; *Raleigh* fully determin'd that there was a vast extent of land north of that gulph, or west from the coast of *Spain*, which might be well worth discovering; and, after mature deliberation, fully resolv'd upon the discovery. As soon as he had digested his proposal, and display'd the manner of prosecuting it in proper schemes, he laid them before the queen and council, to whom it appearing a rational, practical, and generous undertaking, her majesty

<sup>a</sup> As authors have been very defective and erroneous in their accounts of this brave and publick-spirited, but unfortunate knight, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* of *Compton*; I shall here observe that *John Hooker*, who knew him, says he was bred at *Oxford*. See his *Supply of the Irish chronicles*, p. 132; tho' *A. Wood* is silent of any such *Oxonian*. *Hooker* takes notice of his extraordinary services in *Ireland*, for which he was made colonel of *Munster*; and Sir *Roger Williams*, in his *Actions of the Low-countries*, tells us he was the first *English* commander who led a regiment thither to serve the prince of *Orange* against the *Spaniards*. But *John Prince*, who pretends to give us his life among his worthies of *Devon*, mentions nothing of his land-services. The said *J. Prince* quotes Sir *W. Pole's* MSS. to vouch this *Gilbert's* being knighted by the queen at *Greenwich* 1577. But *Hooker* aforesaid shews him to have been knighted in the church at *Drogheda*, by Sir *Hen. Sidney*, deputy of *Ireland*, seven years sooner at least; and agreeable thereto, we find him call'd Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* in a letter of Sir *Thomas Smith's*, dated 1572, among Sir *D. Digges's* collection before-mention'd, p. 299. Lastly, another writer of his life, in *Latin*, places his last expedition to *Newfoundland* twenty years sooner than he undertook it, if it is not the fault rather of the printer than the author, *vid. Hollandi Heroologia Anglica*. fol. *Amstelr* 1620, p. 65. As for Sir *Humphrey's* writings, we have extant in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 11. his *Discourse* to prove a passage by the north-west to *Catbay* and the *East-Indies*, in ten chapters; first publish'd in 4to. 1576. at the end of which he mentions another discourse, now lost I fear; wherein he amended the usual errors of *sea-cards*, which

make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of equal bigness; and invented a spherical instrument, with a compass of variation, for the perfect knowledge of the longitude; and laid down a precise order to prick the *sea-cards*, with certain rules for the shortning any discovery, and knowing at the first entrance of any *fret*, whether it lies open to the ocean more ways than one, and how far the *sea* stretches itself into the land. As for the picture at *Compton*, said by *Prince* to be drawn for Sir *H. Gilbert*; if his author, Sir *W. Pole*, is no truer in his assertion of the queen's having given Sir *Humphrey* the gold chain represented about the neck thereof, than he was in her having knighted him, and there are no other signatures besides that chain, and the inscription of *virginia* on the globe, with the verses under it relating thereto; I see not but the picture is to be doubted, as rather meant for his brother *Raleigh*, who was honoured with a golden chain by the queen, and whose title to that inscription on the globe was beyond any man's in the world. But the stately poem in *Latin Hexameters*, upon his last expedition, by *Stephanus Parmenius Budeus*, a learned *Hungarian*, who was drown'd with him, was undoubtedly, among other *English* adventurers therein nam'd, chiefly intended for his honour. See it in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. p. 138.

<sup>b</sup> *Camd. Annal. Eliz. Reg. Anno* 1583

<sup>c</sup> See an historical account of the voyages and adventures of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with the discoveries and conquests he made for the crown of *England*, &c. humbly propos'd to the *South-Sea* company, 8vo. 1719, p. 8. Though no author's name is prefix'd to it, I take it to be written by captain *Philip Raleigh* hereafter mention'd.



was pleased in the beginning of the year 1584. to grant him full power to enjoy such countries as he proposed to discover, by her letters patents; which in epitomy, or divested of the tautologies usual, if not necessary, in instruments of such kind, are as follows.

“ *ELIZABETH, &c. To all people greeting.* Know ye that out of our special grace,  
 “ we grant to our trusty and well-beloved servant *Walter Raleigh* Esq; his heirs and assigns,  
 “ free liberty to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands not actually possessed by  
 “ any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him or them shall seem good,  
 “ to hold the same with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, and privileges,  
 “ by sea and land, as we by letters patents may grant, or any of our progenitors have granted;  
 “ with license to inhabit or remain, build and fortify, at the discretion of the said *W. Raleigh*,  
 “ his heirs, &c. the statutes or acts against fugitives, or such as depart this realm unprivileg’d  
 “ notwithstanding.

The queen’s  
 letters patents  
 to him for  
 discovering of  
 unknown  
 countries.

“ We likewise grant him or them full power to take or lead such of our subjects, as shall  
 “ willingly accompany him or them; also to employ and use sufficient shipping and furni-  
 “ ture for transportations and navigations in that behalf: so that none of those persons be such  
 “ as are restrain’d by us, our heirs or successors. Further, that the said *W. Raleigh*, and his heirs,  
 “ shall enjoy for ever all the soil of such lands so to be discover’d, and of all such cities, castles,  
 “ or towns in the same, with the right, and royalties, as well marine as other, within the said  
 “ lands or seas adjoining, with full power to dispose thereof in fee simple, or otherwise, ac-  
 “ cording to the laws of *England*, at his and their will, to any person within the allegiance  
 “ of us or our heirs, reserving always to us, for all services, duties and demands, the  
 “ fifth part of all the oar of gold and silver there obtain’d after such discovery. All which  
 “ lands, and countries, shall be for ever holden by the said *W. Raleigh*, his heirs, &c. by  
 “ homage, the said payment reserv’d only for all services. We likewise grant to the said  
 “ *Raleigh* and his heirs license for their defence, to repell by land or sea all persons that shall with-  
 “ out his or their liking attempt to inhabit the said countries, or within two hundred leagues  
 “ of the places in them where he or they within six years to come shall make their dwellings, if  
 “ not before inhabited by the subjects of any Christian prince in amity with us. Giving also  
 “ power to him or them to take those persons, with their ships and goods, and keep them as  
 “ lawful prize, who without his or their license shall be found trafficking within the limits  
 “ aforesaid (our subjects and others in amity with us only excepted.) And as well for uniting  
 “ in more perfect league such countries with our realms of *England* and *Ireland*, as for the  
 “ encouragement of men to these enterprises, we declare that all such countries so possessed  
 “ shall be of our allegiance. And we grant to the said *W. Raleigh*, his heirs, and to all be-  
 “ ing of our allegiance, whose names shall be enter’d in some court of record within our  
 “ realm of *England*, and to their heirs, who with the assent of the said *W. Raleigh*, his heirs, &c.  
 “ shall in his journeys for discovery or conquest hereafter travel to such lands, that they  
 “ and every of them, being either born within our said *Realms* of *England* or *Ireland*, or  
 “ any other place within our allegiance, and who shall hereafter be inhabitants of any of the  
 “ lands aforesaid; shall have all the privilege of free denizens and persons native of *England*,  
 “ in such ample manner as if they were born and personally resident in our said realm of *Eng-  
 “ land*, any law, &c. notwithstanding. And further, for the safety of all that shall adven-  
 “ ture themselves, we grant the said *W. Raleigh*, and his heirs, full power and authority with-  
 “ in the said lands, in the way thither, and from thence, to correct, punish, pardon, govern  
 “ by their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capital or criminal, as civil, both  
 “ marine and other, all our subjects who so adventure themselves, and shall inhabit the territo-  
 “ ries aforesaid, or shall abide within two hundred leagues of any such places where he or  
 “ they shall inhabit within six years next ensuing, according to such statutes as shall be by him  
 “ or them establish’d; so that the said statutes or laws conform as near as conveniently may be  
 “ with those of *England*, and do not oppugn the Christian faith, or any way withdraw the  
 “ people of those lands from our allegiance. We also grant full power to our trusty and  
 “ well-beloved counsellor Sir *W. Cecil*, lord *Burghley*, our high-treasurer of *England*, and  
 “ to the lord-treasurer for us and our heirs, and to the privy-council of us and our heirs, or any  
 “ four or more of them, that he or they, under their hands or seals, authorise the said Sir *Wal-  
 “ ter Raleigh* or his heirs, by themselves or officers, to transport out of *England* and *Ireland*  
 “ any of their goods, with other commodities, as to the said lord-treasurer or the said privy-  
 “ council shall be thought convenient, for the better relief and support of the said *Walter Ra-  
 “ legh* or his heirs, any act notwithstanding. Provided always, that if the said *Walter Ra-  
 “ legh*, his heirs, or any other, by his or their licence, shall rob or spoil by sea or land, or do  
 “ any unlawful hostility to any of our subjects, or those of kings or states in perfect league  
 “ and



“ and unity with us, we shall, upon just complaint, make proclamation that the said *W. Raleigh* or his heirs shall, within the terms to be limited, make full satisfaction; so that we and those who complain may be fully contented; and that if he or they make not such satisfaction within such time, it shall be lawful for us to put him or them out of our allegiance, and from that time for all princes or others to pursue with hostility, as not to be avouch’d or defended by us: though any mention of the yearly value of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other grant by us or our predecessors to the said *Walter Raleigh* before this time made, be not express’d; or any other provision or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents, at *Westminster* the 25th of *March*, in the 26th year of our reign.”

IMMEDIATELY upon the grant of this patent, *Raleigh* gave his instructions for an *American* voyage<sup>b</sup> to captain *Philip Amadas* and captain *Arthur Barlow*, two experienced commanders, and had got a couple of barks well furnish’d with men and provisions at his own expence, in such readiness, that on the twenty-seventh day of *April* following they departed from the west of *England*. The tenth of *May* they arrived at the *Canaries*, and a month after fell upon the isles of the *West-Indies* “ which, with the rest adjoining (says my author, one of those captains) are so well known to your self (directing the account of this voyage to his prior) and to many others, that I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.” In the beginning of *July* they were saluted with a most fragrant gale from the land they were seeking, and soon after arrived upon the coast; but sail’d along some six-score miles before they could find an entrance by any river issuing into the sea. At last, discovering one, they mann’d out their boats to view the land adjoining, where they saw vines laden with grapes in vast abundance, climbing up the tall cedars, and spreading so luxuriantly along the sandy shore, that the sea often over-flowed them. On the thirteenth of *July* they took possession in right of the queen, and afterwards deliver’d the country over to *Raleigh’s* use. They thought this land had at first been the continent, but found it afterwards only an island twenty miles long, called *Wocoken*; plentifully stock’d with animals, groves of sweet-smelling trees, pulse, grain, and esculent roots. They observ’d along the coast, a tract of islands two or three hundred miles long; and passing between them, saw another great sea, twenty, forty, and in some places fifty miles over, before they could reach the continent; and in this inclosed sea above a hundred islands of various size, whereof one is sixteen miles long, called *Roanoak*, and about seven leagues distant, up the river *Occam*, from the harbour they first enter’d; at which they chiefly settled while they stay’d, finding it so pleasant and fruitful as to yield three harvests in five months. But they remain’d upon the borders of *Wocoken* two days before they beheld a human creature; on the third, they saw a boat rowing towards them with three of the natives; one of them landed, and walk’d up the shore near their ship, for they were then on board; then the two captains, with some others, took their boat and row’d to land, and by their courteous carriage, soon prevail’d on the native to return with them on board, where they cloathed him, and gave him victuals, wine, and several little toys or utensils, which won the simple creature’s heart. Soon after his departure, he return’d again with a boat full of fish, to be divided between the ship and the pinnace, and then he left them. The next day came the king’s brother *Granganimeo*, with a great many attendants; for the king himself, who was named *Wingina*, and his large territories *Wingandacoa*, lay ill of the wounds he had lately receiv’d in war. His brother was highly pleas’d with his entertainment, and having received several presents, soon after sent the savages to traffick with the *English*; also came again himself, and exchange’d twenty skins, worth as many nobles, for a tin dish, which he hung as a gorget about his neck, to defend him from the arrows of his enemies: then also he brought his wife and children, with her attendants, forty or fifty in number. She was well-favour’d, but bashful, clad in a mantle of deer-skin, lin’d with fur, and a kind of apron of the same, her hair hung down long on each side, with a band of white coral about her forehead, and long bracelets of pearl down to her middle, as big as pease in her ears, a bracelet whereof, we deliver’d to your worship, says my author to *Raleigh*. Her husband’s apparel was much like hers, only about his head he wore a broad plate of gold or copper, and his hair was long but on one side. After this interview, familiar commerce pass’d between the natives and the *English*, who, when they went to *Roanoak*, were much carol’d and treated by the lady aforesaid. And when she could not prevail with them to stay,

The first voyage for the discovery of *Wingandacoa*.

<sup>a</sup> See these letters patents at large (penn’d with the same limitations that Sir *Humphrey Gilbert’s* had been) in *Hakluyt’s* voyages, vol. 3. fol. 243.

<sup>b</sup> But that he now sail’d thither himself, or then made the discovery, whatever he might do before, of the coun-

try hereafter mention’d, in person, and return’d in the beginning of 1585, as the author of his life, in *Lives English and foreign*, tells us, vol. 1. p. 90, is all fancy and fiction.



being but few in company, tho' the natives had no edge-tools of iron or steel, and had prof-fer'd a great box of pearl for some armour and a sword, she sent her women to watch them all night in their ships on the bank-side. And indeed all the people, who saw them, admir'd much at their ships, their fire-arms, their cloaths, and above all, their complexions; for, except a vessel which was cast away with some christian adventurers about twenty-six years before near *Secotan*, the southermost town in *Wingandacoa*, never any people in apparel, or of fair colour were seen or heard of among them; which made them wonder so much at the whiteness of their skins, and so fond of seeing and touching them. Under these favourable recommendations, and the distress which the natives were in for some powerful friends to defend them from the inva-sions of their neighbours, the promises of visiting them again, wherewith the *English* left them, after having learnt as much of the situation, state, and product of the country, as was at this time convenient, were very acceptable. So bringing over a couple of the *Indians* with them, named *Manteo* and *Wanchese*, to shew them our fine country, they arriv'd safely in the west of *England* about the middle of *September* following. Then captain *Barlow* address'd the relation of this first voyage, and his success in it, to his proprietor, whereof I have thus given an abstract. <sup>a</sup>

WHEN *Raleigh* had laid before her majesty these and all other reports most worthy of notice, which were brought him of this rich, beautiful, and virgin country; and had acknowledg'd how much this hopeful progress towards the possession of it was owing to the auspices of a virgin queen; she was so well pleas'd with the honour and advantage it promis'd, and gave him such encouragement to compleat the discovery, which he forthwith prepar'd to do by another expedition, that she call'd it her self by the name of *VIRGINIA*.<sup>b</sup> What enemies this publick patronage might raise him at court, we hear not; but find he had such friends in the country, that upon the approaching sessions of parliament, about two months after, he was elected a knight of the shire for the county of *Devon*, *Sir William Courtenay* being the other representative.<sup>c</sup> There was then a clerk of the parliament so very indolent, or otherwise indispos'd, that the transactions of the house of commons at this time were very imperfectly recorded.<sup>d</sup> Yet we find *Raleigh* mention'd to have been chosen of the committees upon some bills that were then read. On the fourteenth of *December* following, the bill, in confirmation of his pa-tent aforeaid for the discovery of foreign countries, was read the first time. In the afternoon it was read the second time, and committed to the vice-chamberlain *Hatton*, secretary *Walsingham*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, *Sir Francis Drake*, *Sir Richard Greenfield* (or *Grenvill*) *Sir William Courtenay*, *Sir William Mobun*, and others. Three days after the said bill was, without any alteration, order'd to be engross'd. The next day it was read the third time, when, after many arguments and a proviso added, it pass'd the house upon the question.<sup>e</sup> Between this time in *December* and the twenty-fourth of *February* following he receiv'd the honour of knighthood; for being then in a committee for considering after what manner and measure they should supply her ma-jesty by subsidy: this is the earliest time I meet with of his being styl'd *Sir Walter Raleigh*; <sup>f</sup> a title which her majesty bestow'd, as all others of honour, with frugality and choice. There-fore was it a more certain cognizance of virtue or valour, than titles of more pompous denomi-nation in the reign of her successor, who suffer'd lucre to corrupt the noble fountain, to turn it into vulgar channels, and drain it even to the dregs; <sup>g</sup> so that the dignities which flowed or overflowed from it, proved distinctions oftener of their pride, riches, or prostitutions, on whom they were conferr'd, than of any abilities or performances for the publick good that might de-serve them. Nay, that this honour was intended by that queen as the most significant testimony of personal desert, may be instanced, according to an ingenious observer of her reign, "in " *Sir Francis Vere*, a man nobly descended; and *Sir Walter Raleigh*, exactly qualify'd, says he,

Named *Vir-ginia*.

He is chosen member of parliament.

Knighthood.

<sup>a</sup> See the first voyage to the coasts of *America* with two barks, by the captains *Amadas* and *Barlow*, at the charge of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 246.

<sup>b</sup> Most authors say, *Raleigh* first call'd it *Virginia* in compliment to the queen; but she nam'd it so her self, as further will appear.

<sup>c</sup> *Notitia Parliamentaria*, by *Brown Willis* Esq, 8vo. vol. 2. 1716. p. 251.

<sup>d</sup> His name was *Fulk Onslow*. See *Sir Simon D'Ewes's* journal of both houses in queen *Elizabeth's* reign, fol. 1708, p. 356; and other parts of this session.

<sup>e</sup> *Ib.* fol. 341. <sup>f</sup> *Ib.* fol. 356.

<sup>g</sup> *Sir Edward Walker*, garter, and secretary of war to king *Charles I.* observe, "That in all queen *Elizabeth's* forty-four years reign she created but six earls, and eight or nine barons. So that when she died, the nobility consisted but of one marquis, nineteen earls, two viscounts, and about thirty barons—but doubts whether in the

" reign of king *James*, the dispensing of honours so li-  
" berally was not one of the beginnings of general dif-  
" contents, especially among persons of great extraction.  
" So that when this king died, having reign'd but twenty-  
" two years, he left the nobility in his three kingdoms  
" above double the number to what he found them, tho'  
" his reign was peaceable, and not full of action, which  
" renders men in capacity highly to merit from their  
" prince; and so, without envy, receive advancement."  
And a little further, "When alliance to a favourite;  
" riches, though gotten in a shop; persons of private  
" estates, and of families, that many of them, and their  
" fathers, would have thought themselves highly honour'd  
" to have been but knights in queen *Elizabeth's* time, were  
" advanc'd; then the fruits thereof began to appear, &c." His observations on the inconveniencies of frequent promo-tions to titles of honour; in his *historical discourses*, fol. 1705, p. 300 and 302, &c.



“ with many others, set apart in her judgment for military services ; whose titles she never  
 “ rais’d above knighthood : saying, when importun’d to make *Vere* a baron ; *That in his proper*  
*“ sphere, and her estimation, he was above it already.”*<sup>a</sup>

His patent  
for wine-li-  
cences.

His contro-  
versy with  
the university  
of Cambridge.

ABOUT the time that her majesty granted *Raleigh* the patent above-cited for the discovery of remote countries, she seems also to have given him another to license the vending of wines throughout the kingdom, that by the advantages of this, he might be better able to sustain the great charges which the other brought upon him. There were no restrictions belike in this patent from increasing the number of vintners in any part of the realm. And hence arose his controversy at this time with one of the universities. For *Raleigh* having by virtue of that general patent given licence to one *John Keymer* to sell wine in *Cambridge*, some of the hotter heads, especially the other vintners there, among whom was one *Baxter*, a squire beadle, licensed to sell wine by that university, opposed this *Keymer* and his wife with such violence, that she was likely to have died. Complaint being made to *Raleigh*, he wrote a letter to *The worshipful Dr. Howland, vice-chancellor, and the rest of the masters*, to tell them how much he took this riotous demeanor as a contempt of the queen’s grant to him ; presuming, if he had given any unlawful privilege, the conference he had offer’d, by his deputies, for a quiet decision of the matter by learned council between them, would have been accepted. Further telling them, that if the abuse was not regulated, and the said *Keymer* permitted to enjoy the liberty granted him, he would take some other course for reformation therein ; but resting assured they would use such means as might occasion no further trouble, he not desiring to execute his grant to its extent among their vintners, who were the only disturbers herein, respecting more their own gain than quiet government ; he only craves their answer, and that the riotous persons might not rest unpunished : so bids them heartily farewell ; from his lodgings at the court the 9th of *July 1584* ; and subscribes himself *Your very affectionate loving friend*. This producing no answer in seven months, and *Raleigh* having heard they continued to oppress *Keymer* ; he wrote, by him, again ; *To his loving friend the vice-chancellor, &c.* telling him, that being by information perswaded, himself, with the grave and well-disposed of the university, were so grieved with the unseemly outrages lately committed by the young and unbridled heads thereof, to the contempt of the queen’s prerogative and his discredit, as sufficient order had been taken for the bearer’s quiet ; which caused him to rest from requiring reformation therein at his good lord-treasurer’s hands ; who as yet understood nothing from him of these riots, through the good-will he bore to their university : and that he meant so to deal with them for the other four taverns, as should sufficiently have contented them. But his too favourable dealing with them had given such encouragement, as, this day, he is inform’d, that, intending further to disturb the bearer, they had warned him to appear before them ; with which he had perswaded him to comply ; for tho’ he knew them not, their place should tell him, their proceedings would be just and lawful ; which only he desired, and wherein they would pleasure themselves, and continue his readiness to serve them. Thus hoping to find by their answer, these informations sprung rather from jealousy than just occasion, he leaves them to God ; from the court at *Somerſet-House* the 10th of *February* in the year aforesaid, and subscribes himself *Your very willing friend*. Upon their sending no answer to this, and *Raleigh* hearing they had suddenly clapp’d up the man in prison, he sent ten days after the last, his third letter from the court, directed *To the vice-chancellor, and the rest of the masters, &c.* And herein tells them, he cannot a little marvel at their peremptory and proud manner of dealing. That he was content to use all manner of courtesy towards them in respect of his honourable good lord the lord-treasurer ; but perceived his reasonable, or rather too submissive dealing, had bred in them a proceeding unsufferable ; having committed a poor man to prison, for doing nothing but what was warranted by the great seal of *England* ; which, supposing they had a charter, he knew not that any man or society would so much take upon them to do, before a trial. *As I reverence the place, says he, of which you are the governors, so I will not willingly take any wrong or disgrace from you.* But as he was assur’d the lord-treasurer would be indifferent in the case, and as the matter so much concern’d the validity of his patent elsewhere, as well as in their university, he would try the utmost of his right as well for this one, wherewith he was content to have been satisfy’d, as for all the other four. So having thought they would have vouchsafed him an answer to his last letters, he ends, subscribing himself *Your friend, as you shall give cause.*<sup>b</sup> This rous’d them to some consideration, and soon after, a

<sup>a</sup> The miscellaneous works of *Francis Osborne* Esq; in *Traditional Memoirs on the reign of queen Elizabeth*, vol. 2. p. 43.

<sup>b</sup> The three letters, whereof I have here given the substance in *Raleigh’s* own words, were communicated to me

by the right honourable the earl of *Oxford*, from the collections of the reverend and learned Mr. *Baker* of *St. John’s College, Cambridge*, who copied them out of the originals.



handsome apologetical letter was sent from *the vice-chancellor to Sir W. Raleigh*, setting forth, that the hard opinion he had conceived of them for this matter, made them doubt what manner of answer they might address to him without offence; and that their silence was so ill taken; they knew not how their endeavours to excuse it might give him satisfaction. That they had not neglected any reasonable means to procure his favour for the quiet enjoyment of that whereof they had the fruition for above two hundred years; nor omitted to become petitioners to him in a very humble manner. That his counsel had not made any just exception against their charters; and those who had the hearing of the case, thought them to have the better warrant. Yet that he used such hard terms, as they little look'd for at his hands; "being by birth a gentleman; "by education train'd up to the knowledge of good letters; instructed with the liberal disposition of a university, the fountain and nursery of all humanity: and further, by God's good blessing, advanc'd in court, from whence the very name of courtesy is drawn." That the prejudice he apprehended from their example against his patent, was unlikely to fall out; since other places were not privileg'd as the universities were. That her majesty's grant, by her prerogative, gave him his title; and the like prerogative was the ground of their charters. And as he would think it hard to have his patent impeach'd by an after-grant, they hoped he would with like equity measure them, who were warranted to have the sole dealing with all vintners in *Cambridge* town, and the precincts thereof. Touching the imprisonment of the party, whom he charged them with proceeding against before trial; and who, according to Mr. *Brown's* promise to the lord-treasurer, was to have given over at *Michaelmas* last; however the course thereof had been otherwise reported to him, it was only at this time to correct his contempt in not appearing, being lawfully warned, and refusing to answer before the ordinary judge, or enter bond for appearance when cause should require. That for their own part, it would be no disadvantage whether he or other, one or many, were vintners there; but in regard of the youth committed to their charge, duty bound them to consider who they admitted to keep taverns, the number whereof also was limited; which, if they exceeded, would endanger their privileges; for the preservation whereof as they had all taken a special oath, so they right humbly *estfoons* beseech'd him to have regard of them for their duties therein. Concluding thus; "What-ever kindness you shall any ways shew to the university; *As the body thereof doth still continue, so the memory thereof cannot decay.* There is not one of us, but you may readily command wherein it may please you to employ us; only we pray you, and that in the heartiest manner, to vouchsafe us your favour in matter of our privileges; *That we may leave them in no worse estate to our posterity, than we did receive them of our predecessors.* Thus desiring God so to direct you with his blessed spirit, as may be most to his glory, and your greatest comfort, we take our leave; from *Cambridge*." <sup>a</sup> This might probably pacify *Raleigh* at present, both for their neglect in not answering his letters, and their forwardness in imprisoning the man; till the difference was a few months afterwards accommodated by the lord-treasurer, who was chancellor of that university. <sup>b</sup>

AND indeed at this juncture *Raleigh* seems to have had little leisure for further debates of this kind: for the parliament being soon after, on the 29th of *March* 1585, prorogued, *Raleigh* appears several ways engag'd in the laudable improvements of navigation. For his brother *Adrian Gilbert* of *Sandridge*, afterwards knighted, in pursuance of the arguments laid down by his brother Sir *Humphrey*, having been at great charges in finding out the northern passage to *China* and the *Moluccas*; and in consideration thereof been granted a patent by the queen two years before this time, to pursue the discovery by partners, under the title of *The colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the north-west passage*; *Raleigh* was now one of the associates in this enterprize; and after having duly consulted about the likeliest means to success, and liberally contributed towards the expence, they chose captain *John Davis*, an experienc'd navigator, to be undertaker of the exploit. He set first out upon it this summer from *Falmouth* in two barks. When he came to land in sixty-six degrees forty minutes latitude, he anchor'd in a

Contribute, to the discovery of the north-west passage.

<sup>a</sup> The old copy of this letter, whence I have given the extract above, is in the possession of *Hugh Howard* Esq;

<sup>b</sup> For the said lord treasurer *Burghley* sent, in a letter to Dr. *Norgate*, his vice-chancellor, on the 26th of *July* 1585, the opinion of the two chief justices, Sir *Christopher Wray* and Sir *Edmond Anderson*, upon this controversy between that university and Mr. *Ravolin*, as he is therein call'd, for the nomination of vintners, and setting the price of wine there; which opinion is as follows—

"First, touching the nomination of vintners there, we think it appertaineth to the university, by usage and charters from her majesty, confirmed by parliament:

"and that Mr. *Ravolin* can nominate none there. For the price; it seemeth they may set prices, so as it be according to the statute, and not otherwise. And if the vintners set at higher prices, they are to be punished by law. Which penalty Mr. *Ravolin* may dispense withal; and yet cannot sue for the penalty by his patent against the statute laws: for therein all liberties to the university is excepted." After this, we hear no more of the dispute. See the said lord *Burghley's* letter, and opinion of the judges, in Mr. *John Streyfe's* annals of the church, tom. 3. 1728. fol. 343.



very fair road, under a brave mountain; which, for the splendid appearance it made, the cliffs thereof being as orient as gold, they named *Mount Ralegh*,<sup>a</sup> in honour of their proprietor; and soon after fell into the very passage they sought, since, well known by the name of *Davis's Streights*. The farther search whereof, through the same patronage and support, captain *Davis* made in two voyages more, the two following years, and in a manner compleated the said discovery.<sup>b</sup>

The second  
voyage to  
Virginia.

BUT about two months before *Davis* begun his said first voyage for this discovery, *Ralegh* sent out his own fleet for *Virginia*, which consisted of seven sail, whereof some were his own ships, and they departed from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *April*, the year above specified. He deputed his gallant relation Sir *Richard Grenville* general of the expedition, and Mr. *Ralph Lane*, who was afterwards knighted, to be governor of the colony, which they now transported. There went besides, Mr. *Thomas Candish*, *John Arundel*, *Raymond*, *Stucley*, *Bremige*, *Vincent*, Mr. *John Clark*, and several others, whereof some were captains, and others assistants for council and direction in the voyage. So they shaped their course to the *Canary* islands, from thence to *Dominica*, and to the island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, where they were sadly stung with the *Musketoos*, and near which they took two *Spanish* frigats; one whereof was freighted with a rich cargo, and divers *Spaniards* of distinction, who afterwards were ransom'd for good round sums of money. Then they made away to *Hispaniola*, soon after which the general, and some of his company, were near being cast away in catching of *Seals*. From thence they sail'd to *Florida*,<sup>c</sup> and on the 26th of *June* anchor'd at *Wocoken*, whence they sent word of their arrival to king *Wingina* at *Roanoak*. They carried the *Indians* with them from *England*; and *Manteo*, on the 6th of *July*, led Mr. *Arundel* to the main continent, where they found some of their men, who had been conducted thither twenty days before, by captain *Raymond*. On the eleventh following, the general, accompanied by *Arundel*, *Stucley*, *Lane*, *Candish*, *Hariot*, *Amadas*, *Clark*, and others, passed over the water to the main land, and victuall'd their ships; in which voyage they first discover'd the towns of *Pomeioc*, *Aquasgococ*, and *Secotan*; also the great lake *Paquipe*, and many other places; then return'd to their fleet. They afterwards re-visited those parts, and were kindly entertained by the savages. Coming at last to anchor at *Hatorask*; prince *Grangino*, or *Granganimeo*, before mention'd, came attended by *Manteo* to visit them on board the admiral, which was named the *Tyger*. The particulars which passed between them about the settlement are not mention'd in the short journal of this voyage; but we may conclude it was agreed on to their mutual satisfaction; since one hundred and seven men, whose names are printed at the end of the said journal, under the government of Mr. *Lane*, were left for a year in the country, without disturbance, to begin the plantation. On the 25th of *August* the general weighed anchor, and set sail for *England*: about six days after he took a *Spanish* ship of three hundred ton, richly laden; and on the 18th of *October* arrived with the prize at *Plymouth*, where he was courteously receiv'd by his worshipful friend.<sup>d</sup>

A rich prize,

OF this prize, we have some further account, if it is to be credited; for it comes from a man, who, in the latter end of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* life, met with countenance to prove his greatest enemy; but after his death, found himself necessitated to publish all the arguments he could devise, to justify his perfidy towards him, and assuage the reproach of mankind. This author, one of king *James's* knights, was the son, it seems, of that *Stucley*<sup>e</sup> mention'd in the foregoing voyage; who is no where call'd a captain, nor seems to have had command in any of the ships; but to have been a private gentleman, who went over as an assistant for council,

<sup>a</sup> *John Jane's* account of captain *Davis's* first voyage in *June* 1585, for the discovery of the north-west passage, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 101.

<sup>b</sup> These two voyages follow the first in the same volume. *Joannes Baptista Ramusius*, in the preface to his third volume of *Navigations*, writes with respect to this discovery of the north-west passage to the *East-Indies*, and the attempt first made by *Sebastian Cabota*, pilot-major of *England*, as follows: "It seems, that God does still reserve this great enterprize, for some great prince, to discover this voyage to *Cathay* by this way; which, for the bringing of the spiceries from *India* into *Europe*, were the most easy and shortest of all others; to make his name great, and fame immortal to all ages to come; far more than can be done by any of all those great troubles and wars which daily are used in *Europe* among the miserable *Christian* people."

<sup>c</sup> One argument used by a late author to prove this was the first attempt made for the discovery of these parts of *America*, is, that these navigators "knew no other way

"to sail from *England* to the coast of *Virginia*, than to go first to the *Canaries*, from thence to *Hispaniola*, and into the Gulph of *Mexico*; then out by *Cuba* and the Gulph of *Babama*; and so coast along the shore from *Florida* to *Virginia*, from the latitude of 30 minutes to 42; which is in short (says he) like going from *London* by *Portsmouth*, and from thence to *Exeter*, away to *Bristol*, and so up by the banks of the *Severn* to come at *West-Chester*." Captain *Philip Ralegh's* historical account of the voyages and adventures of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, 8vo. p. 19.

<sup>d</sup> See the voyage made by Sir *Richard Grenvill* for Sir *Walter Ralegh* to *Virginia*, Anno 1585, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 251; and the abridgment of it in the *Latin* life of Sir *Richard Grenvill*, by H. Holland. *Heræolog. Angl.* fol. 1620. p. 85.

<sup>e</sup> A late author, in his life of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, calls him *John Stucley*, from what authority I know not. *Lives English and Foreign*, vol. 1. p. 91.



or some directions relating to the plantation. But his said son, after *Raleigh's* death, hence takes occasion to tell us, that one day himself upbraiding *Raleigh* with the injury he had done his father, in deceiving him of a great adventure, “ which my said father (says he) had in the *Tyger*, “ when he went to the *West-Indies* with my uncle Sir *Richard Grenvill*; which was, by his “ (*Raleigh's*) own confession, worth fifty thousand pounds, and came all to his hands, my father's “ portion being at least ten thousand pounds, which he might lawfully claim: he answer'd; “ that the queen, however she seem'd a great and good mistress to him in the eyes of the “ world, yet was so unjust and tyrannous to him, that she laid the envy as well of this, as of “ many other her oppressions, upon him: and that she took all the pearl in a cabinet unto “ her self, without so much as ever giving him one pearl.”<sup>a</sup> This is publish'd visibly to reflect injustice upon *Raleigh* towards that author's father, and ingratitude towards the queen: but how probable it will seem (had it proceeded even from an indifferent hand) that so great a share in this prize should be due to his father, and no dissatisfaction appear in his uncle; he who got it all, to be allowed also no share; or that his father should never claim so great a sum by law, which, as the son says, he might lawfully claim; and lastly, how so great a profit to *Raleigh* will correspond with some subsequent observations on the royal assistance he soon needed; through the slender returns these *Virginian* voyages made for all the charge and care he bestow'd upon them, must be submitted to the reader's judgment, when he shall arrive at those passages; and more especially at the tragical catastrophe of the whole story.

If so much good fortune did now befall *Raleigh*, a pretty enlargement was soon after made to it by the queen her self; somewhat unusual with the leisurely course of her bounty: but that it was a favour in conjunction, or of a comprehensive nature; from a principal share whereof, he, neither for his former eminent services, could be justly excluded; nor for the support of that chargeable discovery, by which he had so newly deserved. For an end having been put to the *Munster* rebellion by force of arms, and the country further laid desolate by a raging famine, which devour'd what the sword had left, except a few who remain'd in cities, fled to *England*, or could feed upon weeds and carrion, so as even to rob the graves and the gibbets of their dead, to keep the dying alive;<sup>b</sup> the queen soon became desirous of re-peopling the country, and to have ways consider'd on, how the late earl of *Desmond's* large territories in *Ireland* might be dispos'd of to the advantage of her and her subjects. After commissioners were sent over for this purpose, and proper methods taken to prevent fraudulent conveyances by the rebels, there was now at last a scheme resolv'd on for the plantation of *Munster*; and secretary *Fenton* carried over the instructions towards the latter end of this year.<sup>c</sup> The whole forfeiture was above five hundred seventy-four thousand acres of land;<sup>d</sup> and after some restitutions had been made, the remainder was divided into *Seigniories* among certain gentlemen-undertakers, as they were call'd;<sup>e</sup> but chiefly such as had been instrumental in appeasing the *Irish* rebellion. One of the largest divisions, which was twelve thousand acres, situate in the counties of *Cork* and *Waterford*, was given by her majesty to Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his heirs, with certain privileges and immunities, upon those conditions of planting and improving the same, to which the rest were also oblig'd.<sup>f</sup> And tho' many of the undertakers did not people their *Seigniories* with well-affected *English*, but sold them to *English* papists, or otherwise to their profit; nor fortified according to their covenants; nor forbore encroaching upon the lands of the loyal and protected *Irish* (as the crown on the other side fail'd of maintaining certain forces promis'd for their security from fresh invasions;) yet I meet with none of those irregularities objected to *Raleigh*: on the contrary, that he peopled his plantation unexceptionably; that he kept the said estate to the latter end of the queen's reign, and then sold it to *Richard Boyle*, afterwards the famous earl of *Cork*, as, in a memorial of his own life, the said

His Seigniorie  
in Ireland.

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Leavis Stucley's* petition and information to king *James*, &c. 4to. p. 8. a pamphlet hereafter more particularly mention'd.

<sup>b</sup> *Hooker's Supply* to the chronicles of *Ireland*, ad fin. and *Spencer's View* of *Ireland*.

<sup>c</sup> *Cox's* history of *Ireland*, fol. 389—391. See also *Heaves* abridgment of *Stow's* chronicles, Anno 1585, p. 353.

<sup>d</sup> *Fynes Moryson* in his *Itinerary*, fol. 1617. part 2. cap. 1. pag. 4. agrees with *Cox*, fol. 392, that the number of acres *English* measure, forfeited by the earl of *Desmond* and his confederates, were 574628. But *Cox* makes three variations from *Moryson* in the division of that land, with respect to Sir *Walter Raleigh's* share. For *Moryson* makes *Raleigh's* dividend to lie in *Waterford* and *Limerick*; *Cox*, in *Cork* and *Waterford*; *Moryson*, parceling four shares together, allots by patent to the earl of

*Ormond*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *Edward Fitton*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, 22910 acres. But their four shares joined, out of *Cox*, amount to 37425 acres. Yet in *Cox* this greater tract yields but 242 *l.* 13 *s.* 7 *d.* yearly rents; and that smaller tract in *Moryson*, 303 *l.* 3 *d.* So that *Moryson's* account falls short of the other in 14515 acres of land; And *Cox's* account falls short of his in 60 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* yearly rent. But as no other author I have met with expressly distinguishes Sir *Walter Raleigh's* share to have been 12000 acres, with rents 66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* besides *Cox*; and he seems to have had good authority for that distinction; I find my self oblig'd, not only by necessity, but reason, to accept of his account. See MS. collection in *Lamb. lib.* mark'd M. fol. 166.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *Francis Walsingham's* table-book, MS. 8vo p. 131.

<sup>f</sup> *Cox*, fol. 391. & MS. in *Bibl. Lambeth* lib. C.



earl has related.<sup>a</sup> But as capacious as this benefit seemed, it was rather expensive perhaps at first, than profitable to him.

FOR Sir *Richard Grenvill*, who, at his departure from *Virginia*, had promis'd the colony he left behind to return punctually with supplies by the following *Easter* at furthest, was not altogether so expeditious as they expected; probably through some difficulties attending the charge thereof, which *Raleigh's* new undertaking of planting also that Seigniorie might probably render more burdenson. *Grenvill* brought over letters from governor *Lane* to a very worthy encourager of all naval adventures;<sup>b</sup> describing the commodities and fertility of the country they were about to cultivate and civilize: the said governor also drew up notes while he was there, which he afterwards methodiz'd into a *Discourse* of two parts, displaying the *particularities of the country of Virginia, and the reasons which moved their departure from thence into England.*<sup>c</sup> In this discourse we learn, that their discovery for Sir *Walter Raleigh* had extended from *Roanoak* southward, as far as *Secotan*, about eighty miles; northward as far as the *Chesepians*, being a hundred and thirty miles more; and to the north-west, as far as *Chawanook*, a hundred and thirty miles: and further mentions many towns about the water-side, discovered by the way. It also informs us of his enquiries after a fishery and traffick for pearl in those parts; besides a mine of strange metal like copper, but paler and softer: moreover, of the taking prince *Skyco* prisoner; and after the death of *Granganimeo* aforesaid, how his brother king *Wingina* changed his name, and plotted an insurrection against the *English*; for which he lost his life: while another king called *Okisco*, sent to pay homage and acknowledge subjection to the grand *Weroanza*, or queen of *England*; and after her, to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Lastly, the arrival of Sir *Francis Drake* about the 10th of *June* 1586; who, returning from his prosperous conquest of *St. Domingo*, *Cartagena*, and *St. Augustine*, determin'd, in his way homeward, to visit his friend's colony in *Virginia*. They had despaired of Sir *Richard Grenvill's* promise; and the rather, because of the preparations then making for *Flanders*, and other parts of *America*. Their corn was indeed within a fortnight of inviting the sickle; but they were in need of many other provisions. Hereupon *Drake* readily proffer'd them all manner of supplies, by victuals, men, ammunition, and ships, to carry on and compleat their worthy undertaking. The governor desir'd only a ship, and so much provision as about *August* would carry him and his company to *England*, which *Drake* granted in full sufficiency; besides pinaces, boats, and two experienc'd masters or pilots, to abide with them, and apply themselves earnestly in the action. All this was perform'd in two days. On the next day, while some were writing letters into *England*, and others relating their adventures to each other, some at sea, some on shore, there arose a most violent tempest, which lasted three days; drove most of the fleet from their anchors away to sea, and in them the provisions and masters aforesaid, with the chief of the *English* colony; whom they saw no more till they met in *England*. Then *Drake* proffer'd them another ship; but the rest of the colony, who were left behind, all begg'd to go for *England*; to which *Drake* consenting, took them aboard on the 19th of *June*, and set sail.<sup>d</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh* had in the mean time provided a ship of a hundred ton, freighted with all kind of provisions in a most plentiful manner, for the relief of this colony; but not sailing till after *Easter*, the said colony was newly departed before this fresh supply arriv'd at *Virginia*. After some time spent up the country, in seeking the colony and not finding it, they return'd with all the provision aforesaid into *England.*<sup>e</sup> About a fortnight after, Sir *Richard Grenvill* arrived at *Virginia* with three ships more, well stored for the same company of planters; but he, after much search, missing also of them and of the aforesaid ship, left fifteen men at *Roanoak* with plenty of supplies, and made for *England*; not without some conquests over the *Spaniards* at the *Azores* in his return.<sup>f</sup> And indeed *Raleigh* was also about this very time victorious at the same place: for, when he sent the aforesaid ship to relieve his colony, or soon after, he dispatched two more, named the *Serpent* and *Mary-Spark*, both of them his own, to the *Azores* against the *Spaniards*, under the conduct of captain *Jacob Whiddon*, *John Evesham*, and others. They departed from *Plymouth* on the 10th of *June* afore-

The third voyage to Virginia.

<sup>a</sup> 'Tis a manuscript, entitled, *True Remembrances, for the benefit and information of his posterity*, written Anno 1632, remaining in the family of his noble descendants. See the life of the late earl of *Orrery*, by *Eustace Budgell* Esq; 8vo. 1732. p. 3. and 18. Mr. *Tibbels* also mentions this MS. in his account of the family of the *Boyles*, towards the end of his *Topography of Leeds*, printed in fol. 1715.

<sup>b</sup> *Richard Hakluyt* of the *Middle Temple* Esq; kinsman to the industrious *Richard Hakluyt*, preacher of *Christ-Church Oxford*, who published the voyages, as may be distinguished in the preface to his first edition of them, as well as in other places, and not the same person with the said *Oxonian*, as *Anthony Wood* has confounded them. The

governor's letter to the said templar, is in his kinsman's third volume, fol. 254.

<sup>c</sup> This discourse of Mr. *Lane's* immediately follows, in the same volume, fol. 255.

<sup>d</sup> See *Lane's* said account of the particularities of the employment of the *Englishmen* left in *Virginia* by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, &c. directed to Sir *Walter Raleigh*; in *Hakluyt* aforesaid. fol. 264. Also *Geo. Cate's* summary and true discourse of Sir *Francis Drake's* *West Indian* voyage, began 1585, in the same volume, fol. 547.

<sup>e</sup> Account of the third voyage for the relief of the colony in *Virginia*, at the sole charges of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the same volume, fol. 265. C 1b



said, and took more *Spanish* prizes than they could bring home. In one of them was the governor of *St. Michael's* island; in another, which they took near the isle of *Graciosa*, was the famous *Pedro de Sarmiento*, governor of the streights of *Magellan*; who was the furthest and most experienced navigator in all *Spain*.<sup>a</sup> They took also three other vessels, but turned two adrift, after having taken out of them what they wanted, because they could not spare hands to man them; and after a fight for thirty-two hours with two great carracks, and the other guard-ships of twenty sail more, richly laden, they gave over for want of powder, and returned safe to *Plymouth*, where they were received with triumphant joy; then proceeding to *Southampton*, they were met by their owner *Sir Walter Raleigh*; rewarded them with their shares, out of the merchandize, and other commodities of value, which in those three prizes were thus taken from the enemy.<sup>b</sup> Not long after this, there was another voyage set out, the same year, by the earl of *Cumberland* to the *South-Sea*, but performed no further than the latitude of forty-four degrees to the south of the equinoctial, in which as *Sir Walter Raleigh* was also an adventurer, his fine pinnace, named *Dorothy*, being engaged therein, and some small prizes also being taken, he had, no doubt, his proportion in the profits that arose from them.<sup>c</sup>

His success at the *Azores*.

And in a voyage to the *South Sea*.

BUT to return to the *Virginian* colony: it arrived at *Plymouth* on the 27th of *July* following. *Camden* has remember'd, that by this colony of *Raleigh's*, and in those ships of *Drake's*, the famous *American* plant called *TOBACCO* was first brought into *England*, by or under governor *Lane*,<sup>d</sup> doubtless according to the instructions they had received of their proprietor; for the introduction among us of that commodity, is generally ascrib'd to *Raleigh* himself. There are some pleasant stories of this plant, with relation to him, which have been as carefully preserved as the box he kept it in.<sup>e</sup> But the tradition of "*Raleigh's* smoking tobacco at first privately in his study, and of the servant, who used to wait on him there, surprizing him one time with his tankard of ale and nutmeg as he was intent upon his book, before he had done his pipe; and seeing the smoke reeking out of his mouth, threw all the ale in his face, then running down stairs alarm'd the family with repeated exclamations, that *his master was on fire, and before they could get up would be burnt to ashes*:"<sup>f</sup> This I say, if true, has nothing in it of more surprizing or unparallel'd simplicity, than there was in that poor *Norwegian*, who upon the first sight of *Roses* could not be induced to touch, tho' he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold trees budding with fire:<sup>g</sup> or, to come closer by way of retaliation, than there was in those *Virginians* themselves, who, the first time they seized upon a quantity of *Gun-powder* which belong'd to the *English* colony, sow'd it for grain, or the seed of some strange vegetable in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest to scatter their enemies.<sup>h</sup> But passing over these tales; as *Raleigh* was the first, who brought this herb in request among us, and laid the foundation for that great traffick therewith, which has been of such considerable benefit to his country; there is no less honour due to him than has been conferr'd on that ambassador, who had before brought it out of *Portugal* into *France*; where, in mentioning the herb, they pay grateful acknowledgments to the importer, by calling it *Nicotiana* after his own name: nay, his polittick soveraign *Catherine de Medicis*, did so zealously encourage the use of it, that it was also afterwards in honour of her called the *Queen's Herb*.<sup>i</sup> Nor was the queen of *England* back-

Introduces the use of tobacco in *England*.

<sup>a</sup> While this *Sarmiento* was *Raleigh's* prisoner in *England*, they were one day surveying a map together, concerning which, *Sarmiento* told him a pleasant story of the *Painter's Wives Island*; which *Raleigh*, afterwards, ingeniously apply'd; where he compares the liberties of local and historical fiction, or such as geographers make, in filling up the blank spaces of their maps with lands of *pigmeys*, and rocks of load-stone; to those of historians, in repairing the broken accounts of *past ages*: yet concludes, with an encouraging difference, against the ignorant describers of remote places, in favour of liberal conjecture, to enlighten the obscurities of *antient times*. See the *history of the World*, lib. 2. cap. 23. sec. 4.

<sup>b</sup> See *John Evelyn's* account of the voyage to the *Azores* with two pinnaces belonging to *Sir Walter Raleigh*, &c. in 1586. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 2. part 2. fol. 120.

<sup>c</sup> Relation of the earl of *Cumberland's* voyage to the *South-Sea*, by Mr. *John Sarra-coll* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 769.

<sup>d</sup> *Annal. Reg. Eliz.* Anno 1585.

<sup>e</sup> Being at *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, soon after Mr. *Ralph Thoresby* the antiquary died, Anno 1725. I saw his *Museum*; and in it, among his other rarities, what himself has publickly call'd (in the catalogue thereof, annex'd to his *antiquities* of that town) *Sir Walter Raleigh's* tobacco box. From the best of my memory, I can resemble its

outward appearance to nothing more nearly than one of our modern *Muff-cases*; about the same height and width, cover'd with red leather, and open'd at top (but with a hinge, I think) like one of those. In the inside, there was a cavity for a receiver of glass or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular flay or collar, with holes in it, to plant the tobacco about, with six or eight pipes to smoke it in. This travelling box, with the *MSS. Medals* and other rarities in its company, descending to a young clergyman, the son of the deceased, was soon after reported to have been translated to *London*.

<sup>f</sup> *The British Apollo*, 3d edition, 1726. vol. 2. p. 376.

<sup>g</sup> *Tho. Forde's Finestra in Pectore*: a collection of familiar letters, 8vo. 1660. p. 81.

<sup>h</sup> *Winstanley's* historical rarities, 8vo. 1668.

<sup>i</sup> Jean Nicot *Maitre des Requetes, ambassadeur de France en Portugal*; d'où il apporta le premier à la reine *Catherine de Medicis*, la fameuse plante de *TABAC*; laquelle fut nommée d'abord *NICOTIANE*, de son nom; ensuite, *Herbe à la Reine*, à cause que *Catherine de Medicis* la mit en réputation dans le royaume, &c. Il est mort vers l'année 1559. Description de la ville de Paris, par *German Brice* Sept. Edit. Amst. 1718. Tom. 2. p. 120.



ward in listening to, and promoting the advantages it was promis'd to produce. We may gather from some authors, that she was very curious to know its virtues and properties; and that once conversing with *Raleigh* upon this subject, "he assured her majesty he had so well experienced the nature of it, that he could tell her of what weight even the smoke would be in any quantity propos'd to be consum'd. Her majesty fixing her thoughts upon the most impracticable part of the experiment, that of bounding the *smoke* in a *ballance*, suspected that he put the traveller upon her; and would needs lay him a wager he could not solve the doubt: so he procured a quantity agreed upon to be thoroughly smok'd; then went to weighing; but it was of the ashes; and in the conclusion, what was wanting in the prime weight of the tobacco, her majesty did not deny to have been evaporated in smoke; and further said, that many labourers in the fire she had heard of who turned their gold into smoke, but *Raleigh* was the first who had turned smoke into gold." <sup>a</sup> Whether those two queens did ever recommend the use of this herb by their own example, we are not certain; but it is evident, it soon became of such vogue in queen *Elizabeth's* court, that some of the great ladies, as well as noblemen therein, would not scruple to take a pipe sometimes very sociably; however, it was such an abomination to the refined palate of her *Scotch* successor, that he not only refused the use of it himself, but endeavoured to rob his crown of what has since proved one of its greatest revenues, <sup>b</sup> by restraining his subjects also from it. Indeed it is not to be wonder'd that such a philosopher, as could magnify the power of witches, after the manner he has done in one of his learned pamphlets, <sup>c</sup> should be such a politician as to discourage the taking of tobacco in another. <sup>d</sup> But those who have not admir'd at his prejudice in this attempt to dispel the fumes of that herb with greater of his own, if I may allude to the witty title of his performance without imputation of irreverence to his memory, may yet applaud his policy, in so far conducing to its suppression, as to exclude it from the body of his works, when this *Royal Pamphleteer* resolved to become an author in folio. As for the uses and virtues of this plant; since so many learned writers have given us whole books upon them, I shall only

<sup>a</sup> Apophthegms of the *English* nation MS. quarto, in *ter Collec. Rodnei Fane Armig.* and *James Howel* in his epistles, vol. 3. has a whole letter upon tobacco, where he mentions also in effect this story of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* wager with the queen.

<sup>b</sup> An author of experience has lately informed us; "That the benefit of this vegetable to *Great Britain* is prodigious, if we consider the short time since it was first introduced into *England* by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. 'Tis now become, says he, the staple of two of his majesty's colonies, inhabited by half a million of people; many of whom could hardly support themselves at home; yet there they live in great splendor and ease; having sumptuous buildings, rich equipages, slaves and other attendance. According to the exactest computation that has been made on this branch of our trade, about 430 sail of ships, with above 5000 seamen, have been employ'd in one year to bring over about 75,000 hogheads of tobacco from *Virginia* and *Maryland*; the freight of which, at 8 *l.* per ton (a medium in times of peace) amounts to 150,000 *l.* sterling; most of which sum centers among our selves, in the payment of sailors and tradesmen, who live by shipping; besides about 15 *s.* per hoghead custom-house fees, cooperage, lighterage, wharfage, portage, cartage, ware-house rent, brokerage, and other incident charges. 'Tis further calculated, that out of the said 75,000 hogheads imported, there are exported 46,000 hogheads, containing 720 *lb.* per hoghead, at four pence per pound on board; which amounts to 552,000 *l.* towards supporting the ballance of trade with foreign nations." The same author a little further observes, "as another great benefit arising from this vegetable, that the produce is laid out in our *British* manufactures, and exported to the *British* colonies; which in one year has amounted to 500,000 *l.* (and would be much more, if proper encouragement were given to manufacture it before exportation) therefore it may be justly said, that tobacco is become in few years one of the most valuable branches of trade belonging to *Great Britain*." Thus far Mr. *John Lacy*, tobacco-merchant, in his *observations on the nature, use and trade of tobacco*. Folio, one sheet, printed Mar. 1. 1733. Besides the advantage this vegetable is of to trade, a large revenue arises to the crown by custom-duties on tobacco. — I have seen several estimates of its gross and net produce, and also several estimates of what it might further produce, if put under a new regulation; but there being so much difference in the several calculations, that no certain judgment can, without much scrutiny and distinction, be formed from them; it may be thought sufficient here to ob-

serve, that I have seen an account, upon the veracity whereof I can depend, by which it appears, the money paid on this article of tobacco into his majesty's exchequer in the year 1731, was 175,277 *l.* 8 *s.* 10 *d.* and that a medium for seven years past to that time was 169,079 *l.* 0 *s.* 10 *d.*

<sup>c</sup> *Dæmonologie*: a discourse in three books, *Edinb.* cum privil. Reg. 4to. 1597. In the preface whereof, king *James* protests he did not publish this pamphlet for a shew of his learning and ingine, but to preassure thereby, as far as he can, to resolve the doubting hearts of many, both that such assaults of *Sathan* are most certainly practis'd, and that the instrumentes thereof merits most severely to be punished; against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age; whereof the one, called *Scot* an *Englishman*, is not ashamed in publick print to deny, that there can be such a thing as witchcraft; so mainteines the old error of the *Sadducees*, in denying of spirits: the other call'd *Wierus* a *German* physician, sets out a publick apology for all these *Craftes-folkes*; whereby procuring for their impunity, he plainly bewrayes himself to have been one of that profession." Then his majesty lays down the method he intends to follow, in speaking first, of magic and negromancy; secondly, of sorcery and witchcraft; lastly, of all kinds of spirits and spectres, that appears and troubles persons. His further affirmation of magicians raising suddenly all dainty dishes; bringing wine out of a wall; and making men unable for women; contains not yet the most remarkable passages in this crowned author; for if you would have a masterpiece of his royal scholarship in the mysteries of nature, turn to his chapter of the *Incubi* and *Succubi*; there you have *Rex Platonius* in perfection. But as many old womens notions as there are in this tract, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was at the pains of finding something he could approve in it, and generously honours its author before all others for the same, as may be seen by the very first quotation he makes, in the introduction to his *History of the World*.

<sup>d</sup> Entitled the *Counterblast to Tobacco*, 4to. without date. There is also extant K. *James's* warrant to the lord-treasurer *Dorset*, Anno 1604, for laying a good heavy imposition upon tobacco, that less quantity may be brought into the realm, and only sufficient for the better sort, who will use it with moderation for their health; wherefore he authorises the said treasurer to order, that from the 26th of *Octob.* ensuing, the proper officers should take, of all who import tobacco, the sum of six shillings and eight pence upon every pound weight, over and above the custom of two pence per pound, usually paid heretofore. *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. XVI. fol. 601.



here observe from the first author among us, who wrote thereof out of his own experience; immediately upon his return with the colony aforesaid from *Virginia*, where he had been employ'd by *Raleigh* to survey the country and describe its products; that the savages distinguished it by sowing it apart from all other vegetables, and held it of highest estimation in all their sacrifices by fire, water and air, either for thanksgiving to, or pacification of their gods. And as by sucking it through pipes of clay, they purged all gross humours from the head and stomach; opened all the pores and passages of the body; preserving it from obstructions, or breaking them, whereby they notably preserved health and knew not many grievous diseases where-with we in *England* are often afflicted: So “we ourselves, says he, during the time we were  
“there, used to suck it after their manner, as also since our return, and have found many  
“rare and wonderful experiments of its virtues, whereof the relation would require a volume  
“by it self, the use of which by so many men and women of great calling, as well as others,  
“and some learned physicians also, is sufficient witness.”<sup>a</sup>

THE learned author of this account, Mr. *Thomas Hariot*, a famous mathematician, of whom something more will be spoken hereafter, having further in the said discourse confuted the calumnies, which had been raised of this new discover'd country, by the idle, ignorant and avaritious part of the colony lately returned from it, and given a faithful relation of the merchantable commodities, with those fit for food or building, and an account of the natures of the people, in three parts, expresses himself towards the conclusion of the whole in this manner. “Seeing the air there is so temperate and wholesome; the soil so fertile, and yielding  
“such commodities, as I have before-mentioned; the voyage also to and fro sufficiently ex-  
“perienced to be performed twice a year with ease, and at any season; and the dealings of  
“Sir *Walter Raleigh* so liberal in large giving and granting lands there, as is already known,  
“with many helps and furtherances else; the least that he hath granted, having been five hun-  
“dred acres to a man only for the adventure of his person: I hope there remains no cause  
“whereby the action should be disliked.”<sup>b</sup>

His encour-  
agement to  
planters.

THERE are many other publick testimonies in recommendation of this enterprise, especially of *Raleigh's* discreet orders or instructions to these first undertakers, as well as some complaints that his said directions were not always punctually followed; and I remember to have met with a scarce old tract in the *Lambeth* library, written by a learned and ingenious author of those times, wherein, according to his brief and volatile way, skimming over the characters of many eminent contemporaries, he mentions Sir *Walter Raleigh's* political government of *Virginia*.<sup>c</sup> But where to come at those particular laws or instructions now, I know not, tho' they seem to have been in the possession of Sir *Francis Walsingham* (a great encourager of these plantations.) For I find a bundle entitled, matters relating to Sir *Walter Raleigh's* voyages, mentioned in the inventory of that secretary's *state-papers* relating to the navy, about this time.<sup>d</sup> But the author, who this year dedicates his *Irish* history to *Raleigh*, has in general terms, both largely commended his proceedings in that discovery, and inform'd us of others, who have done the like. For having mentioned the ill success wherewith his first maritime adventures were attended, as a matter sufficient to have dismay'd a man of common resolution from the like attempts for the future; he adds: “Yet you, more respecting the good ends whereunto  
“you levelled your line for the good of your country, did not give over till you had re-  
“covered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your own *English* nation in  
“*Virginia*, the first *English* colony that was ever planted there; not a little to the deroga-  
“tion of the *Spaniards* glory and impeachment to their vaunts, who, because, with all cruel  
“immanity, they subdued a naked and yielding people, whom they sought for gain, and not  
“for religion or the plantation of a common-wealth, over whom, to satisfy their insatiable  
“covetousness, they did most cruelly tyrannize, and against the course of all human nature scorch  
“and roast them to death, as by their own histories doth appear. These, I say, do brag and  
“vaunt, that they only have drawn strange nations and unknown people to the obedience of  
“their kings, to the knowledge of Christianity, and to the enriching of their country; and  
“thereby claim the honour to themselves alone. But if these your actions were well looked  
“into and with due consideration, it shall be found much more honourable in sundry respects  
“for the advancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the  
“common-wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gain and reduce, in all  
“christian-like manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospel and a true christian

<sup>a</sup> A brief and true report of the new-found land of *Virginia*, &c. written by *Thomas Hariot* servant to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a member of the colony, and there employ'd in discovering a full twelve-month. *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 271.  
<sup>b</sup> Mr. *Hariot's* report of the new-found land in *Virgi-*

*nia*, as before. p. 280.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. *Gabriel Harvey's* *Pierce's* Supererogation, &c. 4to. 1593.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Francis Walsingham's* Table-book, MS. 8vo. p. 44.



“ religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable service before God ? And what can be more honourable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms, without injury, wrong and bloodshed, and to frame them from a savage life to a civil government, neither of which the *Spaniards* in their conquests have performed ? And what can be more beneficial to a common-wealth, than to have a nation and a kingdom to transfer unto, the superfluous multitude of fruitless and idle people ( here, at home, daily increasing) to travel, conquer, and manure another land, which, by the due intercourses to be devised, may and will yield infinite commodities ? And how well you do deserve every way, in following so honourable a course, not we our selves only can witness, but strange nations also do honour you for the same ; as doth appear by the epistle of *Bassimerus* of *France* to the history of *Florida*, and by *Julius Cæsar* a citizen of *Rome*, in his epistle to his book, intitled *Columbeados*. ” <sup>a</sup> To this we may here add the testimony of *Camden* ; who, speaking of this undertaking of *Virginia*, at the return of the last colony sent thither by Sir *W. Raleigh*, says, *He was a man never to be sufficiently commended for the great pains he took in discovering remote countries, and advancing the glory of the English navigation.* <sup>b</sup>

A patron of  
learned and  
ingenious  
men.

THAT *Bassimerus*, as *Hooker* calls him, was the learned *Martine Bassaniere* of *Paris*, as I find elsewhere, with whom *Richard Hakluyt*, the worthy collector of our naval adventures, being acquainted, and having procured a very valuable history in manuscript of the first discovery of *Florida* about twenty years before this time, by *Rene Laudonniere* and three other *French* captains, he sent it over to that *Monsieur Bassaniere*, who published it from the said *French* copy, this year <sup>c</sup> at *Paris*, and dedicated it as aforesaid to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who, as appears above, is therein celebrated, for I have not yet seen, tho’ I have been promised, that original *French* edition. But it was translated into *English* the year following by *Richard Hakluyt* himself, who also dedicates it anew to the same patron : and indeed we find *Raleigh* from this time a very considerable patron of learned and ingenious authors, not only in *history* and *geography*, but *antiquities*, *chymistry*, *poetry*, and other polite branches of art and science ; some further instances whereof will occasionally arise as we proceed. And even here we may mention something of his encouragement in *painting* ; for admiral *Coligny* having sent over with the aforesaid discoverers of *Florida*, a very skilful artist from *France*, to take draughts of whatever he found observable and worthy of representation in the said country ; which he did, not only among the animal and vegetable rarities thereof, but also, it seems, from the customs of the natives and historical events among the discoverers themselves : this painter living afterwards in *London*, at, or before the publication of those discoveries ; was supported by *Raleigh* in the great expence of publishing also his draughts and descriptions. For *Hakluyt*, among other reasons for not particularizing the commodities of those parts ; the accidents of the *Frenchmen’s* government therein ; the causes of their good and bad success ; with the surprises made by their enemies, tells *Raleigh* he does not reckon them up again ; “ the rather, because the same, with divers other things of chiefest importance, are lively drawn in colours at your no small charges, by the skilful painter *James Morgues* sometime living in *Black-Fryars, London*, whom *Monsieur Chastillon*, then admiral of *France*, sent thither (to *Florida*) with *Laudonniere* for that purpose, which ( painter) was an eye-witness of the goodness and fertility of those regions, and hath put down in writing many singularities, which are not mentioned in this treatise ; and which he hath since published together with the portraitures. ” <sup>d</sup> Hereunto we may further add, that there was about this time also another book dedicated to *Raleigh*, in praise of *musick*, wherein, besides the antiquity and dignity thereof, is declared the sober and lawful use of the same in the congregation and church of God. <sup>e</sup> It was written by an *Oxonian* then lately deceased, who is not named, and published by the university printer, who subscribing his own name *Joseph Barnes* to the said dedication, has made it pass among our auctioneers, and other superficial inspectors, for a treatise of the said printer’s writing. I apprehend, there was a greater propriety in the publisher’s choice of this patron to that work, than is now commonly known ; for I have somewhere met with hints, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was a great proficient in *musick*, either vocal, instrumental, or both ; whence we might be

<sup>a</sup> *Hooker’s* Epist. dedic. to Sir *W. Raleigh*.

<sup>b</sup> *Nunquam satis laudato studio remotas regiones detegendi, Et navalem Angliæ gloriam promovendi. Ann. Reg. Eliz. Anno 1585.*

<sup>c</sup> So *Hakluyt* himself in the first edition of his voyages, 1589. fol. 543. Yet in the preface to his second volume printed fol. 1599, he says ‘twas in the year 1587, that he caused that history of *Florida* to be published in *France* ;

which must be a mistake, because *Hooker* mentions its being published in his dedication dated the year before.

<sup>d</sup> *Hakluyt’s* dedication to Sir *Walter Raleigh* of the said history of *Florida*, by him translated and inserted among his collection of voyages. vol. 3. fol. 301.

<sup>e</sup> The praise of *musick*, &c. printed in the old *English* character, 8vo. 1586.

somewhat



somewhat induted to construe some lines of *Spenser's* concerning him, hereafter quoted, in the literal sense.

NOR among learned and ingenious men only was *Raleigh* now in great esteem; but he flourished at this time also highly in the queen's favour, as *Camden*, where he speaks of the foregoing colony, has informed us. And about this time it was, her majesty conferred upon him some preferments; but of honour more than profit perhaps to him: for *Hooker* in the dedication aforesaid of his *Irish* history, dated the 12th of *October* this year, supercribes it to the right worthy and honourable gentleman, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knt. *Seneschal*<sup>a</sup> of the dutchies of *Cornwall* and *Exeter*, and lord-warden of the *stannaries*<sup>b</sup> in *Devon* and *Cornwall*. To these dignities I presume he was then but newly advanced, because the said historian in the body of the dedication begs leave to remember "how it hath pleased God to bring you, says he, into "the favour of your prince and sovereign; who, besides her great favour towards you many "ways, hath also laid upon you the charge of a government in your own country; where "you are to command many people by your honourable office of the stannary, and where "you are both a judge and a chancellor to rule in justice and to judge in equity. — Be "therefore careful to be reported well of for your upright dealings both herein and in all your "other actions. Be a patron of virtue and an example of true nobility, which hath her "foundation upon virtue; for, as the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate* "virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, non caro nec sanguis. — Your ancestors were men of great no- "bility; beneficial to their princes and country many ways: and, as in nature you are def- "cended from them; so it hath pleased God to bless you with *knowledge in learning*, with "skill of warlike service, and experience in maritimal causes; and besides hath placed you "among the nobles, and in the good grace and favour of your prince."

Made *Seneschal* of *Cornwall* and *Exeter*, and *Lord-warden* of the *stannaries*.

How *Raleigh* used this favour, and what usage it also procured him, the same dedication does somewhat further reveal in these words. "It is well known, that it had been no less "easy for you, than for such as have been advanced by kings, to have builded great houses, "purchased large circuits, and to have used the fruits of princes favours, as most men in all "former and present ages have done; had you not preferred the general honour and com- "modity of your prince and country before all that is private: whereby you have been rather "a servant than a commander to your own fortune. And no doubt, the cause being so good, "and the attempt so honourable, but that God will increase your talent and bless your do- "ings, and every good man will commend and further the same. And albeit the more no- "ble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more adversaries he shall have to deprave and "hinder the same; yet I am persuaded, as no good man shall have just cause, so there is none "so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so envious of his country's honour, nor so bent "against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthy an enterprise. "And that so much the sooner, because you have endured so many crosses, and have, through "so many envyings and misfortunes, persevered in your attempts; which no doubt shall, at "last, by you be performed, when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of "so worthy a work."

Envy'd.

Thus *Hooker* hints at the cause of these envyings; but from whom they should proceed it does not manifestly appear. The earl of *Essex* had now been near a twelve-month abroad, under his father-in-law, *Leicester*, governor of the *Netherlands*; was but nineteen years of age when he went over, being his first engagement in any publick action, yet no less than a general of the horse; and before that, as himself says, "he had small grace, and few friends "at court." <sup>d</sup> So that it must be now after their return, <sup>e</sup> that *Leicester* set him up a competitor

<sup>a</sup> Of the antient office of *Seneschal*, see *le grand coutumier du pays & duché de Normandie*, fol. Paris 1523, and an extract thereof concerning this office in a scarce tract reviv'd in Mr. *Morgan's Phoenix Britannicus*, vol. 1. 4to. 1731. p. 408.

<sup>b</sup> Of the institution of the *Lord-warden*, and his jurisdiction, see *Camden* and *Carew* in their accounts of *Cornwall*; also *Plowden's* commentaries, fol. 327. And *Pearce's* laws and customs of the stannaries, folio 1725. There is in being an old manuscript list of the officers in queen *Elizabeth's* time and their fees; in which I find that, as officer of the coynage of tin, and steward of the stannaries in the dutchy of *Cornwall*, Sir *Walter Raleigh's* fee was 53 l. 6 s. 8 d. Cotton. Libr. Titus B. III.

<sup>c</sup> *Hooker's* dedication to Sir *Walter Raleigh* aforesaid.

<sup>d</sup> See an *Apologie* of the earl of *Essex* against those, which false and maliciously take him to be the only

hindrance of the peace and quiet of his countrie: penn'd by himself, Anno 1598. To Mr. *Anthony Bacon*. And printed in 4to, 1603. Also (from the original MS. as pretended) by the title of the earl of *Essex's* vindication of the war with *Spain*, &c. in 8vo. 1729. p. 6.

<sup>e</sup> On the 8th of *December* 1585, the earl of *Leicester* and his train, with an army of about 5000 men, set out from *Harwich* in 50 sail of ships to his government of the *Netherlands*, and it was committed as absolutely to him, as it had been to the emperor *Charles V.* But at last the *Hollanders* growing jealous of his authority, and complaining of certain innovations, factions and treacherous commanders under him, he was recalled, and returned to *London* the 23d of *November* this following year (soon after the corpse of his much lamented nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*) not without leaving behind a printed vindication of himself in *Dutch*, now scarce to be found; and striking



Slander'd.

In parliament.

In a committee for the regulation of the clergy.

The fourth voyage to Virginia.

petitor against *Raleigh*, as we are before informed out of *Sir Henry Wotton*. But *Leicester*, as great as his power was, could no more bridle the licentious reflections of the populace than *Raleigh*; an instance whereof we have from some antient authority it seems, tho' in a modern author, who speaking of "*Tarleton*, the best comedian of these times in *England*, tells us, "that when a pleasant play he had made was acting before her majesty, he pointed at *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and said, *See the knave commands the queen*; for which she corrected him "with a frown: yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much and too intolerable "a power; and going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the over-great power and "riches of the earl of *Leicester*; which was so universally applauded by all who were present, that she thought fit at that time to bear these reflections with a seeming unconcernedness; but yet was so offended, that she forbade *Tarleton* and all her jesters from coming "near her table, being inwardly displeased with this impudent and unreasonable liberty." " *Raleigh* seems to have little regarded these aspersions, but constantly attended his publick charge and employments, whether in town or country as occasion called him. Accordingly we find him the latter end of this year in parliament, where, among other weighty concerns, the fate of *Mary* queen of *Scots* was determined. There is nothing particular upon record in the journals of the house of commons of *Raleigh's* opinion in this matter, nor indeed any debates upon the sentence that had been pronounced against that queen. For on the 12th of *November*, a petition agreed upon in both houses was presented to queen *Elizabeth*, by the speaker *Puckering*, the privy-council, and a body of the commons, joyned with the lord-chancellor *Bromley* and twenty other temporal lords, for the speedy execution of the said queen of *Scots*, in consideration of the treasonable and rebellious practices wherewith she had been proved to endanger this realm and its ruler. The said petition was immediately printed, <sup>b</sup> and that queen in less than three months after executed. <sup>c</sup> The clerk of the parliament's place being supplied at this time by a kinsman, inexpert in the rules and methods of the house; we find nothing more recorded of *Raleigh* this session, which was dissolved on the 23d of *March*, than that he was appointed one of the committee to confer upon the amendment of some things, whereunto the clergy were required to be sworn, and that some good course might be taken to have a learned ministry; for the queen had in her speech at the close of the last session told the bishops of some faults and negligences, "which if you, my lords of the clergy, said she, do not amend, I mean to depose you." <sup>d</sup>

Now *Raleigh*, resolving to persevere in planting his country of *Virginia*, prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men to be sent thither, under the charge of Mr. *John White*, whom he appointed governor, and with him twelve assistants, to whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of the governor and assistants of the city of *Raleigh* in *Virginia*. Their fleet, consisting of three sail, departed from *Portsmouth* on the 26th of *April*, 1587, and in less than three months following arrived safe at *Hatorask*, from whence they went to the isle of *Roanoke* to look for the fifteen men left there by *Sir Richard Grenvill* the year before, meaning from thence to pass to the bay of *Chesepiock*, where they intended to make their seat and fort, according to the charge given them, among other directions, under the hand of *Sir Walter Raleigh*. But they sought their companions in vain, and when they came to the north-part of the island where governor *Lane* had built his fort, they found it razed, and the ground-rooms of the dwelling-houses, which had been also erected about it, inhabited by deer, and over-grown with melons, or such like sort of fruit, which those animals brooz'd upon. At *Croatoan* they were very well received and entertained by the natives, thro' the means of *Manteo* their country-man. Of these they learnt, that the *Englishmen* they were seeking, had been treacherously set upon by a party of the savages, who wounded some of

ing a medal, representing his own head on one side, and seven unguarded straggling sheep on the other. The author of a brief discourse of Dr. *Allen's* seditious drifts, &c. 4to. 1588. p. 46. endeavours to clear the earl's conduct in that government against the said doctor; as *E. Cliffe*, in his breviare of *Holland's* deliverance and ingratitude to the crown of *England* and the house of *Nassau*, 4to. 1665. p. 55. does against *Vander Sande* and *Hugo Grotius*; especially the latter, who insinuates, as if the earl, who died within two years following, was poisoned by his wife, because she soon after married again. I have read, this earl's effects were then seized upon by the crown for debt, and heard that an inventory of them is in the possession of *Sir John Evelyn*, Bart.

<sup>a</sup> The character of queen *Elizabeth* by *Edmund Bohun*, Esq; Oct. 1693. p. 353.

<sup>b</sup> See the copy of a letter to the earl of *Leicester*, and

the parliament's petitions to queen *Elizabeth* to put *Mary* queen of *Scots* to death. London, imprinted by *Christopher Barker*, the queen's printer, 4to. 1586.

<sup>c</sup> The imperfections wherewith *Camden* was obliged in king *James's* reign to publish that part of queen *Elizabeth's* annals, relating to the queen of *Scots*, have occasioned some voluminous publications of the memorials to be found on both sides of her character; on one side, about sixteen tracts in *Latin*, *French*, &c. chiefly by *Roman* catholicks, were collected by a late bookseller, and published by Dr. *Samuel Jebb*, 2 vols. folio, 1725. And on the other, a collection of original papers and scarce printed pieces; by *James Anderson*, Esq; in 4 vols. 4to. 1728.

<sup>d</sup> *Sir Simon D'Eaves's* Journal of parliaments, fol. 1708. p. 413 and 328.

them.



them, and drove the rest to some remote and obscure parts of the country. On the thirteenth of *August*, their friend *Manteo* was, according to the commands they had received of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, christened in *Roanoke*, and called lord thereof, and of *Dasamonguepeuk*, in reward of his faithful services. Three days after, the governor's daughter *Eleanor*, wife of *Ananias Dare*, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in *Roanoke*, and the infant was christened there the *Sunday* following, who, because she was the first *Creolian* or Christian born in that country, was baptized by the name of *Virginia*. Now having re-established their interest and alliance with the natives, as far as this short interview would permit, and delivered their ships of the provisions for the colony, the planters began to consider, they should be in want of fresh supplies; therefore upon some difference about choosing a factor to return for that purpose into *England*, they unanimously petitioned the governor to return himself, to which he at last consented, and the ships with some few of the company arrived in *England*, not without storms, sickness, and the death of several of them by other like casualties, about the latter end of the same year. <sup>a</sup>

It was but five days after the going forth of this second colony, that Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* dedicated his translation of the voyages to *Florida*, before-mentioned, to the right honourable Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as he styles him, captain of her majesty's guard, lord-warden of the stannaries, and her highness's lieutenant-general of the county of *Cornwall*. In this dedication it will somewhat appear, that neither the returns, which might have been made by any merchantable products in *Virginia*, nor the profits arising to him from any *Spanish* prizes, which had been taken at sea, were equivalent to the great expences he had been at, in settling this plantation; and further, that he had received no particular or private assistance in this enterprise from the queen, because his hopes therein, and her majesty's regard thereof, are so handsomely excited by the said author: but take his own words. "These four voyages  
 " (says he) I knew not to whom I might better offer than to your self, for divers just considerations: first, for that they were dedicated to you in *French*: secondly, because now  
 " four times also you have attempted the like upon the self-same coast near adjoining:  
 " thirdly, in that you have pierced as far up into the main, and discovered no less secrets  
 " in the parts of your abode, than the *French* did in the places of their inhabiting: lastly,  
 " considering you are now also ready (upon the late return of captain *Stafford*, and good  
 " news which he brought you of the safe arrival of your last colony in their wished haven)  
 " to prosecute this action more thoroughly than ever. And here to speak somewhat of this  
 " your enterprize, I affirm, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will  
 " prove far more beneficial in divers respects to this our realm, than the world, yea many  
 " of the wiser sort have, hitherto imagined. The particular commodities thereof are well  
 " known to your self and some few others, and are faithfully and with great judgment committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, who remained there  
 " about a twelve-month with your worshipful lieutenant Mr. *Ralph Lane*, in the diligent  
 " search of the secrets of those countries. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of  
 " your action, tho' I wote well it would demand a prince's purse to have it thoroughly followed without lingering: yet I am of opinion, that you shall draw the same, before it be  
 " long, to be profitable and gainful, as well to those of our nation there remaining, as to the  
 " merchants of *England*, that shall trade hereafter thither; partly by certain secret commodities already discovered by your servants, and partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in  
 " those large and ample regions, and planting such things in that warm climate as will best  
 " prosper there, and our realm standeth most in need of: and this I find to have been the  
 " course which both the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* took, in the beginnings of their discoveries  
 " and conquests. <sup>b</sup> And, if our men will follow their steps by your wise directions, I doubt  
 " not, but in due time they shall reap no less benefit. Moreover, there is no other likeli-

Captain of the queen's guard and lieutenant-general of *Cornwall*.

<sup>a</sup> See the fourth voyage to *Virginia* in 1587. which transported the second colony; in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 208, and, at the end of the said voyage, fol. 287, a list of the men, women and children in the said colony, who remain'd in *Virginia* this year. Among whom governor *White*, and the pilot *Simon Ferdinando* are mentioned, but erroneously; for it appears in the narrative of that voyage, they both returned.

<sup>b</sup> Here this author illustrates his address by these examples; "The *Spaniards* at their first entrance (says he) into *Hispaniola*, found neither sugar-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattle; but finding the place fit for pasture, they sent kine and bulls, and sundry other profitable beasts thither, and transported

" the plants of sugar-canes, and set the roots of ginger;  
 " the hides of which oxen, with the sugar and ginger,  
 " are now the chief merchandize of that island. 'The  
 " *Portugals* also at their first footing in *Madera*, as *John  
 " Barros* writes in his first *Decade*, found nothing there  
 " but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called  
 " the island by that name: howbeit, the climate being favourable, they enriched it by their own industry, with  
 " the best wines and sugars in the world. 'The like  
 " manner of proceeding they used in the isles of the  
 " *Azores*, by sowing therein great quantity of wood.  
 " So they dealt in *St. Thomas* under the *Equinoctial*; and  
 " in *Brazil*, and in sundry other places.



“ hood, but that her majesty, who hath christned and given the name to your *Virginia*, if  
 “ need require, will deal after the manner of honourable god-mothers, which seeing their  
 “ gossip not fully able to bring up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their  
 “ honest education, the rather if they find any towardliness or reasonable hopes of goodness in  
 “ them.

“ AND if *Elizabeth*, queen of *Castile* and *Aragon*, after her husband *Ferdinando* and  
 “ she had emptied their coffers in subduing the kingdom of *Granada*, was nevertheless so  
 “ zealous of God’s honour, that she laid part of her own jewels, which she had in great ac-  
 “ count, to gage, to furnish *Columbus* forth upon his first voyage, before a foot of land in all  
 “ the *West-Indies* was discovered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gra-  
 “ cious prince *Elizabeth* of *England*, into whose lap the Lord has so plentifully thrown his  
 “ treasures? What may we, I say, hope of her forwardness and bounty, in advancing this  
 “ your most honourable enterprise, being far more certain than that of *Columbus*, at that time  
 “ especially, and tending no less to the glory of God than that of the *Spaniards*? ”  
 Then a little further: “ Sundry men entering into these discoveries, propose unto themselves  
 “ several ends; some seek authority and places of command; others experience by seeing of  
 “ the world; the most part, worldly and transitory gain, and that oftentimes by dishonest  
 “ and unlawful means; the fewest number, the glory of God, and the saving of the souls of  
 “ the poor and blinded infidels: yet because divers honest and well-disposed persons are en-  
 “ tered already into this your business, and that I know you mean hereafter to send some  
 “ such good church-men thither, as may truly say, with the apostle, to the savages, *we seek*  
 “ *not yours, but you*, I conceive great comfort of the success of this your action; hoping,  
 “ that the Lord, whose power is wont to be perfected in weakness, will bless the feeble foun-  
 “ dations of your building: only be you of a valiant courage, and faint not, as the Lord  
 “ said to *Joshua*, exhorting him to proceed in the conquest of the land of promise; and re-  
 “ member, that private men have happily weilded and waded through as great enterprises as  
 “ this, with lesser means than those, which God in his mercy hath bountifully bestowed up-  
 “ on you, to the singular good, as I assure my self, of this our common-wealth, wherein  
 “ you live: hereof there are examples domestical and foreign.<sup>a</sup> — But if the greatness of  
 “ the main of *Virginia*, especially to the west, should make you think the subduing of it a  
 “ matter of more difficulty than the conquest of *Ireland* (by *Strongbow*;) first, I answer, that  
 “ as the late experience of that skilful pilot, captain *John Davis*, to the north-west, towards  
 “ which his discovery your self has thrice contributed with the forwardest, hath shewed a  
 “ great part to be main-sea, where before it was thought main-land. So for my part, I am  
 “ fully persuaded by *Ortelius* his late reformation of *Calvacan* and the gulph of *California*,  
 “ that the land on the back-part of *Virginia*, extends nothing so far west-ward as is put down  
 “ in the maps of those parts. Moreover, it is not to be deny’d, that one hundred men will  
 “ do more now among the naked and unarmed people in *Virginia* than one thousand were  
 “ able then to do in *Ireland*, against that armed and warlike nation in those days. I say fur-  
 “ ther, that these two last years experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare ten thou-  
 “ sand able men, without any miss. — Seeing therefore we are so far from want of people,  
 “ that retiring daily home out of the *Low-countries*, they go idle up and down in swarms  
 “ for lack of honest entertainments; I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better  
 “ sort, than in the inward parts of *Virginia*, against such stubborn savages as shall re-  
 “ fuse obedience to her majesty. And doubtless many of our men will be glad and fain to  
 “ accept this condition, when by reading this present treatise, they shall understand the fertili-  
 “ ty and riches of the regions confining so near upon yours, the great commodities and  
 “ goodness whereof you have been contented to suffer to come to light. In the mean season,  
 “ I humbly commend my self and this my translation to you; and your self, with all those  
 “ who have undertaken this enterprise in hand, to the grace and good blessing of the Al-  
 “ mighty; which is able to build further, and finish the good work, which in these our days  
 “ he hath begun by your most christian and charitable endeavour. ” Such were the praises of  
 this discovery, and exhortations to proceed in it, that were publickly paid to Sir *Walter Raleigh*

<sup>a</sup> As the same author had before incited queen *Eliza-  
 beth*, to support this chargeable enterprise, by example;  
 so here he encourages Sir *Walter Raleigh* to proceed in it  
 by the like means, in these words, “ Remember, I pray  
 “ you, what you find in the beginning of the chronicle  
 “ of *Ireland*, newly dedicated unto your self. Read  
 “ you not, that *Richard Strongbow*, the decayed earl of  
 “ *Clifmore*, passed over thither in the year 1171; and,  
 “ accompanied only with certain private friends, had in  
 “ short space such prosperous success, that he opened the  
 “ way for king *Henry II.* to the speedy subjection of all

“ that warlike nation to this crown of *England*? The  
 “ like conquest of *Brazilia*, and the annexing thereof to  
 “ the kingdom of *Portugal*, was first begun by mean  
 “ and private men; as *Don Antonio de Castillio*, ambassa-  
 “ dor here for that realm, and by office, keeper of all  
 “ the records and monuments of their discoveries, af-  
 “ firmed me in this city, *Anno 1581.* ” These examples,  
 as not directly necessary to the history of my subject,  
 are thus subjoin’d, because they illustrate the arguments  
 of my author.



at this his setting out the fourth voyage to *Virginia*, by those who wish'd it might contribute no less to the improvement of his fortune, than it did to the advancement of his glory.

BUT the ships, in which this second colony was transported, had not been many days returned into *England*, before we find *Raleigh's* thoughts diverted, for a while, from planting in a foreign country, and engaged upon schemes of displanting rather those powerful enemies who were preparing to root themselves in his own. For the rumour grew stronger every day of such a mighty fleet threatening us, as if all *Spain* and *Rome* were to land upon our little island, and over-run the whole kingdom. The queen and her privy-council therefore no longer delay'd all proper means for the defence of the realm; but out of all her commanders by land and sea appointed those of most approved abilities in naval and military affairs, as well as of the greatest authority in their respective counties, to hold consultations for the security of her person, her people, and their possessions. And as there were such consultations distinctly held by the most ancient and experienc'd commanders at sea; so we find by the like appointment a council of war also held on the 27th of *November* this year by others of highest repute for their knowledge how to put the forces of the realm in the best order, to withstand any invasion by land. For this purpose were chosen the lord *Grey*<sup>a</sup>, Sir *Francis Knolles*<sup>b</sup>, Sir *Thomas Leighton*<sup>c</sup>, Sir *Walter Raleigh*<sup>d</sup>, for I recite, as I find them written, Sir *John Norris*<sup>e</sup>, Sir *Richard Grenvill*<sup>f</sup>, Sir *Richard Bingham*<sup>g</sup>, Sir *Roger Williams*<sup>h</sup>, and *Ralph Lane* Esq;<sup>i</sup> Of their determinations in this important council I shall here present an abstract, from a manuscript drawn up perhaps by Sir *Walter Raleigh* himself; the said draught being annex'd to another manuscript now before me, which was apparently of his composing.<sup>k</sup>

In the national Council of war.

THEY first number'd up the places most suspected for the army from *Spain*, and also those most convenient for that in *Flanders*, to land at: then concluded how many of those places were to be put in defence to hinder their landing. And first they took notice of *Milford*; which tho' they did not suspect would be preferr'd for the barrenness of the country, yet in regard to the goodness of the haven, they thought it convenient there should be a trained number of two thousand foot and five hundred horse in readiness; and that in want of horse-men, the gentlemen and their servants were to supply the deficiency. But *Plymouth* they thought the most likely place; because it was improbable the king of *Spain* would venture his fleet too far within the sleeve, before he had master'd some good harbour; of which *Plymouth* is nearest to *Spain*, soonest fortified, and most convenient to be succour'd either from *Spain* or *France*. *Portland* they also thought a tempting place, having a large harbour and good landing. The *Isle of Wight* they consider'd as a strong retreat, if won, and the country adjoining champion; where the enemy might march his whole army. And why they thought the *Downs*, *Margate*, and the *Thames*, fit landing-places, was in regard to the easiness of landing; and being nearest the prince of *Parma*, in whose forces the king of *Spain* reposed special trust. Then they consulted whether these places were to be strengthened by fortification, or assembly of the people, or both; and concluded, that for *Plymouth*, there should be both; and that the five thousand trained men in *Devon* and *Cornwal*, besides the *Stannaries*, were to be assembled for *Plymouth*, standing equal to both counties: of this number, instead of muster-days, chargeable and of little effect, two thousand should be assembled in *Plymouth*, under the general to be appointed over the western army, that they might know their leaders, be acquainted with watch and ward, and so instructed, that on a sudden there might be no confusion; and this to be half at the charge of her majesty, and half on the country, if the country charge surmounted not the ordinary trainings. *Portland* also was to be arm'd both by fortification and assembly; for the

<sup>a</sup> Late deputy of *Ireland*, and now lord-lieutenant of the county of *Bucks*, knight of the garter, and an excellent soldier, says *Camden*; at least cool in council, tho' hot in action.

<sup>b</sup> Knight of the garter, treasurer of the queen's household, and privy-counsellor, a prudent and learned man, trained in military affairs; and perhaps now governor of the *Isle of Wight*, whereof he writ a *General Survey*, tho' it was never printed.

<sup>c</sup> Governor of the *Isle of Guernsey*, well vers'd in matters of state, as well as the army; sent into *France* afterwards in 1591, of special trust, to advise the earl of *Essex* in his actions there; and author of *Les Loix, coutumes, & usages de l'Isle de Guernsey, différentes du coutumier de Normandie, d'antiquité observées en ladite Isle*. A fair written copy whereof, in eight sheets *Folio*, is in the *Harleian* library.

<sup>d</sup> Lieutenant-general of *Cornwal*, &c. as before.

<sup>e</sup> Train'd in the wars of *France*, general in *Friesland*, and the *Low-countries*, now president of *Munster* in *Ireland*, and the year following lord-marshal of the field in *England*.

<sup>f</sup> Vice-admiral, I think, in the west, before-mention'd; and of whose valour we shall hear more hereafter.

<sup>g</sup> A *Dorsetshire* man, famous in the wars of *France*, *Scotland*, and the *Isle of Candie*; late president of *Connaugh*, and a brave commander in the wars of *Ireland*, where he afterwards died governor of *Leinster*.

<sup>h</sup> A valiant and experienc'd commander in the *French* and *Belgick* wars, of whom further mention will be made in the course of this history.

<sup>i</sup> Late governor of *Virginia*, as before observ'd; afterwards knighted, and prefer'd to some considerable post in the navy or the treasury; a man able either to give counsel in warlike affairs, or put it in execution; was author, besides his discourses on *Virginia*, of several military memorials in letters to the lord-treasurer and others; particularly one, on the use to be made of *Don Antonio* against *Spain*; another, about encamping of soldiers, and inconvenience of quartering them in towns, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Entitled, A Discourse on the present Consultation, touching the peace with *Spain*, and retaining of the Netherlands in society and protection. Which manuscript will be further spoken of in a more convenient part of this work.



two thousand seven hundred trained men in *Dorsetshire* and *Wiltshire* were to be assembled for that place; and two thousand of them to be exercised as before, in some part of *Wiltshire*, appointed for the *Isle of Wight*, to take *Somersetshire* in, which are two thousand foot. At *Sandwich* and the *Downs* by assembly. In *Kent* and *Sussex*, the four thousand five hundred trained men to be assembled for defence there; and two thousand of them to be exercised at *Sandwich*, as before. The like order to be taken for *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. Their further meaning was, that these garrisons should remain but for twenty days, to be thoroughly train'd, and acquainted with encamping. Then every such two thousand men in garrison thus disciplin'd, should give example to a great army of raw men, so prevent confusion on a sudden. Further, that twenty captains should be appointed to every such two thousand men; which captains having each of them a hundred trained men, should receive under them when the army assembled a hundred more; so as in effect there would be four thousand men in order, and under martial discipline. Half these captains were to be chosen by the general of the army, the rest to be from the principal gentry of the country; under whom were soldiers to be appointed for their lieutenants. And the same order to be observ'd in all other places of garrison. Then they consider'd on *the course to be taken for fighting the enemy, if by force he should land*; and this they agreed must be left to the discretion of the general; only advised, if they could not prevent his landing and marching forward, that the country be driven, so as no victuals remain to the invaders, and that they be kept waking with perpetual alarms; but in no wise to venture battle, till divers lieutenants were assembled to make a strong army, as before specified; except upon special advantages. Further, that in those provinces where there are many lieutenants, some one to be appointed chief leader, that there be no straining of courtesy among one another, and giving thereby advantage to the enemy; but that every lieutenant's authority shall only extend to the command of his own company, as colonel of that regiment, and be commanded by the lieutenants-general: as in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, there being ten lieutenants; whereby it shall be known who shall command in either, as need shall require. Next they consider'd *what proportion of men must be prepared for this end*. Here supposing the enemy landed at *Plymouth*, they computed that the six thousand armed and furnished in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, with the assistance of those in *Wiltshire*, *Dorset* and *Somersetshire*, would make a sufficient army, strengthened with the gentlemen, their retinue, and others of the neighbouring counties, to be incorporated, tho' not so compleatly armed; and if by resistance, or contrary weather, the enemy pass over *Plymouth*, and land at *Portland*; then the army of the west shall repair to them. If the invasion happen upon *Kent*, or other part to the west of the *Thames*, then the midland-shires directed to assist the west, may turn to the east along the coast. If the army in *Flanders* land to the east of the *Thames*, the same order to be taken with *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Sussex*, and the city of *London*. And because special regard was to be had to her majesty's person, an army should be provided, and commanded under counties reserved for that end, to join the forces of *London* and others, to be armed out of her majesty's stores. Further, for the increase of footmen wanting armour, among one fourth of the able unarmed men, eighty should be pikes, and twenty bill-men, and those weapons speedily to be provided, they being furnished by the realm. And for the increase of pike-men in this scarcity of armour, that the bill-men be converted into pike-men, and that able bill-men unarm'd should be levied in their places; because the ranks of bill-men in order to battle are always environ'd with pike-men; for the bill-men serve specially for execution, if the enemy be overthrown: only a few armed bill-men or halberdiers reserved to guard the ranks wherein the ensigns, drums, &c. are plac'd. And because, on a sudden invasion, 'twill be too late to provide necessities; store of ordinance, munition, and all other furniture, to be forthwith provided and sent to the foresaid garrisons. Also that horse as well as foot be exercised in those general assemblies; and that at *Plymouth*, *Portsmouth*, *Sandwich*, or other places thought fit to have the like training, the horse-men of the next counties be also brought together; as at *Plymouth*, those of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, and *Somersetshire*; at *Portland*, those of *Dorset*, *Wilts*, *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*; and at *Sandwich*, those of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey*. And because in these places for training the infantry, there may want forage and conveniences for horse-men, the lieutenants may chuse the fittest for the cavalry as near the foot as they can. But as they cannot resist the landing in *Scotland*, they propos'd six thousand foot and two thousand horse, whereof one thousand to be lances, for that side. And if these shall be thought too weak for the army in *Flanders* when it lands there, a good part of the army appointed to guard her majesty may be detach'd to join the army in the north, and the army of the west march up to supply their charge. They also consider'd the king of *Spain*'s hopes in the papists and malecontents; and that if those small regiments were not in readiness, 'twould be too late to assemble, both for resisting a foreign enemy and withstanding these at home in one day; for every man would rest in fear of having



his own house fir'd, and his family destroy'd ; therefore, if they made any stir, severe execution upon such offenders should be used by martial law. Further, that it should be bruited in *Spain*, a vast army of double or treble the number was ready in the west, and other coasts of *England*, to embark for *Portugal* or the *Indies* ; the same opinion being fortify'd by the preparation of so many ships making ready in those parts by Sir *Francis Drake*. They also thought, that throughout all the counties of *England* the proportion among the armed and trained as well as unarmed pikes and bills, should be eighty pikes and twenty bills in every hundred. And lastly, caution'd the lords of the council to be wary of her majesty's ships lying at *Rocheſter*.

BESIDES this grand scheme for the safeguard of the kingdom in general, *Raleigh* seems to have had some special regard to several particular places. For there has been found among the lord *Burghley's* papers, a remembrance for the lord-treasurer, touching the request of Sir *W. R.* dated it seems this year : which makes request for five pieces of brass cannon lying at *Woolwich* ; also for letters to the marquis of *Winchester*, lieutenant of *Dorsetshire*, for a hundred men and arms to defend the castle and island of *Portland*, with a supply of powder, there being but one left. Further, for removal of the unserviceable ordnance there to *London* ; and that the lord marquis would give order for his said hundred men, by his commission directed to the lieutenant of *Portland* ; and he will undertake to collect men of sufficiency, not of the trained number. Lastly, for his lordship's good remembrance for the towns of *Weymouth* and *Melcomb-Regis*. From whence my author is not only inclin'd to believe this paper was sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, but that he was now governor of *Portland* castle, and had those towns under his care.<sup>a</sup> We may indeed hence believe this paper was written by him ; and that he not only took those places, but several others, under his consideration, that they might be put in the best state of defence : but that he was now governor of *Portland* castle, or limited to the defence of that place at the time of the invasion, as might be imply'd from my author, seems not very consistent with his lieutenancy in the west.

BUT as much engaged as *Raleigh* seems at this time to have been for the safety of the kingdom, he found some interval to consider also upon means for the relief of his colony : for after governor *White* return'd, and had deliver'd him his letters, with other advertisements concerning his late voyage, and the state of the planters in *Virginia*, *Raleigh* immediately appointed a pinnace to be sent thither, with all such provisions as he apprehended they might want ; and also wrote letters to them, promising that he would prepare a good supply of shipping and men, with all other necessaries, to be with them the summer following. This pinnace and fleet he accordingly prepared at *Biddeford* in the west of *England*, under the command of Sir *Richard Grenvill* ; and all things being now ready, they waited only for a fair wind. In the mean time, the alarm so increas'd throughout all *England*, of that vast and formidable armament made by the king of *Spain*, under the sanction of the pope's *Crusado*, for the invasion and conquest of the whole island ; that most of the ships of war then in any readiness, receiv'd orders from the state to attend in their harbours for the defence of their own country : and Sir *Richard Grenvill* was personally commanded not to depart out of *Cornwal*. Governor *White* nevertheless labour'd so earnestly for the relief of the colony, that he obtain'd two small pinnaces, call'd the *Brave* and the *Roe*, wherein fifteen planters, and all convenient provisions for those who winter'd in the country, were transported ; but the names of the captains who commanded those vessels are not remember'd. On the 22d of *April* 1588, they put over the bar at *Biddeford*, and the same night came to anchor at the isle of *Lundy* ; but the company, minding more to make a gainful voyage than a safe one, run in chase of prizes ; till at last one of them was met with by a couple of strong men of war of *Rochelle*, about fifty leagues to the north-east of *Madera* ; where, after a bloody fight, the *English* were beaten, boarded and rifled. But it is observable, the *French* men were so immoderate in possessing themselves of their spoil, that, by over-loading the boats with the freight of the *English* ships, they sunk what they were too eager to share ; so the vice, which led them to conquest, being it self unconquer'd, they lost by their greediness what they had won by their strength. In this maimed, ransack'd and ragged condition, the said ship return'd to *England* in a month's time ; and about three weeks after returned the other, having perhaps tasted of the same fare ; at least without performing the intended voyage ; to the distress of the planters abroad, and displeasure of their patron at home.<sup>b</sup>

In the mean time the king of *France* sent queen *Elizabeth* a message, assuring her, that the tempest, which had been gathering in *Spain* for three years, would certainly break very speedily upon her kingdom ; therefore advised her to make the best preparation she could for

The fifth  
voyage to  
*Virginia*.

<sup>a</sup> See *Stowe's* annals of the church, tom. 3. fol. 452.

<sup>b</sup> *Hakluyt's* voyages, 1st edit. fol. 1589. p. 771.



its defence. Nor did the king of *Spain* keep it now any longer a secret, having about the same time, that is, in the month of *May* this year, publish'd at *Lisbon* an ample and ostentatious account<sup>a</sup> of this *Invincible Armada*, as the *Spaniards* themselves had call'd it; wherein the squadrons are distinguish'd according to the several provinces; the names of the ships, their burden, and their commanders; with the number of their foldiers, mariners, and other associates and adventurers; their stores, and all other necessaries, likewise specified: whence it appears the whole fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty, or, according to Sir *Walter Raleigh*<sup>b</sup> and *Hugo Grotius*,<sup>c</sup> a hundred and forty sail; some few tenders, or others, joining them by the way, not being perhaps in the *Spanish* list reckon'd: carrying, by the generality of accounts, above twenty-six hundred pieces of brass and iron ordnance;<sup>d</sup> near nineteen thousand foldiers; between eight and nine thousand sailors; besides officers, priests, galley-slaves, servants, and other attendants; amounting in all to about thirty thousand persons; or, according to the confession of *Don Diego Pimentelli*, one of their own commanders, who was driven into *Zealand*, the whole fleet, army, &c. were no less than thirty-two thousand men; and cost the king of *Spain* 30000 ducats every day.<sup>e</sup> The general of this mighty navy was the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, knight of the golden fleece; and *John Martines de Ricalde* was chief admiral. In *Flanders* the prince of *Parma* was also making great preparations to join this *Armada*; had gather'd up an army consisting of more than a hundred, some say two hundred companies of foot, and four thousand horse; and was very busy in making rafts, ferry-boats, floating bridges, portcullices, gabions, and what not? Nor were they idle in *England*; for how well the directions of the council of war aforesaid were put in execution, and how far *Raleigh* may be presum'd to have been engag'd among the most indefatigable in this service, is to be infer'd from the words of that author, who says, "In a very short time the whole kingdom and every corner were speedily furnish'd with armed people on horseback and on foot; and those continually trained, exercised, and put into bands in such warlike manner, as in no age ever was before in this realm." And a little further, "That all concur'd in one mind, to be in readiness to serve for the realm; and some one country was able to make a sufficient army of twenty thousand men fit to fight, and fifteen thousand of them well arm'd and weapon'd: and in some countries the number of forty thousand able men: that the maritime countries from *Cornwal* all along southward to *Kent*, and from thence eastward to *Lincolnshire*, were so furnish'd with soldiers, both of themselves, and with resort from their next shires, as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any foreign forces, but there were within forty-eight hours to come to the place above twenty thousand fighting men on horseback and on foot, with all manner of ammunition, provision, and carriages, under the principal nobles of the countries, and captains of the greatest knowledge." We further learn from the same author and others, that besides these armies for the maritime countries, the city of *London* exercised before the queen ten thousand men, and had several thousands more in readiness; that there were also two great armies rais'd, whereof one was encamp'd at *Tilbury* in *Essex*, between the city and the mouth of the *Thames*, consisting of twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of *Leicester*. The queen review'd this camp several times, din'd, made orations in it, and lodged in the borders of it.<sup>f</sup> The other army, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse,

<sup>a</sup> It is entitled, *La Felicissima Armada que el Rey Felipe nuestro señor mando juntar en el Puerto de la ciudad de Lisboa en el Reyno de Portugal; en el Anno de Mil e quinientos y ochenta y ocho. Escrita por Pedro de Pos Salas*. It was translated into English the same year by Daniel Archdeacon, under the title of *A Discourse of that Armada which the king of Spain caused to be assembled in the haven of Lisbon in the kingdom of Portugal, in the year 88, against England; the which began to go out of the haven the 29th and 30th of May*. See an abstract of this pamphlet in *Hakluyt* (out of *Van Meteren*) vol. 1. fol. 592. Also in the *Triumphs of Nassau*, translated from a French book hereafter mention'd, fol. 1613, from page 50 to 63. Also in *Speed's Chronicles*, fol. 1198. And Mr. *Stowe's Annals of the church*, tom. 3. fol. 1728. Appen. no. 51, &c.

<sup>b</sup> In his brief account of the *Spanish* invasion hereafter following.

<sup>c</sup> *Annal. & Hist. de Rebus Belgicis*, Amst. 12mo. 1648. p. 171. But one of Mr. *Lediard's* lists in his *Naval Expedition*, now publishing, folio 252. raises them to 145. the author of a letter sent out of *England* to *Don Bernardino Mendoza*, ambassador in *France* for the king of *Spain*, 4to. 1588, l. 17, their number was 150. Also *Van Meteren*, the Dutch historian's relation of this invasion, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 1. fol. 593, agrees in that number; but a little further reckons them at 134. And *Stowe's History* of this advance, the *Spanish* fleet to 130 ships.

But the accounts above, especially of the *Spaniards* themselves at the very time, seem most credible: for in the examination of one of the *Spanish* prisoners, named *Emanuel Fremosa*, on the 12th of *September* this year, I find he confess'd, that they were, at their coming forth from *Spain*, 135 sail. Thus in a scarce tract, entitled, *Certain Advertisements out of Ireland*, concerning the losses and distresses happen'd to the *Spanish* navy, 4to. 1588, in the *Harleian* library, B. II.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh* has made some good observations upon this plenty of *Spanish* guns, which there will be occasion hereafter more particularly to recite.

<sup>e</sup> So *Emanuel Van Meteren*, in *Hakluyt*, as before, probably out of the deposition of *Don Diego Pimentelli*, before the chief lords of the countie of the *Hague* in *Holland*, printed in *English* at *London*, 4to. 1588.

<sup>f</sup> The copy of a letter sent out of *England* to *Don Bernardino Mendoza*, &c. 4to. 1588. p. 6.

<sup>g</sup> The most particular description perhaps of these preparations against the *Spanish* invasion, especially of the queen's entertainment at the royal camp of *Tilbury*, is to be found in a poem of blank verse, entitled, *Elizabetha Triumphans*, containing the damned practice which the devilish pope of *Rome* have used ever since her first coming to the crown. Dedicated to Dr. *Johannes Clapan*, &c. by *Thomas Heywood*, 4to. 1583.



commanded by the lord *Hunsdon*, was planted about the queen's own person.<sup>a</sup> And it increas'd daily by the several bands and troops, which were led from the inland countries by such noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, as had no special charge or government in their respective counties; while the young earl of *Essex*, and others among them, entertain'd her majesty with tiltings and tourneys, barriers, mock-fights, and such-like arts, as in publick are wont to render men popular.<sup>b</sup> But the lieutenants of the maritime counties were otherwise employ'd. And as the earl of *Pembroke* had been assiduous in levying the forces of *Wilts* and *Somersetshire*, and the earl of *Bath* those of *Devonshire*; so *Raleigh* seems to have been no less forward and industrious in raising and reducing those of *Cornwal* to the best order and discipline for the service of his country, against the common enemy; notwithstanding what he might have done, as has been said before, at *Portland*: and, like the rest of the lords-lieutenant, to have sent up constantly his certificates to the queen of the numbers that were assembled; the posture they were in; the provisions they were supply'd with; or those whereof they stood in need.

Assembles  
the western  
forces against  
the Spanish  
Invasion.

BUT notwithstanding all these land-preparations, which moved some speculative warriors at court to think a sea-force unnecessary, as if the *English* were sufficient to cut the *Spaniards* to pieces in landing, or when they were ashore, and run away with their ships at the same time; Sir *Walter Raleigh* knew better what another kingdom might do, even against *England*, by the advantage of a fleet, if we have none: no man having so solidly resolv'd as himself that weighty question, whether *England*, without the help of a fleet, is able to debar an enemy from landing? He knew that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the soldiers that coast them: he knew that a fleet after sun-set may be seen at the *Lizard*, and by the next morning at *Portland*, which an army should be six days in marching; and consequently, that the sailor may chuse his landing-place, where there are no soldiers that can oppose him: and even supposing an invader should offer to land near where our greatest army was ready to receive him, *Raleigh* doubted, when the choice of all our train'd-bands and of officers were drawn together, as at *Tilbury*, to attend the person of the queen, and to defend the city of *London*, whether those that should remain to guard the coast could be of any such force as to encounter an army like that which the prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.<sup>c</sup>

By sea therefore all possible defence was likewise made, and the chief command was very properly confer'd on the lord-admiral *Howard*, who, hearing the *Invincible Armada* was upon the point of hoisting sail, sent Sir *Francis Drake*, who was constituted his vice-admiral, with fifty-six ships well appointed, to the western parts, and himself arrived there on the 23d of *May* with others, which made up the fleet about a hundred sail; while the lord *Henry Seymer* was sent to lie with forty *English* and *Dutch* ships (according to *Camden*) between *Dover* and *Calais* to intercept the prince of *Parma*.<sup>d</sup> The *Invincible Armada* loosed anchor from *Lisbon* four days before; but met with such storms, sickness, and other disasters, that the lord-admiral put forth towards *Spain*, in hopes of surprising them in their distress; till more maturely considering they might pass by undiscover'd, he return'd to *Plymouth*, and suffer'd his men to relieve

<sup>a</sup> But six years before this occasion of raising the military strength of *England*, according to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, there were, upon a general view and muster, found in the kingdom, of all men fit to bear arms, eleven hundred and seventy-two thousand. See his *Select essays and observations* 8vo. 1650, in his discourse of the invention of shipping, p. 27.

<sup>b</sup> The earl of *Essex* was now master of the queen's horse. See the letter to *Mendoza* aforesaid, p. 25. In which Sir *Henry Wotton* agrees, who makes this further observation: "This service at *Tilbury* camp was, in my judgment (says he) the very poison of all that followed; for there, while the queen stood in some doubt of the Spanish invasion, she made him in field, commander of the cavalry, as he was before in court, and much graced him openly in view of the soldiers and people, even above my lord of *Leicester*: the truth is, from thenceforth he sed too fast." Parallel between *Robert Devereux* earl of *Essex*, and *George Villiers* duke of *Buckingham*.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. *History of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 7.

<sup>d</sup> As for the naval force in these times, *William Harrison*, in his *Historical description of England* (with whom Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his *Essays* aforesaid agrees) tells us, the queen had then in the 24th year of her reign (six years before this invasion) already built and furnished four or five and twenty great ships (whose names they both recite) and three notable galleys; with the sight whereof, and the rest of the navy royal, says *Harrison*, it is incredible to see how greatly her grace is delighted. They further say,

there were then 135 ships more, whose burden exceeded 500 ton; besides many more of lesser burden, boys, &c. *Harrison* also observes, her grace doth yearly build one ship or other to the better defence of her frontiers from the enemy. See him in the 2d vol. of *Holinshed*, fol. 201.

*Michael Castellan*, who was ambassador here many years in those times, and who has given the most noble and ingenuous character of the said queen, in his *memoirs*, of any foreigner I have met with that knew her, comes so near that author, where he observes she built a noble fleet, the bulwark of her kingdom, as to affirm, she launches a large man of war every second year. But by that long list of the *English* navy (which this year opposed the *Spanish* Armada) among the MSS. in the *Royal Library* 14. B. XIII. lately printed by Mr. *Lediard*, in his *Naval Expeditions*, fol. 238. it appears there were very few ships of that burden before-mention'd among them. For tho' that list raises their number beyond all other accounts, to 197 sail (manifestly omitting some which were there, and probably admitting several which were not;) yet there are not above six ships among them mention'd to be of 500 ton, and not above seven of greater burden. Therefore, as Mr. *Lediard* well observes, tho' our several squadrons might exceed those of the *Spaniards* in number of ships; yet by comparing the tonnage of the several ship in both fleets, and the number of men employ'd in them, the superiority of the enemy's fleet will appear very considerable; more than double in men, and very near double in burden.



themselves on shore. The queen had received such assurance they were so disabled from coming this year by that storm, that she made secretary *Walsingham* send for four of her first-rate ships to be brought home to *Chatham*. But their return was prevented by the intelligence which captain *Thomas Fleming* brought into the harbour on the 19th of *July*, that he had discover'd the enemy approaching from the *Lizard-Point* in *Cornwal*. The captains and commanders were then it seems at bowls upon the *Hoe* at *Plymouth*; <sup>a</sup> and the tradition goes, that *Drake* would needs see the game up; but was soon prevail'd on to go and play out the rubbers with the *Spaniards*. All hands were now at work to warp out the ships, which, with the admirable industry of the seamen, was very speedily, for the difficulty thereof, perform'd, the wind blowing stiffly into the haven from the south-west. The lord-admiral, with the few he could then get ready, lay all night in the road. Next day about fifty or threescore more join'd him, and at noon they ken'd the *Spanish* fleet; some with lofty turrets and decks rear'd one above another; and others rowed along with two or three hundred oars apiece; all advancing with their *Spanish* gravity, the wind being abated, in a semicircular order; and extended, as *Camden* observes, seven miles from end to end. The *English* suffered them all to pass by, so got the advantage of the wind, when they began to chase them in the rear: nor did the *Spaniards* offer to land at *Plymouth*, their commission being to join the prince of *Parma*, and sail directly to *London*. The next day, which was the 21st of *July*, the lord-admiral sent out a pinnace call'd the *Defiance*, and begun the fight. This, I take it, was near the *Eddystone*; for there we have account of the first conflict, and of the first *Spanish* ship that was taken or sunk. <sup>b</sup> Then the lord-admiral in the *Ark-Royal*, *Drake* in the *Revenge*, with *Hawkins*, *Frobisher*, and others, having thunder'd thick upon the enemy for two hours together, withdrew, forty of their ships not being (says *Camden*) yet come up. In this engagement the *Spaniards*, by endeavouring to circle in and shelter one of their disabled galleons, she had her foremast broken, and was left behind, which *Drake* took the next day, with *Don Pedro de Valdez* and other nobles in her, besides fifty-five thousand ducats, which were shar'd among his sailors. Immediately after, another of their greatest ships was set on fire, with all the people in her, and yet the powder escaped. But how the lord-admiral, all the first night, follow'd the *Spanish* lantern, instead of *Drake's*, into their fleet, while *Drake* at the same time was making another mistaken pursuit; and how the *Ark Royal* followed the *Spanish* fleet also the second night, so far, almost alone, that it was the afternoon following before the *English* fleet overtook her, with other particulars; I leave to the more ample accounts of this engagement, that I may attend the motions of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; who, from being at first the nearest, now growing impatient at being the most remote from the enemy, appears to have committed his charge by land to proper officers, or detach'd part thereof to march up nearer the *Spaniards*, and with a gallant company of nobles and gentlemen, in several ships, to have join'd the *English* fleet; that is to say, on the 23d of *July*, when the *Spanish* fleet was advanced over-against *Portland*; where, this whole day being one continued engagement from morning till night, it proved the most general and bloody fight of any between them in the *British* channel: and here, after the taking of a great *Venetian* ship, and others of lesser bulk, the *Spaniards* were driven from all intention of assaulting the *English*, till they had join'd the prince of *Parma*; for during this fight, or, “in the mean while” (according to the words of my author, from *Van Meteran*, one of the earliest, most copious and accurate journalists of this expedition) “the *English* navy increas'd; where- unto, out of all havens of the realm, resorted ships and men; for they all with one accord came flocking thither (to *Portland*) as unto a set field where immortal fame and glory was to be attain'd, and faithful service to be perform'd unto their prince and country.” <sup>c</sup> In which number having mention'd the earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, he also names Sir *Walter Raleigh* among the foremost of near twenty other knights and gentlemen, whereby the *English* ships were augmented to a hundred sail; and doubtless by some of those *Camden* mention'd to have been left behind in *Plymouth-Sound*, with which *Raleigh* very probably advanced. <sup>d</sup> These, ever afunder, and always in motion, were on every side useful to annoy the enemy; now presenting a broad-side, and sheering off; then tacking about and discharging the other; in such sort, that Sir *Henry Wotton* call'd it a *Morrice-dance* upon the waters, “while

Joins the  
*English* fleet  
with a squa-  
dron of vo-  
lunteers.

<sup>a</sup> *Phœnix Britannicus*, 4to. 1731. p. 346.

<sup>b</sup> See the list of the *Spanish* ships lost in the *Narrow Sea* in *July* and *August* 1588, at the end of *Certain Ad-ventisements* out of *Ireland*, concerning the losses and distress of the *Spanish* navy, 4to. 1588. before-mention'd.

<sup>c</sup> See the miraculous victory of the *English* fleet over the *Spanish Armada*; in *Hakluyt*, vol. 1. fol. 1599. p. 599, from the 15th book of *Emanuel Van Meteran's* history of the *Low Countries*.

<sup>d</sup> What further persuades me to believe *Raleigh* enter'd the fleet at this place and time is, my having met with a certain foreign history, hereafter mention'd, which had been his own book, and wherein he has with his own hand corrected other passages relating to himself: but has let this of his joining the fleet, as above, pass uncontradicted.

<sup>e</sup> His parallel between *Perth* and *Stirling* and *George duke of Buckleburgh* is not in it.



the sluggish and unweildy castles of the enemy cluster'd and hamper'd together, could only offer offence from one disabled side; and that, when they had done, flew over the *English* mens heads. *Camden* tells us, that in this day's engagement, the lord-admiral was advised by some of his officers, with more heat than discretion, to grapple with and board the enemy. Now *Raleigh*, having made some excellent animadversions upon this very circumstance, goes nigh to prove out of his own words, that he was not only in this day's engagement; but that the counsel he might thence appear to have given, did greatly contribute to the success of it. He has shewn how well he knew, that in such case the advantage of weapons would be likeliest to carry it, whereof the enemy was provided with far the greatest number; also, that in such close fight, how liable the lesser ships were to be crush'd by the greater; that these by their very height must have further advantage over those that endeavour'd to board them from below; and lastly, in these of more bulk and breadth being also more firm and more steady, those who could best keep their feet would probably be best able to use their hands. But that I may not impede too much the course of action, his further arguments upon this head are subjoyn'd more closely in his own words.<sup>a</sup> Next day the *Spaniards* were glad to lie by, and the *English* no less pleased with the cessation, that they might take the opportunity of sending to shore for a recruit of ammunition; and this, being a circumstance taken notice of also by *Raleigh* himself, further confirms his having been now among them.<sup>b</sup> The 25th of *July*, the *English* had another sharp battel with the *Spanish* admiral, and three great galleasses at the isle of *Wight*, in which *Camden* mentions the taking of a *Portuguese* galleon, and that from this time the galleasses durst not venture upon any new engagement, but closing themselves up again in a rundel as they call'd it, made the best of their way to tell the prince of *Parma* how they had been served. The *English* fleet followed and kept playing upon their rear all the next day, having determined to forbear any closer engagement till they came to the *British Frith*, or streights of *Calais*, where the lord *Seymer* expected their arrival. "But so far was this *Invincible Armada* from alarming the sea-coasts, says *Camden*, that the *English* gentry of the younger sort enter'd themselves volunteers, and, leaving their friends and families, did with incredible cheerfulness hire ships at their own charge, and in pure love to their country joyn'd the grand fleet in vast numbers." And here *Camden* names those nobles and some of those gentlemen, with *Raleigh* among them, which compos'd the squadron before-mentioned, as if it enter'd but now from *Dover*, or some of those ports; not that he confines their entrance to this day, otherwise than naming them under it, or any other way suggests, they did not joyn the grand fleet three days before; but seems, by remembering them in this place, to have believed, they were most conspicuous or in greatest number at this time, unless he postpon'd the mention of them to a day, that was least throng'd with circumstances of action. Indeed, that this noble squadron of vo-

<sup>a</sup> "Certainly he, that will happily perform a fight at sea, must be skillful in making choice of vessels to fight in: he must believe, that there is more belonging to a good man of war upon the waters than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deal of difference between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together without consideration, belongs rather to a mad-man than to a man of war; for by such ignorant bravery was *Peter Strozzi* lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the marquis of *Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the lord *Charles Howard*, admiral of *England*, been lost in 1588, if he had not been better advised, than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an army aboard them, and he had none; they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he entangled himself with those great and powerful vessels, he had greatly endangered this kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the defence are equal to a hundred that board and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had a hundred for twenty of ours to defend themselves withal. But our admiral knew his advantage, and held it; which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to speak in general of sea-fights (continues he, tho' I think his observation may have respect to some further events in this particular fight, wherefore 'tis here also added) "I say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailors and good ships, have the advantage on the open sea of a hundred as good ships, but of slower sailing. For if the fleet of a hundred sail keep themselves together in a gross squadron, the twenty ships upon any angle shall force them to give ground and to fall back upon their own next fellows, of which so many an entangle are made

unserviceable or lost. Force them they may easily; because twenty ships, which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad-side of artillery by clapping into the wind and staying, may give them the other, and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual volley, whereas those that fight in a troop have no room to turn, and can always use but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of a hundred sail give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet prevail, either against those that are arrear and hindmost, or against those that, by advantage of over-tailing their fellows, keep the wind: and, if upon a lee-shore, the ships next the wind will be constrained to fall back into their own squadron; then it is all to nothing, that the whole fleet must suffer ship-wreck, or render it self. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time, as by that oration of *Hermocrates* in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians* when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may be easily observed. *History of the World*, Book 5. chap. 1. sect. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Speaking of the superfluity of great ordnance in the royal navy; he observes, that "many times there is no proportion of shot and powder allowed, rateably to that quantity of great ordnance, as was seen in the sea-battel, says he, with the *Spaniards* in the year 1588, when it so nearly concerned the defence and preservation of the kingdom. So as then many of those great guns, wanting powder and shot, stood but as cyphers and scare-crows, not unlike to the *Easterling* hulks, who were wont to plant great red port-holes in their broad-sides where they carried no ordnance at all." See *Sir Walter Raleigh's observations on the royal navy and sea-service*, inscribed to *Henry*, prince of *Wales*, 8vo 1650. p. 26.



Gentleman of  
the queen's  
privy-cham-  
ber.

At the final  
overthrow of  
the *Invincible*  
*Armada*.

lunteers was united to the queen's navy, when such valiant services were perform'd against the *Spaniards* in the great fight before *Calais*, another writer also, greatly to their commendation, agrees; but neither is he so expressive as to satisfy us, it was the first appearance they made, and that they were not before at *Portland*. For, having mentioned the earls of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and other gentlemen of distinction, who without any charge or knowledge of the queen, joyn'd the fleet before *Calais*, and ventur'd their lives in the said engagement; he goes on to observe, how earnest all ranks and degrees were; by instancing also, "that the earl of *Oxford*, one of the most ancient nobles in this land, went to sea and served the queen among them, as did *Robert Cecil*, lord *Dudley* and *Sir Walter Raleigh*, a gentleman of the queen's privy-chamber, says he, and in his company a great number of young gentlemen, among whom were *William Cecil*, *Edward Darcie*, and *Arthur Gorge*,"<sup>a</sup> the same persons mentioned with others by *Camden*, and also in larger number by the *Dutch* historian above quoted, three days before. "With the recital of whom, I only shew you (continues my last author, the letter-writer) how far we have been deceived to think, that we should have had a party here for us, when, as you behold, both by land and sea, all sorts of men were so ready, at their own charges, without either commandment or entertainment, to adventure also their lives in defence of the queen and the realm."<sup>b</sup> From hence it appears, this squadron must have also been at the final overthrow of the *Spanish Armada*, which on the 27th of *July* in the evening anchor'd before *Calais*, intending to hold on for *Dunkirk*, in expectation of the prince of *Parma*, who was always preparing but never ready, and, the *English* following, anchor'd also within culvering shot of them. Here the lord *Seymer* joyn'd the *English*; and then the lord-admiral's fleet was increased to a hundred and forty sail, says *Camden*; wherein he both exactly agrees with the augmentation thereof at *Portland* by these volunteers, as we have it from the *Dutch* historian there quoted; and also excludes all intermediate addition, of ships at least, by the number himself has before given us of the lord *Seymer*'s squadron. Next day the *English* resolv'd, according to the queen's directions, upon the stratagem of the fire-ships to burn or disperse the *Spanish* navy; and the same was put in practice at or soon after midnight, so successfully, that the enemy, cutting their cables with the utmost horror and precipitancy, were, some scatter'd by the wind, some fell foul of each other, and others struck upon the sands; the *English* chasing and thundering upon them from all quarters: then was a great galleass taken by captain *Preston*, its commander *Moncada* slain, and a booty of near as much gold fell to the conquerors as was taken in another before-mentioned.<sup>c</sup> On the 29th of *July* the *Spaniards* ranged themselves into the best order they could within sight of *Graveling*; hither the *English* fleet also pursued them, and here the *Spaniards* received their last fatal adieu, by incessant and numberless damages from the *English* cannon the greatest part of the day, till their *Galleons*, *Galleasses*, *Gallies*, *Urcas* and *Zabras* were so miserably shatter'd, having their hulls pierced through and through, their oars and rudders cut away, their tackling all rent, and their masts broken, that some were deserted as unserviceable, some sunk with the crew that was in them, and others retiring upon the neighbouring coasts were seized and plundered by the inhabitants: while those, that had the ability left them, most prudently employ'd it in running away. The *English* still followed them into the northern seas, even beyond the latitude of fifty-seven degrees, and, leaving them past all thoughts of the prince of *Parma*, return'd on the 4th of *August*; when the violent storms that arose resumed their cause, and compleated their victory: for, by the tempests, shipwrecks, sickness and famine in their dangerous passage homewards, they sustained greater losses than even all they had met with throughout the narrow seas. For the particulars of those losses we shall refer to the distinct and more copious narratives of this invasion,<sup>d</sup> and close this account with the summary thereof, which was soon after published to the world

<sup>a</sup> Copy of a letter sent out of *England* to *Don Bern. Mendoza*, p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>c</sup> "It was affirmed by men of great judgment in *Calais*, that never was seen by any man living such a battery; so great for number, so furious, and of so long continuance, as the *English* made against the *Spanish*: *Calais* saw the *Spanish* navy first driven from their anchors with fire; they saw the greatest galleass of the *Spanish*, whereof was commander that worthy nobleman *Moncada*, spoil'd, and himself slain in it by the *English*: *Calais* saw the next day, that the *English* fought and beat the *Armada* from eight a clock in the morning till four in the afternoon without ceasing: *Calais* saw the *Spanish* hoist up all their sails and fly as fast as the wind could drive, and the *English* pursue them: Yet *Calais* saw a sufficient navy of *England* left before *Dunkirk*, able to master all the shipping that the duke

of *Parma* had provided." Thus in a scarce old tract in the *Harleian* library, B. H. called, *A Pack of Spanish lyes*, first printed in *Spain*, translated, and now ripped up, unfolded and condemn'd, 4to. 1588. p. 6.

<sup>d</sup> At the end of an old pamphlet before quoted, called, *Certain Advertisements out of Ireland*, concerning the losses and distresses of the *Spanish* navy, there is one list of fifteen *Spanish* ships, which perished, or were taken by the *English* in *July* and *August* in the narrow seas; and another list of seventeen more, sunk, burnt and taken on the coasts of *Ireland* in *September*; so that both losses were thirty-two ships, in which were also destroy'd and taken 10185 men, whereof one thousand were detain'd prisoners in *England* and *Zealand*; further adding, there were multitudes besides slain, sunk, or starved, who were not accounted for. Inasmuch, as *Van Metoan* in *Hakluyt* more distinctly compute, with whom, I observe, most of our historians agree, there returned not home above fifty-three



world by Sir *Walter Raleigh* himself, \* where giving the honour of the victory to the courage and conduct of the lord-admiral *Howard*, he says, that “ notwithstanding the victories they pretended to have obtained, it was soon manifested to all nations, how the navy, which they had termed *invincible*, consisting of a hundred and forty sail, was by thirty of the queen’s ships of war, and a few merchant-men, beaten and shuffled together, even from the *Lizard* point in *Cornwall* to *Portland*, where they shamefully left *Don Pedro de Valdez* with his mighty ship; from *Portland* to *Calais*, where they lost *Hugo de Moncada*, with the gallies of which he was captain; and from *Calais*, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of *England* round about *Scotland* and *Ireland*; where, for the sympathy of their barbarous religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crush’d against the rocks; and those other who landed (being very many in number) were notwithstanding broken, slain, and taken; and so sent from village to village, coupled in halters, to be shipped into *England*; where her majesty, of her princely and *invincible* disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their own country, to witness and recount the worthy achievements of their *invincible* navy.”

THE services of Sir *Walter Raleigh* against this invasion, his diligence in regulating the forces of the land, and his interest in strengthening those of the sea; the charges he was at, and the dangers he voluntarily incurr’d, however undistinguish’d more than is above express’d by our common historians, and those few inaccurate accounts thereof, which are descended to us; were yet received with such approbation by the queen, that she seems, as some recompence for them, to have this year made a considerable augmentation to his patent of wines; as if he had, besides the grant before-mentioned, another now also bestowed upon him for tonnage and poundage upon those liquors, <sup>b</sup> except it is the same patent with the former, only renewed this year, or wrong dated in the author who mentions it. Be it as it should, this patent seems to have been one of the most beneficial favours which *Raleigh* ever received of the queen, and might perhaps exceed in profit the pension which she settled on the lord-admiral himself for his conduct and courage in the said overthrow. This benefit *Raleigh* enjoy’d as long as she liv’d; tho’, towards the close of her reign, the number of such-like grants to others being very much increased, they were inveighed against in parliament as grievous and burdensome monopolies, by those especially, who had not the merit or interest to procure any for themselves. Sir *Robert Naunton* tells us, in his conclusion of *Raleigh*’s character, with relation to the grants he thus obtain’d; “ That tho’ he gained much at the court, yet he took it not out of the exchequer, or merely out of the queen’s purse, but by his wit, and the help of the prerogative: for the queen was never profuse in delivering out her treasures; but paid many, and most of her servants, part in money and the rest with grace.” <sup>c</sup> We meet with another office, which *Raleigh* himself erected, no less praise-worthy than this was profitable to him. For one writer, in the short account he gives of him, having spoken of the division he made of his time, in allowing five hours to sleep, four to reading, two for discourse, and the rest to business and other necessities, and having hinted at the diversity of his correspondencies, intelligence and the like, says, that “ in the capacity of an agency for all sorts of persons, he set up a kind of *office of address*.” And further, “ that considering the dispatch of such variety of engagements in the former part of his life, one must be much to seek how a man of so

Augmentati-  
on of his  
wine-office.

His office of  
address.

three sail, leaving also behind the greater and better part of their men; and, as they all conclude, *There was not a famous or worthy family in all Spain, which in this expedition lost not a son, a brother, or a kinsman.*

Among the *English*, there were not in the whole eight or nine days engagement above one hundred lost, and among them only one captain, named *Cock* by *Camden*; *Fuller*, in his worthies of *Devon*, laments mightily, that he cannot recover his christian name; but perhaps *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 771, might have helped him to it; however, the *Cottonian* MS. quoted by Mr. *Lediard*, fol. 256. puts the matter further in doubt, by calling him *William Cope*, and his pinnace the *Delight*; which *William Cope* is more likely to be *William Cox*, who did command such a vessel of fifty tun, called the *Delight*, in the said fleet, according to the list, which this ingenious gentleman himself has exhibited; unless *Camden*’s *Cock* is this *Cox*, and so his name may be *William*; tho’ it will then differ from the person offer’d out of *Hakluyt*, who is named *Abraham*. But, as the person of this christian name is there only mentioned in a former expedition, tho’ his surname agrees best with the person who was lost in this, it is left to the reader’s judgment, whe-

ther he will prefer this *Abraham Cock*, or that *William Cox*, to the honourable memory that captain *Cock* in *Camden* deserves for dying in defence of his country.

<sup>a</sup> In his *Report* of the truth of the fight about the isles of the *Azores*, &c. hereafter more particularly mentioned, reprinted in *Hakluyt*, Tom. 2. fol. 169. Here I cannot but wonder, how the industrious Mr. *Styve* was led to say in his *Annals*, vol. 3. fol. 530. that this brief relation above-quoted of the *Spanish* invasion was penn’d by Sir *Francis Drake*, of whose writing I never saw any thing in print or MS. but some letters; tho’ he quotes even the very page in *Hakluyt*, whence he takes it, as I do; and where the said *Report*, in which that relation is included, is expressly said to be penn’d by the honourable Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

<sup>b</sup> In Sir *Robert Cecil*’s list of the patentees and their patents, which he produced in the house of commons, Anno 1601, Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s for the tonnage and poundage of wines is mentioned to bear date, 30<sup>mo</sup> *Regine*. See *Heywood Townsend*’s historical collections of the four last parliaments of queen *Elizabeth*, fol. 168c. p. 244.

<sup>c</sup> *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 29.

“ many



“ many actions should write any thing, and one of so many writings should do any thing.”<sup>a</sup> By another little hint, that has been elsewhere preserved, we may conceive this office did chiefly respect a more liberal intercourse, a nobler mutuality of advertisement, than would perhaps admit of all sorts of persons; and such as advanced rather to the improvement of men themselves, than their means. But this suggestion is drawn only from comparing it with the general tendency of those other schemes, among which I once saw it mentioned, in a letter written by an ingenious person of great note for his writings to a nobleman, who had the greatest correspondence with such persons of any in his time; recommending “ that long dried fountain of communication, which *Montaigne* first propos’d, *Sir Walter Raleigh* put in practice, and *Mr. Hartlib* endeavoured to revive.”<sup>b</sup> This is all that occurs to me of this *office of address*: but whatever useful means of this nature, for advancing the knowledge or interest of mankind, was instituted by *Raleigh*, ’twas probably in some less active part of his life, than at this present juncture.

For *Don Antonio*, king of *Portugal*, who had been expell’d from his dominions by king *Philip*, and was now in *London*, soon after the signal overthrow of the *Armada* aforesaid, took this opportunity to renew his motion to queen *Elizabeth* for her assistance towards his restoration, which he propounded to the lord-treasurer in a letter full of liberal offers, written in the *Portuguese* language, all with his own hand.<sup>c</sup> The queen not only consented to the enterprise, as thinking it more convenient to return the late visit of the *Spaniards* in their own country, than suffer them to repeat it here, but lent six of her men of war, and disbursed three-score thousand pounds towards defraying the charges thereof. This encouragement, and the late provocation, so spirited up the warlike men of the kingdom, and *Raleigh* among the rest to become volunteers therein, that they augmented the number of the said ships with a hundred and twenty sail more, and mann’d them with fourteen or fifteen thousand soldiers and sailors at their own further expence, committing the charge by sea to *Sir Francis Drake*, and that by land to *Sir John Norris*, who were probably the most considerable contributors thereto.

But first *Raleigh* took care for the relief of his plantation in *Virginia*, which that he might more effectually secure than could be expected from his own single assistance, especially after the many heavy disbursements he had made, and the great disappointment the colony must doubtless have received by missing of the last supplies he sent them, through the losses, which his agents too rashly brought thereon; he made an assignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of *London*, for continuing the plantation of this new discover’d country with *English* men. And this was now no less advisedly done with regard to himself, than affectionately with respect to the people employ’d therein: whom, tho’ he generously assisted with his advice and interest

<sup>a</sup> See *Observations on the statesmen and favourites of England since the reformation*. By *David Lloyd*, M. A. October 1665. p. 489.

<sup>b</sup> This letter, written by *John Evelyn*, Esq; about forty years past, in a little black hand as I remember, to *Henry earl of Clarendon*, I saw among the remains of that earl’s most numerous and expensive collections, about eleven years since, at which time I made the extract above out of it. And, as I have met with the projects of those other persons mentioned in that letter with *Sir Walter Raleigh*, for this commodious interchange and accomplishment of human researches; the recital of theirs may probably reflect a further light into the nature of his; and possibly quicken the publick spirit of some times or other for bringing to perfection the important and extensive benefits, which are so many ways to be apprehended from such a commodious and desirable intercourse. *Montaigne*’s project (or his father’s) was for having an *office of enquiry* in several towns, for every body to register what they were in search or want of, with their terms, ’tis suppos’d, for obtaining it. “ *Car à tous coups*, says he, *il y a des conditions qui s’entrecherchent; & pour ne s’entr’entendre, laissent les hommes en extreme nécessité*. ” There are, says he, ever more conditions, which are hunting after one another; and for want of hearing one another’s occasions, leave men in very great necessity. ” Then giving an instance of “ those two excellent scholars, *Lilius Giraldu* in *Italy*, and *Sebastian Castilio* in *Germany*, who died so poor they had scarce bread to eat, he believes thousands would have retained or relieved them, had they known their wants. For the world is not so generally corrupted, but that I knew a man (continues he) who would heartily wish the estate his ancestors had left him, might be employ’d in securing rare and remarkable persons of any kind, from those misfortunes, which sometimes persecute them to the last extremity. ” See his *Essays*, lib. 1. cap. 34. The other notice of this most useful scheme (since I have not at present *Mr. Hartlib*’s own account) I shall here offer in *Sir William Petty*’s ingenious representation of it, direct-

ed many years since to the said last projector himself. “ We must recommend, says he, an *office of address*, according to the projection of *Mr. Hartlib*, that painful and great instrument of this design; whereby the wants and desires of all may be made known to all. Where men may know what is already done, in the business of learning; what is at present in doing, and what is intended to be done; to the end, that by such a general communication of designs and mutual assistance the wits and endeavours of the world may no longer be as so many scattered coals, which, for want of union, are soon quenched; whereas being but laid together, they would have yielded a comfortable light and heat. For, methinks, the present condition of men is like a field, where, a battel having been lately fought, we see many legs, arms and organs of sense, lying here and there, which, for want of conjunction, and a soul to quicken and enliven them, are fit for nothing but to feed the ravens and infect the air: so we see many wits and ingenuities dispersed up and down the world, whereof some are now labouring to do what is already done; and puzzling themselves to re-invent what is already invented: others we see quite stuck fast in difficulties for want of a few directions, which some other man, might he be met withal, both could and would most easily give him. Again, one man wants a small sum of money to carry on some design that requires it; and there is perhaps another, who has twice as much ready to bestow upon the same design; but these two, having no means ever to hear the one of the other, the good work, intended and desired by both parties, does utterly perish and come to nothing. But this we pass over slightly, tho’ very fundamental to our business; because the master-builder thereof himself has done it so solidly. ” This in a Pamphlet, entitled, *The advice of W. P. to Mr. Hartlib, for the advancement of some particular parts of learning*, 4to. 1648. p. 1, 2.

<sup>c</sup> See a translation of *Don Antonio*’s letter to the lord-treasurer, dated October 23. 1588. in *Seymour’s Annals*, Tom. 3. fol. 536.



in some future prosecutions of this undertaking; yet these proving improsperous, through the oblique courses they took at first setting out upon this new foundation, like that in which they lately fail'd, it was twenty years from this time<sup>a</sup>, before even a whole company could make a more successful and advanced progress in this settlement, than Sir *Walter Raleigh* of himself alone had done; it having cost him, as we are assur'd by one who should best know, no less than 40000*l.*<sup>b</sup> The particulars of that assignment we may gather from an "indenture His assign-  
 " made the 7th of *March*, 31 *Eliz.* between Sir *Walter Raleigh* of *Coliton* in *Devonshire*, as he ment to con-  
 " is therein distinguished, chief governor of *Virginia*, and *Thomas Smith* with other merchants tinue the  
 " of *London*, and adventurers to *Virginia*, and *John White* and other gentlemen; reciting, plantation of  
 " that Sir *Walter Raleigh* (by her majesty's letters patents before-mentioned) had granted, on *Virginia*.  
 " the seventh of *January* 1587, to *John White* and the rest, free liberty to carry into *Virgi-*  
 " *nia*, and inhabit there, such of her majesty's subjects as should willingly accompany them.  
 " And that the said *Thomas Smith* and others the said adventurers, purposing to be made  
 " free of the corporation and company, late constituted by Sir *Walter* in the city of *Raleigh*, intend- City of *Raleigh*  
 " ed to be built in *Virginia*, had adventured divers sums of money, merchandizes, shipping;  
 " victual, and other commodities, to *Virginia*: wherefore Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by this indenture,  
 " grants to the said *Thomas Smith* and others, and to the said *John White* and the rest, their  
 " several heirs and assigns, free trade and traffick for all manner of merchandize to and  
 " from *Virginia*, or any other part of *America*, where the said Sir *Walter*, his heirs or as-  
 " signs, did, or might claim any interest, title or privilege; free from all rents, customs  
 " and other charges, except the fifth part of the oare of gold and silver, which he reserves to  
 " himself and his heirs. And farther, the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as well for and in espe-  
 " cial regard and zeal of planting the christian religion, in and among the said barbarous  
 " and heathen countries, and for the advancement and preferment of the same, and the com- His bounty  
 " mon utility and profit of the inhabitants therein, as also for the encouragement of the said ad- for the propa-  
 " venturers and other assistants in *Virginia*, does freely and liberally give them the sum of one gation of the  
 " hundred pounds."<sup>c</sup>

His bounty  
for the propa-  
gation of the  
gospel.

Accompanies  
Don Antonio  
in the Portu-  
gal expediti-  
on.

His content  
with Sir Ro-  
ger Williams.

As for the expedition before-mentioned, which was set out under *Drake* and *Norris*, about five weeks after the said assignment, that is on the 14th of *April* 1589, in which *Don Anto-*  
*nio* was by *Raleigh*, among the rest, accompanied to *Portugal*, we need not here be circum-  
 stantial thereon; especially as to the action at the *Groine*, the overthrow of the *Spaniards* at  
*Puente de Burgos*, the taking of *Peniche*, with the castle of *Cascais*, the assault of *Lisbon*, and  
 the burning of *Vigo*; seeing our historians have not distinguished what part *Raleigh* had therein: in  
 which perhaps they seem not so grateful to him as he was to his associates;<sup>d</sup> but particularly in not  
 mentioning him at the taking of that great number of easterling hulks and other ships laden with  
*Spanish* goods, provisions and ammunition, for a new invasion of *England*, which from the 2d of  
*June* some or other of the adventurers (none are named) continued to bring into the *English* fleet,  
 then lying in the road of *Cascais*, for six days together.<sup>e</sup> This fleet of ours was but thinly  
 mann'd at first, and having lost some thousands by sickness and intemperance with the new  
 wines of those countries; hands could not be spared to bring home much above a quarter of  
 those vessels and their lading, that were thus taken: for Sir *Roger Williams*, who was a co-  
 lonel in the land-service of this expedition, has said in a letter of his, still extant, "It is well  
 " known, we had above two hundred sail of all sorts, of which we could not carry with us  
 " above three score for the want of men." Hence arose at their return into *England*, a little  
 contention between *Williams* and *Raleigh*; for *Raleigh* having taken some of these prizes, *Wil-*  
*liams* placed in one of them his lieutenant with some of his soldiers, "without which, says *Wil-*  
*liams*, it could not have been carried into *England*:" wherefore he would have laid claim, it  
 seems, both to the ship and its cargo; "this voyage, as he goes on, having cost him a thou-

<sup>a</sup> See a pamphlet, call'd, *Nova Britannia: or the fruits of planting in Virginia*, 4to. 1609. and further of this country in *Hakluyt's Virginia* richly valued, &c. printed the same year. Also a true declaration of the state of the colony in *Virginia*, by the council of *Virginia*, 4to. 1610. *Smith's* description of *Virginia*, Oxford, 4to. 1612. And the new life of *Virginia*, declaring the former success and present estate of that plantation, 4to. the same year. Laws for the colony of *Virginia*, 4to. the same year. Account of the massacre in *Virginia*, about 1622. *Bullock's* description of *Virginia*, 4to. 1649. *Edward Williams's* tracts, call'd, *Virgo Triumphans*, &c. with the benefit of silk-works there, between the years 1650 and 1658. *Nath. Sbrigate's* relation of *Virginia*, &c. 1669. The Dutch usurpations in *Virginia* in *Edward Cliffe's* *Brev. of Holland's* deliverance by, and ingratitude to the crown of *England*, &c.

4to. 1665. p. 40, &c. And some of these, or their extracts in *Purchas*, Dr. *Harris*, and Dr. *Heylin's* Cosmography.

<sup>b</sup> See a brief relation of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* troubles, &c. p. 10. a scarce pamphlet, of further use in this work.

<sup>c</sup> See this assignment from Sir *Walter Raleigh* to divers gentlemen and merchants of *London*, for continuing the action of inhabiting and planting our people in *Virginia*, more at large in the first edition of *Hakluyt's* voyages, fol. 1589. p. 815.

<sup>d</sup> See *Raleigh's* Observations on the *Portugal Voyage*. *History of the World*, Book 5. chap. 1. sec. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *Anthony Wingfield's* true discourse of the *Portugal Voyage*, &c. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 2. fol. 149. Also the *Latin* tract, entitled, *Ephemeris expeditionis Norrelii & Draki in Lusitaniam*, 4to. 1589.



Honour'd  
with a gold  
chain.

“sand pounds,” as it did several other of the adventurers no doubt. But his claim not being thought reasonable, the earl of *Bath*, lieutenant of *Devonshire*, discharged his men from that vessel at *Dartmouth*. *Williams*, at this, growing very turbulent, and his clamours reaching the queen’s ear, procured her displeasure against him, which occasion’d his said letter to three of the privy-council; whence this intelligence is extracted. From this letter we farther collect, the achievements of the *English* in this voyage so well satisfy’d the queen, in the disablement of the enemy, especially as to their naval powers, that she honour’d the commanders or chief adventurers therein, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* among the rest, with a golden chain; for Sir *Roger* presum’d, the earl of *Essex* (his great friend, as appears in the histories of this expedition) with the rest who were in the action, would testify, “That I deserve a chain as well as my fellows,” says he.<sup>a</sup> As for the coarse expression which follows, of “*Raleigh’s* being lying his hulk, as he had done the ark of *Noah*, the best ship that ever was,” tho’ it may betray some impoliteness of manners and impetuosity of disposition in Sir *Roger’s* civil capacity; yet in the field, and against an enemy, those rougher qualities might invigorate his courage and experience, and illustrate the military character of the man.

IN the latter end of *June* this year, and some weeks before this dispute, the *English* fleet return’d home; but *Raleigh* appears first to have touch’d upon the coast of *Ireland*, probably to make a short visit to his feigniory there, and see some of his acquaintance among the new settlements in the province of *Munster*. We may be pretty well convinc’d that *Raleigh* was in *Ireland* this year, from his own writings;<sup>b</sup> and that it was upon his return from a long voyage, out of some verses hereafter following in *Spenser* the poet. For here we may observe, that while *Raleigh* was a commander in the *Irish* wars, under the lord *Grey*, as we have before related, this *Edmund Spenser*, then famous for those *Pastorals* he had newly published, going over secretary to that nobleman, had frequent opportunities, by his ingenuous conversation, so to make his learning and other accomplishments known, as engag’d the friendship of our WORTHY so substantially towards him, that none of the great men in queen *Elizabeth’s* court, after the death of Sir *Philip Sidney*, was so great a patron to that extraordinary genius as Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Indeed the queen her self, in regard that *Spenser* employ’d his time so commendably in *Ireland*, as afterwards more publicly appear’d, in the excellent *Political View* he made of that kingdom, gave him a considerable tract of land out of earl *Desmond’s* capacious forfeitures, amounting, at the lowest computation that has been made, to three thousand acres of ground, lying in the county of *Cork*; the preservation and improvement whereof engaged *Spenser* to settle there; and a pleasant feat he had, at *Kilcolman* near the river *Mulla*, which ran through his grounds, and which he has so beautifully describ’d in some of his poems. Here it was in this retirement that *Raleigh* now paid him a visit, the circumstances whereof *Spenser* himself has most agreeably celebrated in that poem, which, about two years after this time, he dedicated *To the right worthy and noble knight Sir Walter Raleigh, &c.* In this dedication he has these

Visits *Spenser*  
the poet.

<sup>a</sup> Copy of Sir *Roger Williams’s* letter to the lord-treasurer, the lord-admiral, and Mr. secretary *Walsingham*, dated *July* 24. 1589. a MS. in the *Harleian* library. This copy is made on the outside leaf of the original letter which preserves the direction, probably in Sir *Roger’s* own hand, a most wretched one, which might occasion the transcript; and, probably, his own seal; no coat of arms, but a motto; also the ancient manner of sealing, by a paper band. Under the letter there is a note, in the same hand that transcrib’d it, confirming this expedition, set forth at the charges of *Norris*, *Drake*, *Raleigh*, *Williams*, with other gentlemen, and the success of it, according to the particulars above-mention’d, and the publick histories of this time: concluding, “They return’d with great victory and honour to their country; but not without heart-burnings and jealousies among themselves; with the queen’s displeasure against some, and Sir *Roger* among the rest, occasion’d by some complaint made against him, in relation to one of those hulks, which it is probable he plunder’d of more than fell to his share.” There is also another note, containing a character of Sir *Roger Williams*, out of *Camden*; from whom, and Sir *Roger’s* own writings, I shall only observe, he was born in *Wales*; but whether bred at *Oxford*, doubtful; being taken by the young earl of *Pembroke* for his page, and then went to serve under the prince of *Conde* in *Germany*; but, having spent all his crowns before that prince march’d to *France*, was forced to return homeward. At *Brabant* he was engaged by *Julian Romero* to serve in the *Spanish* army, before there was any dispute to his knowledge between the crowns of *Spain* and *England*. Afterwards he did good service under *Norris* in *Friesland*, Anno 1581, where he fought a *Spanish* captain in single duel; which ended in a sociable drinking-bout. In 1586, he boldly

forced the enemy’s camp as far as the prince of *Parma’s* own tent before *Venlo*, and was that year knighted. He behav’d himself also bravely at *Diepe* in *France* 1591; but at *Noyon* lost many *English* lives through his rashness. He died 1595, and, as *Camden* observes, having obtained great knowledge in the arts of war, he might perhaps be allowed not inferior to the best soldiers in that age, could he have put bounds to his courage, which ran quite away with his conduct and discretion. However, as he goes on, for a man of no learning or education, and merely by dint of experience to write such a clear and judicious history of the *Low-country* wars as he has done, is admir’d at; as also his having so well maintain’d the *Modern Discipline*, or manner of war, against the antiquated admirers of archery, whereof Sir *John Smythe* wrote in praise, 4to. 1590. Sir *Walter Raleigh* has also touch’d upon this military argument in the beginning of his fifth book, and elsewhere, in his *History of the world*.

<sup>b</sup> Where, speaking of the long lives of the patriarchs, and some of late memory, he says, “I my self knew the old countess of *Desmond* of *Inchequin* in *Munster*, who lived in the year 1589, and many years since; who was married in *Edward* the fourth’s time, and held her jointure from all the earls of *Desmond* since then; and that this is true, all the nobility and gentlemen of *Munster* could witness.” *History of the world*, lib. 1. cap. 5. sect. 5. Of this old lady, see more in lord *Bacon’s* *History of life and death*, and Sir *William Temple’s* *Essay on health and long life*, in his miscellanies, part 3. (publish’d by *Jonathan Swift*, M. A. prebendary of *St. Patrick’s*) 8vo. 1701. p. 125, where, telling us she lived far in king *James’s* reign, it appears she must have been alive at the time Sir *Walter Raleigh* was writing that he knew her in *Ireland* the year aforesaid.

words;



words ; “ I make you present of this simple *Pastoral*, unworthy of your higher conceipt for  
 “ the meanness of the style, but agreeable with the *truth, in circumstance and matter* : the  
 “ which I humbly beseech you to accept in part of payment of the infinite debt in which I  
 “ acknowledge my self bounden unto you for your singular favours and fundry good turns  
 “ shewed me at my last being in *England* ; and with your good countenance, protect against  
 “ the malice of evil mouths, which are always wide open to carp at, and misconstrue my firm  
 “ ple meaning.” In the pastoral it self, the poet gives us this description of *Raleigh's* first ac-  
 costing him in the said rural retirement.

*One day, quoth he, I sat, as was my trade,  
 Under the foot of Mole, that mountain bore,  
 Keeping my sheep amongst the coolly shade  
 Of the green alders by the Mulla's shore ;  
 There a strange shepherd chanc'd to find me out,  
 Whether allured with my pipe's delight,  
 Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,  
 Or thither led by chance, I knew not right,  
 Whom when I asked from what place he came,  
 And how he bight ? himself he did ycleep  
 The shepherd of the ocean by name,  
 And said, he came far from the main-sea deep.  
 He sitting me beside in that same shade,  
 Provoked me to play some pleasant fit ;  
 And when he heard the musick which I made,  
 He found himself full greatly pleas'd at it :  
 Yet æmuling my pipe, he took in bond  
 My pipe, before that æmuled of many,  
 And play'd thereon, for well that skill he con'd ;  
 Himself as skilful in that art as any.*

It further appears, they now entertain'd each other with some of their poetical compositions ; *Spenser* rehearsed a pretty tale he had made of the amours between some of his neighbouring rivers ; but *Raleigh's* muse ran upon a more melancholy strain, which, by the transient view it gives of some little cloud he had lately, but undeservedly, been under at court, lets us into a piece of his secret history ; where the poet tell us,

*His song was all a lamentable lay  
 Of great unkindness and of usage hard,  
 Of Cynthia the lady of the sea,  
 Which from her presence, faultless, him debarr'd :  
 And ever and anon with sngults rise,  
 He cried out to make his under-song,  
 Ah my love's queen, and goddess of my life !  
 Who shall me pity, when thou dost me wrong ?*

BUT it immediately appears to have been soon blown over by some pathological address of *Raleigh's* to the queen, whereby he was, at this time, restored to her favour, as we may fully conclude from these words :

————— *Right well he sure did 'plain,  
 That could great Cynthia's fore displeasure break,  
 And move to take him to her grace again.*

AND this is confirm'd a little further, where, through *Raleigh's* affection for his welfare, and his regret to behold so rare a genius banish'd to a desert, and buried in such a state of obscurity, he persuades *Spenser* to go along with him into *England*, and proffers to introduce him to the queen. The poet, knowing his interest, embraced his offer. Then having given a description of the sea, with *Raleigh's* great ship, suitable to the simplicity of the character he as-



fumes; and having represented *Raleigh's* description of the flocks and herds of that *Royal Shepherdes*, which were kept upon those watry hills, under the charge of *Triton* and *Proteus*, he makes him further say:

*And I among the rest, of many least,  
Have in the ocean charge to me assign'd;  
Where I will live or die at her behest,  
And serve and honour her with faithful mind.*

Brings him into *England*. He then proceeds to the progress of their voyage, how they passed by the *Isle of Lundy*, and landed at *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*; so took their journey to the court, where the poet having expatiated on the dazzling presence of the queen, agreeable to the admiration of a spectator, in his pastoral character, we have this further acknowledgment.

Introduces him to the queen's favour.

*The shepherd of the ocean, quoth he,  
Unto the goddess' grace me first enhanc'd:  
And to my oaten pipe inclin'd her ear,  
That she thenceforth therein 'gan take delight,  
And it desir'd, at timely hours to bear;  
All were my notes but rude and roughly dight.*

THIS honour the poet further magnifies, as the more wond'rous condescension in her majesty, in that she had so many more learned shepherds about her to glorify her name. Here he takes an opportunity to give a character of the several poets and wits then shining in her court: among the rest,

*And there that shepherd of the ocean is,  
That spends his wit in love's consuming smart:  
Full sweetly temper'd is that muse of his,  
That can impierce a prince's mighty heart.*

Encourages the publication of the *Fairy Queen*.

As to *Raleigh's* poetical talents, we shall hear more of them very speedily. In this place, we must pursue his farther design of bringing *Spenser* over into *England*, which was to make him oblige the publick with what he had hitherto finish'd of his capital work, call'd the *Fairy Queen*. For, tho' *Spenser* had begun this grand poem through the encouragement of Sir *Philip Sidney*, before he went over into *Ireland*; yet it was there he seems to have writ most of what we have in print; and now, by the encouragement of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that he was brought to publish the three first books which he had compleated thereof: 'tis certain he took his advice in the publication of them, and particularly in drawing up a plan to explain or discover the general intention and meaning of that allegorical poem. This he directed to his said patron, *The right noble and valorous Sir Walter Raleigh, &c.* in a letter dated the 23d of *January* this year 1589; concluding with "An humble request for the continuance of his honourable favours, and wishes for the eternal establishment of his happiness." This letter is printed at the end of the said first three books of that poem, which were published at *London* the ensuing year. Among the commendatory verses thereto also subjoined, the first two copies are both said to be written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and not without great probability, being subscribed with the initial letters of his name. The first of these copies, written in alternate verse, is highly poetical; for our author, correspondent with the visionary manner of his author, fancying himself in the temple of the vestal virgins, where his curiosity led him to the tomb of *Laura*, which was guarded by *Love* and *Virtue*, he was suddenly attracted from thence, by the appearance of the *Fairy Queen*, at whose approach the *Soul of Petrarch* wept; seeing those *graces* desert that mistress of his, to attend upon this royal lady, and *oblivion* supply their place. The compliment is surely fine, and perhaps the more judiciously express'd, in not being bounded more periodically than it is, according to the doctrine of our modern criticks in the structure of versification; for being the recital of one solemn and surprising thought, it may engage our attention more closely to the end of the two or three *quadrains* it is compris'd in, than if the author had affected to divide or bound the sense with a full period at the end of every four lines. But every reader may easily judge for himself, the poem being in most editions of *Spenser*, and therefore needs not here be recited. His other verses upon this poet are compos'd in a measure more obsolete to the manner of our age; but what



what the queen her self imitated, in some poetry still to be seen of her writing, being in lines of six and seven feet long ; and it is no more to be objected, that an author did not in this particular apparel his mind to the mode of all ages, than his body. It may be sufficient therefore to observe, there is a distinguish'd conduct also in this performance ; for the induction is writ with great modesty, in regard to himself.

*The praise of meaner wits, this work like profit brings ;  
As doth the cuckow's song, delight, when Philomela sings.*

And, having advertised the poet that his portraits are to be judg'd of or improv'd by the originals of those virtues whereof he has compos'd his fictitious queen, he very dexterously transfers or appropriates them to the real one then reigning : so concludes with a compliment to him ; which tho' of a very transcendent and absolute nature, yet in regard to the little good *English* poetry then in being, and the great fame of that poet still surviving among us, is still thought not more expressive of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* affection, than his judgment :

*Of me no lines are lov'd, nor letters are of price,  
Of all that speak the English tongue, but those of thy device.*

WE further observe among the copies of verses inscrib'd by *Spenser* himself, at the end of his said *Fairy Queen*, to the several ministers of state and noblemen in queen *Elizabeth's* court, one to the noble and valorous Sir *Walter Ralegh*, &c. as he again styles him : and this, because it not only informs us what a favourite *Ralegh* was at this time with the queen ; but also gives us occasion to dilate upon his own poetical productions a little more copiously than opportunity has before offer'd, I must here entirely repeat.

*To thee that are the summer's nightingale,  
Thy sovereign goddesses most dear delight,  
Why do I send this rustick madrigal,  
That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite ?  
Thou only fit this argument to write ;  
In whose high thoughts pleasure hath built her bowre,  
And dainty love learn'd sweetly to indite :  
My Rhimes I know unsav'ry are and sowre,  
To taste the streams, which, like a golden showre,  
Flow from thy fruitful head, of thy love's praise,  
Fitter perhaps to thunder martial stowre,  
When so thee list thy lofty muse to raise :  
Yet till that thou thy poem wilt make known,  
Let thy fair CYNTHIA's praises be thus rudely shown.*

HENCE we learn Sir *Walter Ralegh* wrote a poem, call'd *CYNTHIA* ; that it was in praise of the queen, and that it was not now publish'd. *Spenser*, in his letter to *Ralegh* above-cited, also mentions again something of this poem, where he says, “ In that *Fairy Queen*, I mean  
“ glory in my general intention ; but in my particular, I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our sovereign the queen, and her kingdom, in *Fairy-land*. And yet in some  
“ places else, I do otherwise shadow her. For considering she beareth two persons ; the one,  
“ of a most royal queen or empress ; the other, of a most virtuous and beautiful lady ; this latter part, in some places, I do express in *Belphebe* ; fashioning her name according to your own  
“ excellent conceit of *CYNTHIA* ; *Phoebe* and *Cynthia* being both names of *Diana*.” This is all I remember to have met with of that poem.

BUT this very year that *Ralegh* was in *Ireland*, there was a book publish'd by a learned and ingenious gentleman ; in which others of *Ralegh's* poems, and perhaps that before mention'd, are quoted with great commendation ;<sup>a</sup> as if these few little pieces had  
before

Eminent for  
his own poetry.

<sup>a</sup> This treatise, now very scarce, is call'd *The Art of English Poetry* ; contriv'd into three books : the first of poets and poetry ; the second of proportion ; the third of ornament. London, 4to. 1589. I never saw but one of them, and this is in the curious library of that worthy owner *James Hest* Esq; of the *Middle Temple*. There is a wooden print of the queen before it ; and, tho' dedicated to the lord *Buckley*, the work is address'd directly to the queen. There-

fore that passage in the first book, cap. 26. where the author is so luxuriant upon the *Epithalamies*, or poetical manner of celebrating marriages ; and that in the third book, cap. 23. where he makes the *Imperial* ambassador, a *Bohemian* born, so bluntly express in the *French* tongue what a gallant horse woman the empress was, will, among some others, be allow'd very remarkable, in a book so publicly and so particularly tender'd to the service of our virgin-queen.



before this time render'd him eminent, and advanc'd his name among the prime wits or leading poets of the age; not that we are sure they were now in common print, or vulgarly known to be his; for the said author, speaking of the most considerable writers in *English* poetry, says; "In her majesty's time sprung up another company of courtly poets, who "have writ excellently well, if their doings could be found out and made publick with the "rest; of which number is *Edward* earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas* lord *Buckhurst*, when young, "Henry lord *Paget*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and many others; some of whom "he further names."<sup>a</sup> Then proceeding to give his judgment in short characters of them; and having distinguish'd the earl of *Oxford* for *Comedy*, *Buckhurst* for *Tragedy*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and the other gentleman who wrote the late *Shepherd's Calender* (meaning *Spenser*) for *Eclogue* and *Pastoral*, he adds; "For *Ditty* and amorous *Ode*, I find Sir *Walter Raleigh's* vein most lofty, insolent, and passionate."<sup>b</sup> But it is in the chapter of *Sententious* or *Rhetorical Figures*, that this critic illustrates his observations, by some examples out of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* poems; which, because rare to be met with, and not prolix, nor violating the privileges of particular and personal narrative, I shall here rehearse; the rather, because these fragments may both give further light into the genius, as well as history perhaps of their author, and help the enquiries of such readers, as are curious in comparing the monuments of ancient and modern wit, to recover and revive the entire pieces from whence they are extracted. That critic therefore, where he is speaking of some elegant tautologies in poetry, and particularly the excellences of the *Anaphora*, or figure of *Report*, as he translates it, gives us the following example, written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; whether in his *Cynthia*, I cannot yet tell; but, to his greatest mistress, in most excellent verses, says that author.

*In vain, my eyes, in vain you waste your tears ;  
In vain my sighs, the smokes of my despairs :  
In vain you search the earth and heav'ns above ;  
In vain you seek, for fortune keeps my love.<sup>c</sup>*

Further speaking of the *Epizeuxis*, which he *Englisches* the *Underlay* or *Cuckow-Spell*, another sort of repetition, when in one verse we iterate one word without intermission, he brings, as an example, that of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; very sweet, says he.

*With wisdom's eyes, had but blind fortune seen ,  
Then had my love, my love for ever been.<sup>d</sup>*

And in another place, to distinguish that form of repetition, called *Ploche*, or the *Doubler*, a speedy iteration of one word, but with some little intermission, he exemplifies the two closing verses of a most excellent ditty, as he calls it, written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. These two closing verses confirm the genuineness of those which precede them in a transcript of this very ditty I once saw in a nobleman's library, from the copy of a celebrated lady,<sup>e</sup> who probably had

But for the rest, it contains many pretty observations, examples, characters and fragments of poetry for those times, now no-where else to be met with; which if some of our modern critics had read, they would have been better acquainted than they were, with certain antiquities in the *English* meter, whereof they have erroneously spoken. The author was educated at *Oxford*; born about the year 1530, or not long after; and wrote several other books, whereof he gives us the titles himself. So that if his name was *Puttenham*, one of the queen's gentlemen-pensioners, as *Anthony Wood* thinks, he was entitled to a more distinct remembrance in his book of *Oxford* writers. That he was a courtier, is visible; also had been a traveller, and seen the courts of foreign princes; wherefore his illustrations, both historical and political, are drawn so familiarly from thence, that he may be call'd the court-critic of that reign.

<sup>a</sup> See the said *Art of English Poetry*, p. 49.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* p. 51. Some modern authors, and among them *Edward Philips*, as I remember, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 12mo. 1675, but I am sure *A. Wood.* vol. i. col. 436, and others from him, have, in the quotation of this character, changed that middle epithet for the word *condolent*; perhaps through an unnecessary tenderness; every word of that character being spoken, and to be understood, in a sense of praise.

<sup>c</sup> *Art of English Poetry*, p. 165. <sup>d</sup> *Ib.* p. 167.

<sup>e</sup> Lady *Isabella Thynne*; the same who is so finely celebrated by Mr. *Waller*, tho' her surname is no-where to be

found in any of the printed editions I have seen of his poems: but I have had an old MS. collection, in which one poem is directed to the lady *Isabella Thynne cutting trees in paper*; which poem is printed among Mr. *Waller's*, but her name left out. In the print also we have only a fragment; but my copy had it entire. For the poem which follows it, in Mr. *Waller's* printed collection, is a compliment to the same lady for restoring him this piece, because he desired to print it, tho' the last thought was torn off and lost; which, to his regret, he never could recollect; so was obliged to print it imperfectly, in his own apprehensions at least, tho' all the world besides have looked upon what is printed of it as a perfect masterpiece, even of that great hand: and for our consolation it may be observ'd, if he had not lost this conclusion, we should have lost that fine poem, which was the consequence of it. The sentiment this MS. could have restored him, consisted, as I think, of six lines, but that I cannot repeat them all; yet presume, upon the favour which is due to the fair sex, that it will not be thought an unwelcome digression here to preserve what I can of them, and as well as I can, lest they should be lost again, by not having an opportunity to remember them elsewhere.

*A poet, when he would describe his mind,  
Is, as in language, so in form confin'd:  
Your works are read, where ever there are men;  
So far the teller goes beyond the pen*



it out of the family. 'Tis there entitled, *The Excuse, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, in his younger years.* And, because by the foregoing parts of this *admir'd ditty* the conclusion will be best understood, I shall here repeat the whole from the aforefaid transcript; not doubting but the modern readers will judge of it by its contemporary writings; or if by their own, after due consideration, how they may be judg'd of near a hundred and fifty years hence; but more especially, that the readers may see with what artful simplicity the author could reconcile himself to his passion, whether real or feign'd, when he found, upon a strict examination, he had not been indirectly betray'd to it.

*Calling to mind my eyes went long about,  
To cause my heart for to forsake my breast;  
All in a rage, I sought to pull them out;  
As who had been such traitors to my rest:  
What could they say to win again my grace?  
Forsooth, that they had seen my mistress' face.*

*Another time, my heart I call'd to mind;  
Thinking that he this woe on me had brought;  
Because that he, to love, his force resign'd,  
When of such wars my fancy never thought:  
What cou'd he say when I wou'd him have slain?  
That he was hers--- and had forgone my chain.*

*At last, when I perceiv'd both eyes and heart  
Excuse themselves, as guiltless of my ill;  
I found my self the cause of all my smart,  
And told my self, that I my self would kill:  
Yet when I saw my self to you was true;  
I lov'd my self, because my self lov'd you.*

This poem, I have been told, is printed under Sir *Walter Raleigh's* name, in a modern collection,<sup>a</sup> not much to be suspected of having had it from any ancient manuscript, therefore probably from some old copy in print, which I have not yet met with. There is one old collection I never saw, printed about the time we are now upon, with several of Sir *Philip Sidney's* sonnets in it, and therefore I think under his name;<sup>b</sup> which possibly may contain some also of Sir *Walter Raleigh's*. But in that modern collection there is also printed, not over-correctly it seems, another poem of his: this I have likewise seen in manuscript, where it is call'd the *Silent Lover*; and have heard several lines in it applauded, especially the beginning. But the part, which would be most agreeable in this place to an historical reader, is that from which he might fancy he could make some further guesses at the object of *Raleigh's* address; tho' after all it may be no other than the common object of all poets: however, the lines are these:

*But seeing that I sue to serve  
A saint of such perfection,  
As all desire, and none deserve  
A place in her affection;  
I rather chuse to want relief,  
Than venture the revealing;  
Where glory recommends the grief,  
Despair disdains the healing.*

And a little further, very persuasively:

*Silence in love betrays more woe  
Than words, tho' never so witty;  
A beggar that is dumb, you know,  
May challenge double pity.*

In short, he has said such handsome things of silence, that it were a pity any words even in its commendation, but his own, should break it. But it will perhaps hereafter be thought he

<sup>a</sup> Printed in *Harleian Miscellany*, 4vo. printed, one edition of it, about 1671.

<sup>b</sup> *England's Helicon*, 4to. which contains, in which are se-

veral of the sonnets, ditties, madrigals, pastorals, and such like compositions, which were for much the most part, the noble and illustrious Sir Walter Raleigh.



could break it himself with as much success, as now he seems to have commanded the keeping it. All that I have seen more of his juvenile compositions in this kind, is a pastoral sonnet, which old Mr. *Isaac Walton* reciting, tells us was written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his younger years,<sup>a</sup> in answer to another, famous also in those days, composed by *Christopher Marlow*; but as both these sonnets are involv'd in a collection which the bookellers or publishers have called *Shakespeare's* poems, printed between twenty and thirty years after his death,<sup>b</sup> in which I think several pieces are known to have been written by other poets; the reader is left at liberty to judge whether the authority of a writer, who subscribes his name thereto, one, of *Walton's* noted sincerity, and advantages for intelligence by his acquaintance among the men of literature in those times; or that of an anonymous publication in the circumstances aforesaid, is to be preferr'd; without urging the improbability that *Shakespeare* should quote a stanza, from that ascrib'd to *Marlow*, afterwards in one of his own plays, if he had been the author of that sonnet himself.<sup>c</sup>

THERE is another poet besides *Spenser*, who writ something of *Raleigh* relating to these times, tho' near twenty years after them; and as on a different subject, so with a different disposition towards him. This poet was Sir *John Harrington*, the translator of *Orlando Furioso*; but that which he is here mention'd for, is a little book in prose, yet not clear of poetry,<sup>d</sup> tho' it was intended for a piece of church-history, and as a supply to Dr. *Francis Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops*. This, at the time that *Raleigh* was under royal displeasure in the next reign, and in confinement; but growing into favour with the hopeful prince of *Wales*, Sir *John Harrington*, then a courtier, presented to that prince: 'tis full of little jests and tales against the married clergy, and against some of the laity who had any controversies with them, the better to insinuate with that young prince, and engage his attention; otherwise the author would doubtless have written it with a gravity suitable to the subject; but he tells the prince, "he took " some kind of pleasure with the pains of writing it, supposing (says he) I was all the while " telling a story as it were in your highness's presence and hearing."<sup>e</sup> Among the stories he tells, there is one concerning Dr. *Thomas Godwin*, bishop of *Bath and Wells*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, it seems;<sup>f</sup> the relation of which, because that bishop died about the latter end of 1590, we shall not longer defer. This bishop, he tells us, came to that see, among his other good qualities, unproveable for Simony, and in the queen's good opinion: if he had held on as clear as he enter'd, I should have highly extoll'd him, says our author; but, continues he, see his misfortune, which first lost him the queen's favour, and after forced him to another mischief. For being aged, diseased, and lame of the gout, he married, as some thought, for opinion of wealth, says he, a *London* widow, his second wife at least: when a chief favourite of that time (whom he had named before in this kind, and therefore thought by some,<sup>g</sup> as perhaps it might be, Sir *Walter Raleigh*) had labour'd to get the manor of *Banwell* from this bishoprick; but disdain the repulse, and hearing of this intempestive marriage, he took advantage thereof, caus'd it to be told the queen (knowing how much she disliked such matches) and instantly pursued the bishop with letters and mandates for the manor of *Banwell* for a hundred years. The good bishop, says he, not expecting such a sudden tempest, was greatly perplex'd; yet a while he held out, and endured many sharp messages from the queen; of which my self, says he, carried one, deliver'd to me by my lord of *Leicester*, who seem'd to favour the bishop, and dislike the knight for molesting him; but they were soon agreed, says he, like *Pilot* and *Herod* to condemn Christ. And further tells us, never was harmless man so traduced to his sovereign; as that he had married a girl; had convey'd half the bishoprick to her; and, because he had the gout, that he could not stand to his marriage.—The conclusion to the premisses, he tells us, was, that to pacify his persecutors, and to save *Banwell*, he was fain to part with *Wilcomb* for ninety-nine years; and so purchased his peace. We may hence observe this matter was in agitation before *Leicester's* death, which was two years before this time; but, as the bishop seems to have linger'd before he clos'd, it might be near this time before it was brought to a perfect conclusion. And, as he did not hold on so clear as he enter'd, it might be with reference to the Simony before-mention'd; the rather, because a bishop who would not scruple at his years to marry for money, might be reasonably thought not impreg-

<sup>a</sup> See *Isaac Walton's Compleat Angler*, 4th edition, 8vo. 1668. p. 76, &c. This *Walton* was twenty-five years of age at *Raleigh's* death, and liv'd ninety years. Besides that book, for which he has been call'd the *Father of Anglers*, he wrote five lives of learned and religious men, excellently well, being either from a personal knowledge of them, or their intimate friends; for which he deserves a more liberal acknowledgment than this place will admit.

<sup>b</sup> Printed by *Benjamin Blount*, London, 1619.

<sup>c</sup> See *Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act 3.

<sup>d</sup> A brief view of the Church of England, as it stood in queen *Elizabeth's* and king *James's* reign, to the year 1603. Being the character and history of the bishops of that time, &c. written by Sir *John Harrington* of *Kilcomb*, near *Bath*, published by *John Charnock*, printer of the parish of *St. Andrew's* in *Windsor*, 1633.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *John Harrington's* brief View, p. 21.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 111.

<sup>g</sup> See *Wood's Athenæ Oxoniæ*, vol. 1. p. 101.



nable, through the same motive, against a divorcement from his bishoprick: which way soever it was, the queen saw it not unreasonable, but espoused the alienation; so that it was her gift. And the bishop's own son, Dr. *Francis Godwin*, when he was a bishop also, and reviving his *Catalogue of Bishops*, in the next reign, before *Raleigh* was out of prison, makes no complaint against him in the account of his father's life; tho' he might safely, if he could justly, have done it, and *Raleigh* had been possess'd of that for which this author's father had not, according to the custom of those times, received satisfaction.<sup>a</sup> On the contrary, with much modesty, rather laments that his father should take upon him the duties of ecclesiastical government, when his infirmities had render'd him unable to discharge them.<sup>b</sup>

His manor of  
*Wilcombe*.

If this affair did any ways displease the hierarchy, there was another occurrence fell out about this time, in which *Raleigh*, by shewing a generous and charitable instance of his power and interest, might give some further umbrage for its displeasure. It was in the case of Mr. *John Udall*, minister of the gospel, a good scholar, and a man of good parts; but very zealous for the reformation of the church, even under the episcopal government; for which he was reckon'd among the Nonconformists, or rather Puritans of those times. He had been bred at *Cambridge*; was seven years minister of *Kingston upon Thames*; and, through the favour of the earl of *Huntington*, about a twelvemonth at *Newcastle upon Tyne*. Here he was silenc'd, sent for to *London* by letters from the lord-chamberlain *Hunsdon*, in the name of the council,<sup>c</sup> and examin'd about a book he had newly published against the clergy.<sup>d</sup> But because, contrary to the laws, he would not betray himself, says my author, he was committed close prisoner to the *Gatehouse*; debarr'd of all communication with his family or others; thence convey'd to *Croydon* in *July* this present year 1590; brought to the bar in fetters, and indicted for publishing a libel against the queen. No evidence *viva voce* produc'd to attest it, but only depositions taken in the high commission-court, no court of record, and hearsay reports urg'd against him, his witnesses not being permitted to testify in his behalf, because the court said it was against the queen: the words of the statute being wrested, says my author, by baron *Clark* and serjeant *Puckering*, as if the treatise call'd, *The Demonstration of Discipline*, for which *Udall* was now indicted, because written against bishops who exercis'd their government under the queen, was therefore consequently written against her royal person. So the said judges directed the jury to find *Udall* author of the book without legal proof, and to leave the felony to them. The jury did as they were taught, being told it should be no further danger to the author, but tend to his good; of which verdict they afterwards repented. Then he was kept half a year uncondemn'd in durance; and at the assizes in *February* following at *Southwark*, not relinquishing his tenets, he had the sentence of death pronounc'd against him by *Puckering*.<sup>e</sup> But it seems before *Udall* receiv'd this sentence, he had procur'd a friend to solicit Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that the violent and aggravated constructions which had been made of his doctrine and principles, might not be his utter destruction, till a more unprejudic'd judgment was made of them; and immediately after the sentence was pronounc'd, the sheriff brought him a reprieve from the queen. Then Dr. *Bond*, one of her chaplains, came to him in prison with a form of submission for him to subscribe. After two days conference, they agreed upon another. But, says *Udall*, "at the same time that Dr. *Bond* was with me, I receiv'd a letter from a friend of mine that did solicit Sir *Walter Raleigh* for me."<sup>f</sup> This letter he then exhibits, and thereby it appears *Raleigh* had advis'd or encouraged *Udall* to explain himself to him concerning those imputations which had been infused into her majesty, which accused him with maintaining, the church of *England* and its sacraments were no church and no sacraments; that its laws and her government were against the word of God; that all

<sup>a</sup> See a tract entitled, *No sacrilege or sin to alienate or purchase cathedral lands as such: or a vindication of not only the late purchasers, but of the ancient nobility and gentry; yea, of the crown it self*, &c. 3d edit. with a postscript to Dr. Pearson, by Cornelius Burges, D. D. 4to. 1660. Wherein there are several particularities about the church of *Wells*.

<sup>b</sup> *O illum felicem, si felix manere maluisset, quam regiminis ecclesiastici laboris tum suscipere, cum laboribus impar fractus senio necessum illi fuerit aliorum uti auxilio*, &c. vid. *Godwin de Præsul. Angl. in vit. Patris*.

<sup>c</sup> Dated 29 December 1589.

<sup>d</sup> Entitled, *The Demonstration of Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his word for the government of the church in all times and places until the world's end*.

The horrible treason in this book it seems (which was inserted in the indictment) lay in these words to the bishops: "Who can, without blushing, deny you to be the cause of all ungodliness, seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing saving a sound christian: for certainly it is more free in these days, to be a *Papist*, an *Anabaptist*, of the Family of

"Love; yea, any wicked one whatsoever, than that which we should be: and I could live these twenty years any such in *England*, yea, in a bishop's house may-be, and never be molested for it. So true is that which you are charged with in a dialogue lately come forth against you, and since burned by you; 'That you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your own souls, and infinite millions more.'" *Strype's Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift*, fol. 1718. p. 343.

<sup>e</sup> See a new discovery of old pontifical practices for the maintenance of the prelates authority and hierarchy, convinced, by their persecution of that reverend, learned, pious and worthy minister of Jesus Christ Mr. *John Udall*, in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, &c. 4to. 1643, in Pref. This pamphlet is *Udall's* own account of the whole prosecution against him; whether printed in the queen's time, I cannot tell; but the same account, I think, that is reprinted in the *State-Trials*; tho' the title to this pamphlet is adapted to the time wherein it was now printed; and the preface is a clear abstract of the whole.

<sup>f</sup> See the said pamphlet, p. 37.



ecclesiastical matters ought to be governed by a presbytery; and that she ought to be subject to the censures thereof; for (says that correspondent) “If ye will write half a dozen lines to Sir *Walter Raleigh* concerning these opinions, that he may shew it to her majesty, he hopes to obtain your life. I know it is very easy for you to answer all those things, therefore do it with speed; and in your writing to Sir *Walter* take knowledge, that he hath sent you such word.” Hereupon *Udall* wrote a letter, which he also sets forth, directed to the right honourable Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knt. lord-warden of the stannaries, wherein, after the remembrance of his duty and thanks for his great and honourable care over him and for his good, he most humbly beseeches him to be a means to appease her majesty’s displeasure for the accusations untruly suggested against him.

His generous  
intercession  
for Mr. *Udall*.

“For God is my witness (continues he) I have never had any earthly thing in so precious account as to honour her highness, and to draw her subjects to acknowledge with all thankfulness, the exceeding blessings that God bestoweth upon them by her majesty’s happy government; whereof I trust my adversaries will be witnesses when I am dead. I have sent unto your lordship (as in perplexity I could upon the sudden) what I hold upon certain points declared unto me, as from your lordship, praying, that it would please you to make known the truth thereof unto her highness: and if neither my submission heretofore delivered, nor these things now set down, will be accepted to draw her highness of her gracious compassion to pardon me, that yet it would please her majesty, that the land may not be charged with my blood, to change my punishment from death to banishment. Thus trusting your lordship will vouchsafe me this favour, and that it will please her majesty thereupon graciously to consider me, I humbly take my leave from the *White Lyon*, Feb. 22. 1590.”<sup>a</sup> Herewith he sent the tenets he maintained, or articles of his persuasion, which are to be seen immediately following the said letter in his own narrative, and elsewhere.<sup>b</sup> After this he remain’d, according to his own expression, without great hope of liberty, yet without fear of further extremity.<sup>c</sup> Whence it may be rightly observed by some historians, that Sir *Walter Raleigh*, through his generous intercession, did procure *Udall*’s reprieve, or save him from execution. Till a few months after, being further pester’d with stricter forms of submission, by Dr. *Andrews*, he was forced to make further applications, not only by the earl of *Essex*, but Sir *Walter Raleigh* again, and dean *Nowell*, against the menaces of the approaching assizes at *Kingston*.<sup>d</sup> About the same time the king of *Scots* also wrote a letter to the queen in behalf of the said Mr. *Udall*, and other learned nonconformists.<sup>e</sup> But this wrought only so far, when *Udall* was brought to *Kingston*, that he was immediately returned to prison before the first day of the trials, and thereupon the unlucky disturbance of *Hacket* the enthusiast ensuing, *Udall* was discouraged from making further solicitation till the lord-chancellor *Hatton* died.<sup>f</sup> The *Easter* after which, he sued for liberty to go to church, which was denied him, being a condemn’d man: but, by the lord-treasurer’s means, getting a copy of the indictment, and a pardon fram’d according to it, he was refer’d therewith to archbishop *Whitgift*; “Unto whom (says he) I both sent divers petitions, and dutiful letters; and also got many of my friends, both honourable persons and others, to sue to him; yet could not his good-will be gotten.”<sup>g</sup> And when the *Turkey* merchants apply’d to his Grace, that *Udall* might go over to *Guinea*, he would not consent to that, unless they would be bound he should not return till he had her majesty’s licence; but to this *Udall* would not consent. And tho’ Sir *John Puckering*, now lord-keeper,

<sup>a</sup> We may observe, that *Udall*, in this letter, here quoted from his said narrative, addresses Sir *Walter Raleigh* (as lord-warden) by the title of his *Lordship*; but, as Mr. *Styke* copies it, in his life of *Whitgift*, fol. 376, that word is changed for his *Honour*, as if this author, or those he takes this part of his materials from, had copied the letter out of *Udall*’s narrative, and helped him (in their thoughts) to a title more proper for Sir *Walter Raleigh*. If Mr. *Styke* had seen this pamphlet, it will make something against the character of his sincerity, in advancing so much his archbishop’s christian mildness; see his life, fol. 344. and representing him to have been most active in procuring *Udall*’s pardon, by his effectual intercessions with the queen; as if the queen only was inexorable at *Udall*’s endeavour to reform her bishops; which is partially throwing all the cruelty *Udall* suffer’d upon her, when it will plainly appear in the sequel of this pamphlet, that *Whitgift* was the chief author of it; and yet, if Mr. *Styke* had seen this letter to Sir *Walter Raleigh* in *Udall*’s pamphlet, ’tis to be thought, he would have corrected the date in his own copy by it, which is a whole year too late; not that he is ever correct in other dates, even of the story which is incommodiously told, and confused with repetition, for, in two places of the archbishop’s life, he tells us, *Udall* died 1591, fol. 244. and 1592, fol. 245. and that he died,

which is most probable, in 1592; and a little further quotes a letter of *Udall*’s to the lord-treasurer, dated in 1591, wherein he tells his lordship, he had been in durance above three years.

<sup>b</sup> *Styke*’s life of archbishop *Whitgift*, fol. 375.

<sup>c</sup> New discovery of the old Pontif. Pract. p. 39.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42.

<sup>e</sup> Herein his majesty tells the queen, “That hearing of the apprehension of Mr. *Udall*, Mr. *Cartwright*, and certain other learned ministers of the evangel, within your realm (says he) of whose good erudition and fruitful travels in the church, we hear a very credible commendation, howsoever their diversity from the bishops, and others of your clergy, in matters touching them in conference, hath been a mean, by their dilation, to work them your misliking; at this present, we cannot (weighing the duty we owe to such as are afflicted for their conscience in that profession) but by our most effectual and earnest letter, interpose our hands to any harder usage of them for that cause. So requesting her earnestly to let them be released out of their present thraldom, he concludes, from *London* the 12 of *June*, 1591. See the letter at length in the said pamphlet, p. 40.

<sup>f</sup> See his life, p. 42.

<sup>g</sup> The pamphlet already cited, p. 41.



was at last moved (who indeed had much reason to be so) to deal with the archbishop, so that both promised to obtain *Udall's* pardon of her majesty, and liberty for the said voyage; yet *Udall* never enjoyed one or the other, for he died in prison before they were fully confirmed.<sup>b</sup>

HERE we may give another instance of *Raleigh's* friendly and generous exercise of his power and interest, for an old officer in the army, since there is no date to it, that confines us to any particular year; and, if we may guess at the success of his request by the zeal of it, we shall not doubt, but it effectually obliged his petitioner with the fruits thereof. This officer had a sum of money long owing him, it seems, from the treasury, and, knowing how well *Raleigh* was acquainted with the justice of the debt, no less than what influence his applications would be of for procuring it, prevail'd on him to write to the lord-treasurer's secretary, who was afterwards knighted, and well known by the name of Sir *Michael Hicks*, that he might obtain his lordship's order for the payment of the money. These are the words of his letter:

"I am most earnestly to intreat you for this gentleman, captain *Spring*; that partly for love, And for cap-  
 "partly for honest consideration, you will further him with my lord-treasurer for a debt of tain *Spring*.  
 "three hundred pounds, which her majesty owes him. It hath been long due; and he has  
 "got good warrant for it: besides, he has served her majesty very long, and hath received  
 "many wounds in her service. These reasons delivered by a man of your utterance, and  
 "having his good angel at your elbow to instruct you, I doubt not, but it will take good and  
 "speedy effect. (Concluding) I never wrote unto you for any man, or in any matter,  
 "wherein you shall more bind me unto you, than for this bearer: and so not doubting of  
 "your assured friendliness, I leave you to God; and remain your most assured loving friend."

In a postscript he says, "Always remember you must deal conscionably for my sake, and I will requite you."<sup>c</sup> Examples of this kind shew men worthy of the power they enjoy, and shine brighter in their characters than many actions of a more publick and magnificent nature; power being so often corrupted with pride and other passions, as frequently render the possessors of it mischievous, rather than beneficial to their fellow-creatures. But *Raleigh*, in these and many other instances, was so far from misusing, that, above the narrow apprehensions of repulse, or laying himself under obligations, he appears to have exerted it in the most strenuous and generous manner, either for preventing or relieving the distress of others, which moved the greater compassion when his own misfortunes brought him to need, and yet to fail of the like liberal and successful mediation for himself. The truth is, *Raleigh* was so famous in these days, for such-like good offices, that the queen seems to have distinguished him by a title more honourable, in the proper sense it is to be here taken, than any other she conferred upon him: for one day, having told her he had a favour to beg of her, *When, Sir Walter, said she, will you cease to be a beggar?* To which he answered, *When your gracious majesty ceases to be a benefactor.*<sup>d</sup> With great justice therefore seems, a certain noted author of these times, to have adapted his work to a patron, when he dedicated a discourse upon *Friendship*, which he published not long before this time, to Sir *Walter Raleigh*.<sup>e</sup>

BUT friendship made such a rare and lasting impression on him, that it may be said to have extended beyond the life of the object; and he well deserves to be remembered in his grave, who could leave us such noble patterns in memory of the dead. But this place requires only our notice of the memorial he wrote, to clear from some *Spanish* aspersions, the fame and conduct of the valiant and renowned Sir *Richard Grenvill*, in that bloody expedition, where he made such a glorious, tho' untimely end. This brave commander was vice-admiral in the lord *Thomas Howard's* expedition, to intercept the *Spanish* plate-fleet at the isles of *Azores* in its return from *America*. The *English* squadron consisted of six of the queen's ships, six victuallers of *London*, with two or three pinnaces. They set out early in the spring 1591,

<sup>a</sup> The pamphlet aforesaid, p. 44.

<sup>b</sup> And was not brought to execution, as *Thomas Fuller* in one part of his *Church History* implies, lib. 9. sect. 8. parag. 31. tho' he contradicts himself before in another, parag. 4. where he had said *Udall* died peaceably in his bed; for *Thomas Ford*, in his collection of *Familiar Letters* (before mentioned) p. 135, having one to Dr. *Fuller* in praise of his said *Church History*, but wishes him therein to review that passage, where he speaks of the execution of *Udall*; for he died, says he, at the *Witch Lyon*, just as his pardon was procured, and was buried at St. *George's* Church; "Of whom," says this *Ford* (who was *Udall's* lieutenant) "we have this tradition, That he was the last man living *famously* killed for when he came into *England*, and being answered, he was dead, the living reply'd, 'He was the greatest scholar in Europe's dead.'" As for the execution of *Udall's* trial, sentence, and execution, see the *History*, which this *Ford* further mentions, to

have had by him, it seems to be no more than the printed narrative we have before us.

<sup>c</sup> This letter is printed in the baronetage of *England*, by *Arthur Collins*, Edq; 8vo. 1720. vol. 2. p. 58 and, as I have been told by this author, was communicated to him by Mr. *Stowe*, who was favoured with it out of secretary *Cecil's* papers in the possession of his noble descendants.

<sup>d</sup> *Apophthegms* of the *English* nation, MS. also with very little variation, in a book called, *Miscellanea*, or a choice Collection of wise and ingenious *Sayings* of *Princes*, *Peers*, *Statesmen*, *Counsellors*, and others, out of several ancient and modern authors, &c. by G. M. 1674. p. 13.

<sup>e</sup> A speech of friendship and a true good will, &c. by *Thomas*, the great friend of good men, &c. 1600. p. 1.



His report of  
the desperate  
fight at the  
Azores.

and waited six months at *Flores*, one of those islands, in expectation of the said fleet. As there was, besides the *English* Ships before number'd, one also of Sir *Walter*'s in this expedition, named *Bark Raleigh*, commanded by captain *Thynne*; and as he employ'd some time in the latter end of this year to describe that memorable engagement they had with the *Spaniards*; the brief abstract I shall give thereof from his own words, cannot be arraign'd of prolixity, nor perhaps of digression; since, besides his gratitude for the past services of his heroic kinsman, it so well displays his sentiments at this time of the religious hypocrisies and cruelties of their common enemy. The king of *Spain* therefore, having had intelligence of their waiting thus for his *Indian* fleet, sent an *Armada* to the *Azores* of fifty-three sail to convoy it home, under the command of *Don Alphonso Bagan*. This fleet was just in sight of the *English* by then they had any warning of it; and they were so unprepar'd for its reception, that many of their crew were on shore, providing ballast, water, and other necessaries; and those who were on board, were half of them, through sickness, unfit for service. The *Spaniards* were now so near at hand, that the *English* had scarce time to weigh anchor; and *Grenvill*, in the *Revenge*, was the last upon the place, being desirous of receiving all his crew aboard from the island, whereof he had no less than ninety who were sick and diseased. So that, unable to recover the wind, and having but one hundred sound men, he was persuaded to cut his main-sail, cast about, and trust to the sailing of the ship; for the squadron of *Seville* was on his weather-bow: but he, through the greatness of his spirit, utterly refused to turn from the enemy; protesting he would rather die than be guilty of such dishonour to himself, his country, and her majesty's ship; assuring his company he would pass through the two squadrons in spite of them, and force those of *Seville* to give him way; which he perform'd upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprung their loof, and fell under the lee of the *Revenge*: but while he had regard to those who were nearest, the huge *San Philip*, being in the wind of him, and approaching, becalm'd his sails in such manner, that the ship could neither make way, nor feel the helm; so large and high charged was the *Spanish* galleon, being of fifteen hundred ton, carrying three tire, of eleven pieces in each on a side, and discharging eight fore-right from her chase, besides those of her stern-ports. After the *Revenge* was thus entangled with this *Philip*, four others loosing up also, boarded her, two on the larboard, and two on the starboard. The fight thus beginning at three a-clock in the afternoon, on the last of *August* the year aforesaid, continued very terrible all that evening. But *San Philip* having received the lower tire of the *Revenge*, charged with cross-bar shot, shifted with all expedition, utterly mistaking her first greeting. Some said she founder'd hereupon; but this is uncertain. The *Spanish* ships were fill'd with soldiers; some having two hundred, besides mariners; some five, others eight hundred men: in the *English* ship there were only mariners, with the commanders servants, and some gentlemen-volunteers. After many exchanges of great and small shot, the *Spaniards* many times attempted to board the *Revenge*, but were as often beaten back into their own ships, or into the sea; and when a *London* victualler, who was under the lee of the *Revenge*, offer'd to undertake any service for her assistance, *Grenvill* bid him "Save himself, and leave him to his fortune." The fight thus continuing while the day lasted, and some hours of the night, many of the *English* were slain; some of the *Spanish* ships sunk; and in many others there was great slaughter: *Grenvill*, tho' wounded in the beginning of the close fight, was never so disabled as to forsake the upper deck for eight hours together; and then being shot into the body with a musket, as the wound was dressing, he was again shot into the head, and his surgeon at the same time wounded to death. Still the fight continued, and as fast as the *Spaniards* were beaten off by the *Revenge*, others came in their places; so that by morning she had sustained, for fifteen hours together, the vollies, boardings, and entries of fifteen several ships of war, and repulsed them all; besides the rest which batter'd her loose and at a distance. But with the light, increas'd the discovery of her dismal condition; and the more irksome was the one, in that it would not let her conceal the other from her surrounding enemies.<sup>a</sup> Now was to be seen nothing

<sup>a</sup> As for her friends, the lord *Thomas Howard*, and the other ships, Sir *Walter Raleigh* further says of them, "If all the rest had enter'd, all had been lost; for the very hugeness of the *Spanish* fleet, if no other violence had been offer'd, would have crush'd them into shivers; of which the dishonour, and loss to the queen, had been far greater than the spoil or harm that the enemy could any way have receiv'd. Notwithstanding it is true, that the lord *Thomas* would have enter'd between the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his own ship offer'd to leap into the sea, rather than conduct it with the rest to be a prey to the enemy; where there was neither hope nor possibility either of defence or victory. Which also, in my opinion, says *Raleigh*, had ill sort'd with, or answer'd the discretion

of a general, to commit himself and his charge to assured destruction, without hope or any likelihood of prevailing thereby, to diminish the strength of her majesty's navy, and enrich the pride and glory of the enemy. The *Forefight* of the queen's (continues he) commanded by Mr. *Thomas Vaux*, performed a very great fight, and stay'd two hours as near the *Revenge* as the weather would permit, not forsaking the fight till he was likely to be encompass'd by the squadrons, and with great difficulty clear'd himself. The rest gave divers vollies of shot, and enter'd as far as the place permitted, and their own necessities, to keep the weather-gage of the enemy, until they were parted by night." Thus in Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s said of report this fight.



but the naked hull of a ship, and that almost a skeleton, having received eight hundred shot of great artillery, and some under water; her deck cover'd with the limbs and carcasses of forty valiant men, the rest all wounded, and weltering in, or cover'd with their own blood; her masts all beaten over-board, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper works razed, and all in effect levell'd with the water; incapable of any further management or motion, but what the billows gave her. *Grenvill*, now finding their distress irreparable, commanded the ship to be sunk, that the *Spaniards* might not carry a splinter home as a trophy of their dear-bought victory; dear-bought indeed! the *admiral* of the *Spanish* hulks, and another great galleon, called the *Ascension* of *Seville*, being both sunk by the side of the *Revenge*; another also in the road of *St. Michael*; and a fourth run herself a-ground to save her company. There were besides slain and drown'd in this fight two eminent *Spanish* commanders, and near a thousand of their men, as one of their own officers, who was sever'd from the fight by the ensuing storm, and taken by a *London* vessel, confess'd. In that storm, as well the whole *Indian* fleet, which had now join'd them, as the rest of the *Armada*, were so dispers'd and damag'd, that fourteen sail were cast away upon the *Isle of St. Michael*. On the rest of the islands they also lost fifteen or sixteen more of their ships of war; and of their *Indian* fleet, which was a hundred and odd sail, there were also above seventy consum'd and taken by our ships of *London*; besides a very rich one which set her self on fire, and five others taken by Mr. *Wats's* ships. Three thousand carcasses were found two or three days after on the *Isle of Tercera*; and, by the *Spaniards* own confession, no less than ten thousand of their countrymen were lost in this expedition.<sup>a</sup> But to return: Sir *Richard* exhorted the remainder of his company to trust in God's mercy, and to none else; and, as they had thus long and resolutely repulsed so many enemies, that they would not now lessen the honour of their country, by any overtures to lengthen for a few hours or days their own lives. Several join'd in opinion with him; but the majority prevail'd, who urg'd, the *Spaniard* would be as ready to entertain a composition, as they to offer it; and that there were divers valiant men yet living, who might do their prince acceptable service, and revenge this action upon the enemy; that the ship could be of no use either to one or the other, for upon the first working of the sea she must needs sink, being so crush'd, riv'd, and leaky, having six foot water in the hold, that she could never remove out of the place. Accordingly the *Spanish* general Don *Alphonso Baçan* did make very honourable concession; yielding that all their lives should be sav'd, the company sent into *England*, and the better sort only to pay a reasonable ransom, free from all gallies or imprisonment. Tho' it may be thought it was not difficult to dissuade men from death to life, the master-gunner would have slain himself when he found their resolution thus by reason over-borne; but that he was by force with-held. Then the general sent many boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of the *English* suspecting Sir *Richard's* desperate disposition to blow up or sink the ship, stole away to the *Spaniards*. But the general prevail'd upon him to remove out of the *Revenge*, being very unsavoury, fill'd as it was, like a slaughter-house, with the bodies and blood of the dead and wounded. Sir *Richard* told them, they might do with his body what they pleas'd, for it was now of no use to him; and, as he was carried out of the ship, he swooned, but revived again, and desir'd the company to pray for him. The general used him with the utmost humanity, and left nothing unattempted for his recovery; highly respecting, or rather admiring, the wonderful and unconquerable resolution in so rare a spectacle of consummate and approv'd intrepidity, who could make such resistance for so long time, and such havock upon such an *Armada*, with a single ship and so few men. Sir *Richard* linger'd two or three days, and then died aboard the general, who greatly bewailed his loss;<sup>b</sup> but the *Revenge*, with two hundred *Spaniards* in her, being overtaken by the storms

<sup>a</sup> *Linschoten*, in the 99th chapter of his voyages to the *East* and *West-Indies*, says, that of the whole fleet and *Armada*, being 140 ships, there were but 32 or 33 arriv'd in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and those with such difficulty and dispersion, that not any two arriv'd together; all the rest were cast away upon the islands and overwhelm'd in the sea by that violent storm: so that for twenty days after it they did nothing but fish for dead men.

<sup>b</sup> The same *Dutch* author, tho' he mistakes in some particulars; as making this engagement to have happen'd a fortnight later, &c. yet agrees with Sir *Walter Raleigh* that Sir *Richard* made a wonderful opposition; for he mentions, "no less than seven or eight ships boarding the *Revenge*; that she resisted them at least twelve hours; that the *Spaniards* lost above 400 men in the fight; and that when Sir *Richard* was convey'd into the *Spanish* admiral's ship the *St. Paul*, all the captains were astonish'd at his stout and courageous heart, for he shew'd no sign of faintness, nor change of colour; but, feeling the hour of death approach, said in the *Spanijsh* tongue, *Hoe die I*

"*Richard Grenvill, with a joyful and quiet mind, having ended my life like a true soldier, that has fought for his country, queen, religion, and honour, &c.* He gives us further, as an instance of his bravery, that while he continued amongst the *Spanish* captains, and they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse three or four glasses of wine, and take the glasses between his teeth and crush them in pieces, and swallow them down; so that often the blood would run out of his mouth, without any other harm to him." Which I can believe without scruple, having seen an officer of the army in a frolic do the like, and swallow the glass he had drank in, all but the solid stem, or that part which is not mandible; but more cautiously than Sir *Richard* seems to have perform'd it, for he drew not a drop of blood from any part of his mouth. As for *Grenvill's* pedigree, it may be seen in the late collection of *English* baronets, 12mo. 1728; but the memorials that are attempted of him in *H. Holland, Fuller, and Prince*, are far short of his actions and defects.



aforesaid, was sunk with the others above-mention'd, at *St. Michael's Island*. In this manner did they honour the burial of that renown'd ship; and thus did she to the last make good her name upon them.

Thus have we gather'd from Sir *Walter Raleigh* what is here most material of this extraordinary action; but when he further observes the general's former promise was not perform'd, of setting the prisoners at liberty; so that they petition'd to be landed upon the islands, hoping to be thence transported into *England*: and also the endeavours that were made to corrupt their loyalty, by *Morrice Fitz-John* (son of old *John of Desmond* before-mention'd) who sent to the *English* from ship to ship, persuading them to serve the king of *Spain*, through the motives of trebling their pay, advancing their condition, and improving their faith, to the safety of their souls, he is moved to make some sharp and lively reflections upon these topicks; on the last whereof he expresses himself in this manner. "For matter of religion, it would re-

His reflexions  
on the Spanish  
pretences of  
Religion.

"quire a particular volume to set down how irreligiously they cover their greedy and ambitious practices with that veil of piety; for, sure I am, there is no kingdom or commonwealth in all *Europe*, but if reform'd, they invade it for religion-sake: if it be, as they term, *Catholick*, they pretend title; as if the kings of *Castile* were the natural heirs of all the world; and so between both, no kingdom is unsought. Where they dare not with their own forces invade, they basely entertain the traitors and vagabonds of all nations; seeking by those and their renegade jesuits to win parts; and have by that means ruin'd many noble houses and others in this land, and have extinguish'd both their lives and families. What good, honour, or fortune, ever man yet by them atchiev'd, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And if our *English* papists do but look into *Portugal*, against which they have no pretence of religion; how the nobility are put to death, imprison'd; their rich men made a prey, and all sorts of people captiv'd; they shall find, that the obedience even of the *Turk* is easy, and a liberty, in respect of the slavery and tyranny of *Spain*. What have they done in *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Milan*, and the *Low-Countries*? Who hath there been spared for religion at all? And it cometh to my remembrance of a certain burgher of *Antwerp*, whose house being enter'd by a company of *Spanish* soldiers when they first sack'd the city, he besought them to spare him and his goods, being a good catholick, and one of their own party. The *Spaniards* answer'd, *They knew him to be of a good conscience for himself; but his money, plate, jewels, and goods, were all heretical; and therefore lawful prize*. So they abused and tormented the foolish *Fleming*, who hoped that an *Agnus Dei* had been a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither have they at any time, as they protest, invaded the *Indies* or *Peru*, but rather to reduce the people to Christianity, than either for gold or empire; whereas in one only island, called *Hispaniola*, they have wasted three millions of the natural people, besides many millions else in other places of the *Indies*: a poor and harmless people, created of God, and might have been won to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as ever were persuaded thereunto. The story whereof is at large written by a bishop of their own nation, called *Bartholomew de las Casas*, and translated into *English*, and many other languages, entitled, *The Spanish Cruelties*. Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of ravenous strangers; and especially in those *Spaniards*, who more greedily thirst after *English* blood, than after the lives of any other people in *Europe*? For the many overthrows and dishonours they have received at our hands, whose weakness we have discovered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in *Europe*, in *India*, by sea and land, we have, even with handfuls of men and ships, overthrown and dishonour'd. Let not therefore any *Englishman*, of what religion soever, have other opinion of the *Spaniard*, but that those whom he seeketh to win in our nation, he esteemeth base and traiterous, unworthy persons or unconstant fools: and that he useth his pretence of religion for no other purpose, but to bewitch us from the obedience of our natural prince; thereby hoping in time to bring us to slavery and subjection. And then none shall be unto them so odious and disdain'd as the traitors themselves, who have sold their country to a stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedience, contrary to nature and religion; and even contrary to that human and general humour not only of Christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who have always sustain'd what labour soever, and imbraced even death it self for their country, prince, or commonwealth. To conclude: it hath ever to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her majesty, to break the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworn traitors, and of unjust practices and invasions. She hath ever been honour'd of the worthiest kings; served by faithful subjects; and shall, by the favour of God, resist, repel, and confound all whatsoever attempts against her sacred person or kingdom. In the

"mean



“ mean time, let the *Spaniards* and traitors vaunt of their success; and we her true and obedient vassals, guided by the shining light of her virtues, shall always love her, serve her, and obey her to the end of our lives.”

RALEGH had no sooner done with his pen, but he took up arms against the *Spaniards*, intending to seek reparation of them for the losses aforesaid. He had formed an enterprise upon *Panama*, with a design also of meeting the *Spanish* plate-fleet; was at great expence in fitting out a maritime force for that purpose; and used his utmost interest and diligence to engage many worthy friends in the adventure. The scheme he laid down appear'd so feasible to her majesty, having provided no less than thirteen ships of his own and his associates, all well mann'd, and plentifully furnished with arms, provisions, and all other necessities, that she added to them two of her own men of war, named the *Garland* and *Forefight*; and gave him a commission, constituting him general of the fleet.<sup>a</sup>

General of an expedition to *Panama*.

The honour of lieutenant-general was given to Sir *John Burgh*, a gentleman altogether worthy of the command. And indeed all his comforts, officers, soldiers and sailors, were men of notable resolution; such as had given sufficient proof of their valour in divers services; and, to give them their right, says my author, so well qualified in courage, experience and discretion, that the greatest prince might repute himself happy to be served by the like. With these ships thus equipp'd, *Raleigh* departed in *February*, the year aforesaid, to the west of *England*, there to store himself with such further conveniences as he thought he should need; but the westerly winds blowing for a long time contrary to his course, bound him to keep harbour so many weeks, that the fittest season for his purpose was expir'd, and much of his provisions consum'd. The queen, understanding how unluckily he was detain'd, it being the sixth of *May* following, that is, in the year 1592, before *Raleigh* could put to sea, she sent Sir *Martin Frobisher* after him, who overtook him the very next day, with letters of revocation. But *Raleigh* finding his honour so far engag'd in

Recall'd.

the undertaking of this voyage, that, without proceeding, he saw no remedy either to salve his reputation, or satisfy his friends, who had contributed so largely to this adventure; and interpreting the queen's letters, as if her commands had been propounded in terms of latitude, either to advance or retire at his own discretion, would by no means consent to leave the fleet, now under sail. So he continued his course upon the seas, till he met with a ship belonging to Monsieur *Gourdon*, governor of *Calais*, in which was one Mr. *Nevel Davies*, who was return'd from a twelve years captivity in *Spain*; and who assur'd him, there was little hopes of any success this year in the *West-Indies*; for the king of *Spain* had sent express orders to all the ports, both of the *Islands* and *Terra Firma*, that no ships should stir that year, nor any treasure be laid aboard for *Spain*. But neither this disagreeable news, nor the other discouragements, could deter him from proceeding; till on the eleventh of *May*, when he was off *Cape Finister*, a most raging tempest arising, so scatter'd the greater part of the fleet, and sunk his boats and pinnaces, that, as the rest were driven and divided, *Raleigh* himself, in the *Garland*, was in great danger of being swallowed up in the sea. Hereupon, considering the season was too far gone for his enterprise upon *Panama*, and his victuals too much consum'd; that the same consumption might further disable him from lying upon the *Spanish* coast, or at the *Islands*, to meet with the *Indian* fleet, for which he had received such little encouragement to wait, *Raleigh* made a division of his fleet into two squadrons, committing one under the charge of Sir *John Burgh*, and the other to Sir *Martin Frobisher*; and gave his instructions for Sir *Martin*, in the *Garland*, with captain *George Gifford*, captain *Henry Thynne*, captain *Grenvill*, and others, to lie off the south cape to terrify and keep the *Spaniards* on their own coast; while Sir *John Burgh*, with captain *Robert Cross*, *Thomson*, and others, should lie at the *Azores* for the carracks from *India*. The success of these directions was answerable to the excellent judgment that contriv'd them. For the *Spanish* admiral, receiving intelligence that the *English* fleet was cruising upon their coast, gather'd all his naval power to watch *Frobisher*, and defend the southern parts of *Spain*; while the carracks, unguarded, were left a prey to Sir *John Burgh*. Before the fleet separated, they met on the *Spanish* coast with a great *Biscayan*, called *Santa Clara*, a

In a dangerous storm.

His instructions to his fleet.

<sup>a</sup> See a report of the truth of the fight about the isles of *Azores*, this last summer, betwixt the *Revenge*, one of her majesty's ships, commanded by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, and an *Armada* of the king of *Spain*: 4to. 1591. reprinted, fol. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 2. 1599. part 2. p. 169. where it is said to be penn'd by the honourable Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *William Monson*, in his *Naval Tracts*, observes upon this enterprise, “ That Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had

“ tasted abundantly of the queen's love, finding it now begin  
“ to decline, resolv'd to undertake an expedition to sea;  
“ and engaged several of his friends, of great quality, to  
“ be concern'd with him.” “ 'Tis pity but this author had  
satisfy'd us more expressly about that declension of the  
queen's love. For, I think, that her lending *Raleigh* her  
ships of war, and the honourable commission she gave him,  
to be general in this expedition, seem rather to contradict,  
than any ways confirm that insinuation.



A prize.

ship of six hundred ton ; which, after a fight for sometime, they master'd, and found freighted with all sorts of little iron-work, valued by the *English* at six or seven thousand pounds ; but of treble the value to the *Spaniards*. This, having clear'd, they sent to *England*. Then Sir *John Burgh*, in a ship of Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, named the *Roebuck*, coasting along towards the south cape of *St. Vincent* ; and, by the way spying a sail, gave her chase ; which being a flyboat and good sailer, drew him far southward, before he could fetch her ; at last she came under his lee, and struck sail. The master confess'd a great fleet was prepar'd at *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz* ; for the rumour of *Raleigh's* putting out strong for the *West-Indies* had so alarmed the king of *Spain*, that he rais'd this fleet to oppose and encounter him ; tho' looking for the arrival of his *East-India* carracks, he first order'd those ships to convoy them from the *Azores* ; but persuading himself if *Raleigh's* fleet did make for the *West-Indies*, that then the islands would be infested only by some small men of war which the carracks of themselves would be able to cope with, his order was to *Don Alphonso de Baçan* to pursue *Raleigh's* fleet, and engage him, what course soever he held : and the *English* soon found this information true. For Sir *John Burgh*, not long after his having taken that flyboat, as he return'd to his company, descry'd the *Spanish* fleet to sea-ward of him ; which having likewise discover'd him, made full account to bring him into the *Spanish* harbour ; but he dexterously escaped them, and shaped his course to the *Azores*, according to *Raleigh's* directions. Here he took several small caravels ; but learnt little intelligence from them. Arriving at *Flores* on the 21st of *June*, and making to the shore of a village there, call'd *Santa Cruz*, he found them all in arms ; but, shewing signs of amity by a white flag, he was accommodated by the inhabitants with whatever he wanted. Here he learnt news of the *East-Indian* carracks, one whereof had lately passed by for *Lisbon*, and that four more were behind. He made after, and soon discover'd the foremost, named the *Santa Cruz* ; which was pressed so close upon by the *English*, that she fir'd her self ; but they took, besides some spoil, certain prisoners out of her, who confess'd, that within fifteen days three other greater carracks would arrive at the same island. Sir *John*, having taken counsel with his officers, departed six or seven leagues to the west of *Flores*, causing the ships in his company to spread themselves north and south two leagues distant from each other, by which extension they could discover two whole degrees. Thus they lay till the third of *August*, when captain *Thomson* first saw that prodigious great carrack, called the *MADRE DE DIOS*, or *Mother of God*, one of the greatest burden belonging to the crown of *Portugal*. Captain *Thomson* first attack'd her, but with the loss of several men ; then Sir *John Burgh*, in the *Roebuck* aforesaid, intangled her ; and Sir *Robert Cross* fasten'd himself to her at the same instant : but Sir *John* was forced to disengage a-while, for fear of sinking, being shot under-water. At last *Cross* fell athwart her all alone, prevented her running ashore to fire her self, as the other had done, and gave the rest time to come up to his succour ; which, after he had fought with her three hours, he receiv'd by the lord *Cumberland's* ships : and then, having made a great slaughter of the *Spaniards*, they boarded and possess'd themselves of her with little difficulty.

Another of great value.

THIS prize was reckon'd the greatest and richest that ever had been brought into *England* ; and when the news of her being taken arriv'd, *Raleigh* was no less diligent to have her safely conducted home, than the officers aforesaid had been in the taking of her. For, after consultation with Sir *John Hawkins*, his chief partner in this enterprise, they wrote a letter to the lord admiral, in these words ; “ Our very good lord, we have confer'd together about the *East-Indian* ship to be brought to *Plymouth* by Sir *John Burgh* ; and, in our opinions, she can be “ no less worth than five hundred thousand pounds ; being a ship of so great burden, and laden “ with so rich commodities as appeareth she is : wherefore we have consider'd, that the *Spanish* “ men of war, lying upon the coast of *Bretagne*, hearing of so great a prize taken from the “ king, or the merchants of the country ; and, envying that such a benefit should grow to us, “ to their hinderance and dishonour, will endeavour by all possible means, being distant but a “ day or night's sailing, either to recover the ship again, or to burn her and all her lading, “ rather than she shall be deliver'd here ; seeing that the places of defence where the ship may “ remain, are not able to resist their power : in our opinion therefore we think fit, and do pray “ your lordship, that the three ships of her majesty's which are appointed to keep the narrow seas, “ may, by your lordship's letter and directions, be appointed to go westward, and there to “ guard the *Indian* ship for a time, until the *Gardland* and some of the same fleet be return'd, “ whose arrival cannot be any long time expected ; or till some order may be taken for the “ unlading or keeping of her otherwise ; which we pray your lordship may be done with “ some expedition. And so we humbly take our leave, this 27th of *August* 1592. Your “ lordship's



“ lordship’s humbly at commandment, *W. Raleigh* (and underneath) *John Hawkins*.”<sup>a</sup> By this means probably such care was taken, that this mighty ship was brought safe into *Dartmouth* on the 7th of *September* following, where it daily drew vast numbers of spectators from all parts to admire at the hugeness of it, being far beyond the model of the biggest shipping then known among us either for war or burden.<sup>b</sup> But as to the lading, tho’ Sir *John Burgh* did prudently seize upon the whole to her majesty’s use, to prevent all licentious spoil; whereby the treasure brought home was sufficient to recompense the adventurers cost, and the sailors peril, however, the dividends are not known, more than that her majesty had the largest share; and tho’, through the varieties thereof, our nation was let into the discovery of those merchandises, whereof we had before but an imperfect knowledge; yet the whole cargo, when it came to be landed and valued in *England*, fell short above two thirds of the computation which had been made by *Raleigh* and *Hawkins*, as above.<sup>c</sup> For it seems there were a large quantity of jewels, and of great value, which were never brought to light; and so much of her other goods was also purloin’d by the sailors, soldiers, and officers, that at her arrival in *England*, she drew five foot less water than she did when she was first freighted at *Cochin* in the *East-Indies*. And indeed the sailors themselves, whom neither order, oath, nor proclamation, could restrain, boldly confess’d, *They had rather trust their souls to a merciful God by Perjury, than their fortunes to the hands of unmerciful men.*<sup>d</sup>

THE latter end of this year, and beginning of next, we meet with Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the parliament-house, whether return’d for a county or a borough, and for which, does not at present particularly occur; but much engaged we find him there throughout this short session,<sup>e</sup> among the ablest heads both in committees, and as a publick speaker. A late author of his life observes, “ that his speeches were full of reason and eloquence, no man in his days being more a master of language than himself;”<sup>f</sup> and matter too, he might have added; none more satisfactorily confirming his arguments with facts and experience than he did, even in his unpremeditated speeches, no less than in the more deliberate compositions of his pen; so full of observation he was upon all times and countries, and so readily he could apply it upon all occasions; which now won him great regard, as a speaker in the house, and afterwards as an author, to the whole world. Soon after the opening of the session, we find him upon the committee for the liberties and privileges of the members, to examine and make report of all such cases touching the elections and returns of any the knights, citizens, burgessees, or barons of the house, as should arise during the said session of parliament: also in another against popish recusants. And when the bill for certain subsidies to be granted her majesty was in debate, and some members were for having it expressly distinguish’d in the bill, that the said subsidies should be for maintaining a war impulsive and defensive against the *Spaniard*, that the conquests we made over them might be legal and warrantable; Sir *Walter Raleigh* seconded those speeches, and said, “ He knew many, who held it not lawful in conscience, as the time was, to take prizes from the *Spaniard*; and he knew, that if it might be lawful and open war, there would be more voluntary hands to fight against the *Spaniard* than the queen should stand in need of to

In parliament.

His character as a speaker.

Argues for a lawful and open war against the *Spaniard*.

<sup>a</sup> This, from the original, among the inestimable treasures in the *Harleian* library; tho’ written neither by *Raleigh* nor *Hawkins*, but perhaps by some secretary, or other person belonging to one of them; for it is sign’d by their own hands, as above. It has also a seal (on soft yellow wax) of *Raleigh*’s coat of arms (hereafter mention’d) in a triangular escutcheon; but the crest (a stag, or other-like horned animal) is different from what he afterwards bore, as will be also observed in the sequel of this work.

<sup>b</sup> This carack was in burden no less than 1600 ton, whereof 900 were merchandize: she carried 32 pieces of brass ordnance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built with decks seven story, one main orlop, three close decks, one forecattle, and a spare-deck of two floors apiece. According to the observations of Mr. *Robert Adams*, an excellent geometrician, she was in length from the beak-head to the stern 165 foot; in breadth near 47 foot; the length of her keel 100 foot; of the main-mast 121 foot; its circuit at the partners near 11 foot; and her main-yard 106 foot.

<sup>c</sup> As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at *Leadenhall* the 15th of *September* this year, the principal wares consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, *Porcellan* or *China* ware, ebony; besides pearl, musk, civit, and ambergris; with many other commodities of inferior value. The *Cargason* freighted ten of our ships for *London*,

and was, by moderate computation, valued at 150000 *l.* Sterling. See a true report of the honourable service at sea, perform’d by Sir *John Burrough*, lieutenant-general of the fleet, prepar’d by the honourable Sir *Walter Raleigh*, lord-warden, &c. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 2. part 2. p. 194. There was also printed another account of this great ship, while it lay in the port aforesaid, in *Quarto*, under this title, *The Seaman’s Triumph*, declaring the honourable actions of such gentlemen, captains, &c. as were at the taking of the great carack lately brought to *Dartmouth*, with her burden and commodities: also the manner of the fight with and burning of another at the *Isle of Flowers*, of the burden of 900 ton, written for truth, to a Gentleman of great worship in *London*. This gentleman, tho’ his name is not prefix’d to the dedication, was Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as may plainly appear to those who have read it, and are acquainted with the history of this action. I never saw but one of these pamphlets, which is in the possession of a nobleman, curious in collections of this kind; and remember to have read in it, that some jars of civit were, through unadvisedness of the sailors, thrown overboard; they not knowing what it was. But in the whole, this tract, as I remember, is not so particular and accurately written, as that account in *Hakluyt* aforesaid.

<sup>d</sup> *Camden’s Annals*, 1592.

<sup>e</sup> It begun Feb. 19. 1592. and was dissolv’d Apr. 9. 1593.

<sup>f</sup> *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh in Lives English and Foreign*, vol. 1. p. 95.



His speech  
for the sub-  
sidy against the  
Spaniards.

“ send to sea.” Accordingly he was appointed of the committee for drawing the articles and preamble of the said bill.<sup>a</sup> Further, when the necessity of the said subsidy came to be enforced, *Ralegh* spake for it, “ not only (as he protested) to please the queen, to whom he was infinitely bound above his deserts; but for the necessity he both saw and knew.” He very well discover’d the great strength of the king of *Spain*; and, to shew his mightiness, he told how he possess’d all the world; as also that his malice and ill purpose was evident to this realm, he shewed how on every side he had beleagu’d us. “ That in *Denmark*, the king being young, had corrupted the council and nobility; so as it was very likely he would speed himself of shipping from thence. In the marine towns of the *Low-Countries*, and in *Norway*, he laid in great store of shipping. In *France*, he had the parliament-towns at his command; in *Britany*, he had all the best havens; and in *Scotland*, had so corrupted the nobility, that he had promis’d them forces to assist the papists; that they were ready to join with any foreign forces that would make them strong, to be by themselves and resist others; for, as he thought, there were not six gentlemen of that country of one religion. In his own country, there is all possible preparing; and he is coming with sixty gallies, besides other shipping, with purpose to annoy us. We must then have no ships, if he invade us riding at anchor; all will be little enough to withstand him. At his coming, he fully resolveth to get *Plymouth*, or at least to possess some of the havens this summer within our land; and *Plymouth* is a place of most danger, for no ordnance can be carried thither to remove him, the passages will not give leave. Now the way to defeat him, is to send a royal army to supplant him in *Britany*, and to possess our selves there; and to send a strong navy to sea, and to lye upon the *Cape* and at *Lambuck*; to which places come all his ships with riches from all parts, and then they may set upon all that come. This we are able to do, and undoubtedly with fortunate success, if we undertake it.”<sup>b</sup> But some division arising upon the question how they should make the motion for this supply to the lords, *Ralegh* made so judicious a distinction of the cause thereof, and so clearly demonstrated the erroneous manner in which it had been propounded, that it appears plainly, the successful turn which follow’d thereupon was owing to him alone. For, said *Ralegh*, “ had the question but been put, whether they should only yield to a conference in general with the lords? the house would not have been against it;” therefore desir’d the speaker to put it to the question, whether they should confer with the lords generally or not, without naming the subsidy? This motion was so well liked, that *Ralegh* was desir’d by the house to repeat it over again, that it might be better heard by them all. Thereupon he said, “ that as it had been lately receiv’d in the negative, he would not make it a question again, for by the order of the house he could not;” but propounded it as a new question, “ Whether the house would be pleased to have a general conference with the lords, touching the great and imminent dangers of the realm and state, and the present necessary supply of treasure to be provided speedily for the same, according to the proportion of the necessity?” Being stated in this manner, it was assented to by the whole house, without one negative voice.<sup>c</sup> But one of the members, *Mr. Oliver St. John*, making some misconstruction of the vice-chamberlain’s speech upon this occasion, *Sir Walter Ralegh* further explain’d the matter agreed upon by the house to him, in these words. “ If we confer generally, it must be of our dangers, and of the remedies, which must be by means; if of means, it must be of money and aid. So our conference must needs be of subsidy, or rather aid: but to agree upon this with any resolution either in the matter or substance, it is not our meaning.”<sup>d</sup> After this conference, several forms of provision were propos’d by way of treble subsidies, and like proportionable fifteenths and tenths, with other kinds of benevolence; and many excellent speeches passed upon that part of this important affair. *Sir Thomas Cecill* was for three subsidies to be paid in four years, and to be charged upon men of ten pounds and upwards, to spare those who were under. *Sir Henry Knivet* alledged the poverty of our country against the reasons used, and imputed that poverty to the bringing in more foreign wares, than we vented commodities, whereby our money was carried out of our country, which was thus become like a pond that was fed with a spring, but having a breach, through which more passed away than came in: thereupon moved for a survey to be taken of all mens lands and goods in *England*, and so much to be yearly levied as might maintain the queen’s wars, the proportion being set a hundred thousand pounds yearly; or, if that was disliked, every man on his word should deliver in, to his power, the profits of his lands and

<sup>a</sup> *Sir Simon Devere’s Journal of queen Elizabeth’s parliaments*, fol. 1708 p. 478.

<sup>b</sup> *Sir Simon Devere*, fol. 484. and *Haywood & Torrey’s Hist. Coll.* fol. 65. <sup>c</sup> *Devere’s Journ.* fol. 488. <sup>d</sup> *Id.* 490.



goods; so a proportion to be cess'd accordingly. To him who argued of the poverty of the land, from the multitude of beggars, *Raleigh* gave these reasons: "That the broken companies in *Normandy* and the *Low-Countries*, who returned maimed hither, never went back again to the towns from whence they came: for a multitude of clothiers, taking their looms into their hands, spun their wool themselves; and except we would work for them cheaper than they can make themselves, they will set none to work. This engrossing of so many trades into their own hands, beggars so many as usually lived by the trade." As for the surveying of so many mens estates, he thought it inconvenient. "For many, being esteemed richer than they are, would be found beggars, and increase the opinion of their number, by losing their credit, which is now their wealth. He further reported of his own knowledge, that the *West-Country*, since the parliament begun, had taken from them the worth of four hundred and forty thousands pound; and that those of *Newcastle* lay still for fear, because the *Bourdeaux* fleet was taken this year by the enemy. For the enemy approaching us, and being become our neighbour, our trades will decay every day, and so our poverty increases. Thus it is most certain; the longer we defer aid, the less able we shall be to yield it; yet in the end, the greater aid will be required; so sparing them now, we shall charge them when they shall be less able to bear it: for it is most true, one hundred thousand pounds would have done the last year, that which three will not now do; and three will do this year, that which six will not do hereafter." In the conclusion, he agreed to three subsidies; in them, the three pound-men to be spared; the sum which came from them, to be levied upon those of ten pound and upwards; and the payment to be speedy.<sup>a</sup> Mr. *Francis Bacon* assented to three subsidies; but not to the payments under six years: but to his reasons of difficulty and danger in a speedier levy, which might hazard a double peril, by making it four shillings in the pound, a double payment; *Raleigh* answer'd, "I see no reason that the suspicion of discontentment should cross the provision for the present danger. The time is now more dangerous than it was in eighty-eight; for then the *Spaniard* coming from *Spain*, was to pass dangerous seas, and had no place of retreat or relief if he fail'd: but now he has in *Britany* great store of shipping; a landing-place in *Scotland*; and men and horses there as good as any we have. But for the difficulty in getting this subsidy, I think it seems more difficult by speaking, than it would be in gathering." In the end, it was carried agreeable to his propositions; the grant of a triple subsidy being agreed to, and of six fifteenths and tenths; to be levied and paid in four years, by a certain form which they had set down in articles; that is to say, one entire subsidy and two fifteenths and tenths at one payment in the first year; and one other entire subsidy, with two fifteenths and tenths at another payment in the second year; and one entire subsidy and two fifteenths and tenths at two payments in the third and fourth years.<sup>c</sup>

Soon after there was a bill read in the house against counterfeiting the bands of counsellors or principal officers; and upon the second reading, it was committed to Sir *John Woolley* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with others. But after a meeting in the *Middle Temple* hall, Sir *John* made report to the house, that himself, and the residue of the committee, upon the end of their examination and travel therein, did all of them think it a very dangerous bill; and not fit, in their opinion, to pass the house; to whose consideration they further thought proper to leave it. And because it was a bill which came from the lords, they thought good, with the said report first made, to deliver the said bill again into this house, and there to leave it as it is, and not otherwise. But the bill against aliens selling foreign wares among us by retail, produced several weighty arguments and speeches in the house, which have been transmitted to us. These foreigners it seems were *Dutchmen*, who had nestled themselves in *St. Martins*, anciently allow'd for a sanctuary, and therefore still had this privilege: here they practis'd spinning and weaving, to the great detriment and complaint of merchants and regular dealers in our own city; insomuch that threescore *English* retailers had been ruin'd by them since the last parliament, to the diminution, besides their own private substance, of the queen's subsidy and the publick treasure of the kingdom; twenty thousand pounds a year at least having been carried out of the realm by them. They had indeed some learned council who pleaded for them at the bar, and some of the members spoke in their behalf. One of them said, this bill was thrust into the house by our mercantile engrossers; that their beggaring the domestick retailers might be imputed to the strangers retailing. But he was answered by another with arguments to prove that engrossing was sufferable among merchants. Others again ran upon the more universal topics of charity, in giving shelter and means of getting livelihood to poor destitute strangers, who fly to us for religion and relief: that we have been strangers, and allow'd the liberty we deny; that now

<sup>a</sup> *Dava's Journal*, fol. 492.    <sup>b</sup> *Id.* 493.    <sup>c</sup> *Id.* 495.



His speech  
against foreign  
Retailers.

they are strangers, and we may be so hereafter. Again, that it was an honour for one country to be hospitable to another; would extend its renown; increase its riches; strengthen its interest; and induce them to a mutual return of favours: lastly, that their example is profitable, through the patterns of piety and industry they disperse among us. Other arguments were used; but against these, *Raleigh* concurr'd with those who thought that denization ought not to circumvent birth-right; and that to behave our selves like citizens to foreigners, was but making our selves strangers to our neighbours. “Whereas it is pretended (says he) that for strangers, it is against charity, against honour, against profit, to expel them; in my opinion, it is no matter of *charity* to relieve them. For first, such as fly hither have forsaken their own king; and religion is no pretext for them, for we have no *Dutchmen* here, but such as come from those princes where the gospel is preach'd; yet here they live, disliking our church. For *honour*: it is honour to use strangers as we be used among strangers; and it is a lightness in a commonwealth, yea, a baseness in a nation, to give a liberty to another nation which we cannot receive again. In *Antwerp*, where our intercourse was most, we were never suffer'd to have a taylor or a shoo-maker to dwell. Nay, at *Milan*, where there are three hundred-pound *Englishmen*, they cannot so much as have a barber among them. And for *profit*; they are all of the house of *Almoigne*, who pay nothing; yea, eat out our profits, and supplant our own nation. Custom indeed they pay; paying fifteen-pence where we pay twelve-pence; but they are discharged of subsidies. The nature of the *Dutchman* is to fly to no man but for his profit; and they will obey no man long; now under *Spain*; now under *Mountfort*; now under the prince of *Orange*; but under no governor long. The *Dutchman*, by his policy, hath gotten trading with all the world into his hands; yea, he is now entering into the trade of *Scarborough*-fishing, and the fishing of the *Newfoundlands*, which is the stay of the *West-Countries*. They are the people that maintain the king of *Spain* in his greatness; were it not for them, he were never able to make out such armies and navies by sea; it cost her majesty sixteen thousand pounds a year the maintaining of these countries; and for all this, they arm her enemies against her. Therefore, I see no reason that such respect should be given to them: and, to conclude; in the whole, no matter of honour, no matter of charity, no profit in relieving them.”<sup>a</sup> This speech we may meet with in some modern writings, quoted in Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s praise, both for his knowledge in the interest of his country, and his unbiass'd affection in exerting it. As for the bill, he was one to whom it was committed, and who, after the travels of the said committee upon it, offer'd it again to the house with the addition of a proviso. On the 27th of *March* following, that is to say, in the year 1593, it was read the third time; and, after many long speeches, which are not specify'd, passed upon the question, by the division of the house, with the difference of fourscore voices; the *Yeas* being a hundred sixty-two, the *Noes* eighty-two. About a week afterwards there was a bill, for explaining a branch in an *act to retain the queen's subjects in due obedience*, read; and many speeches pass'd in the house before it was committed, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the said bill. For it pretended a punishment only of the *Brownists* and other sectaries; but, alledging nothing against them in particular, contained some ensnaring clauses that might comprehend more innocent persons. As the speeches before Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s, on this occasion, are not rehearsed, we can only guess at them, by what is preserv'd of his; who said, “In my conceit, the *Brownists* are worthy to be rooted out of a commonwealth:<sup>b</sup> but what danger may grow to our selves if this law pass, were fit to be

And upon the  
bill against  
the *Brownists*

<sup>a</sup> *Dee's* Journal, fol. 509.

<sup>b</sup> This sect was so call'd from *Robert Brown*, son of *Anthony Brown Esq;* of *Tolthorp* in *Rutlandshire*, and grandson of *Francis Brown*, whom king *Henry VIII.* Anno Regn. 18. privileg'd by charter to wear his cap in presence of himself, his heirs, or any of his nobles, and not to uncover but at his own pleasure. This *Robert* studied divinity in *Cambridge*, and was soon discover'd by *Dr. Still*, master of *Trinity-College*, to have somewhat extraordinary in him that would prove a great disturbance to the Church. He travel'd to *Zeland*, and return'd, as we are told, confirm'd in error and obitnacy, which he first preach'd at *Norwich* Anno 1581, and wrote a book to justify his doctrine; for which bishop *Phreak* of that diocese confin'd him: but being related to the lord *Burghley*, and he rather imputing it to zeal than malice, interceded to have him charitably persuaded out of his opinions, and released. The latter being done, he was sent home in 1585, but remain'd incorrigible; wherefore his good old father would own him for his son no longer than his son own'd

the Church of *England* for his mother; but he chose rather to part with his aged sire than his new schism: so, with *Richard Harrison* a schoolmaster, he set up for an orator against bishops and all ecclesiastical authority. When gentleness was found ineffectual, severity was so long, and upon so many occasions exercis'd, that this *Brown* used to boast he had been committed to *thirty-two prisons*, and in some could not see his hand at noon-day; yet did he to the last save his life and living, which was *Achurch* in *Northamptonshire*. This favour is conceived to proceed from the promises he made of conformity, together with the interest of his powerful kindred. He allowed a salary for one to discharge his cure; and tho' he oppos'd his parishioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tithes. He was of a nature uncontrollable, so far from the *Sabbatarian* strictness, afterwards espou'd by some of his followers, that he seem'd rather a libertine therein. In a word, he had (says my author) a wife with whom he never lived, and a church in which he never preach'd; tho' he receiv'd the profits thereof; and as all the other sects



“ be consider’d. For it is to be fear’d that men not guilty will be included in it: and that  
 “ law is hard, that taketh life, and sendeth into banishment; where mens *Intentions* shall be  
 “ judged by a jury; and they shall be judges what another means. But that law, which is  
 “ against a fact, is but just; and punish the fact as severely as you will. If two or three thou-  
 “ sand *Brownists* meet at the sea, at whose charge shall they be transported, or whither will  
 “ you send them? I am sorry for it, but I am afraid there are near twenty thousand of them in  
 “ *England*; and when they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and children?”<sup>a</sup> A com-  
 mittee was therefore appointed to revise and correct this bill, among whom *Raleigh* is the fore-  
 most named; who, after many subtractions, alterations and debates, moved it might be read  
 to the house for their approbation: and, after many arguments and conferences, being read the  
 third time, as were also the additions and amendments, it passed upon the question. *Raleigh*  
 was frequently in committees upon other bills during this session, till it was dissolved on the 10th  
 of *April* following; but as his arguments upon them are not preserv’d, we shall refer to the ti-  
 tles of these bills in the *journals of parliament*, whence we have extracted his speeches upon  
 those before mention’d.

THIS year we met with a notable libel in print, set forth by a *Lover of his Country*, as he  
 calls himself, to expose and scandalize certain ministers and counsellors of state, who had been  
 instrumental in framing that searching proclamation against the *Seminaries* which was publish’d  
 about two years before.<sup>b</sup> For the king of *Spain* having lately founded an *English* cloyster at  
*Valladolid*, as a nursery to supply us with treason and rebellion; so many hopeful stocks of that  
 species were soon transplanted into *England*, as occasion’d the said proclamation to extirpate  
 them. Now this *Answer* was publish’d to calumniate the supposed authors of it; and as  
*Raleigh* appears, among other very good company, to have his share of the slander therein; so  
 he might probably have had a hand in those wholesome articles for the safety of the realm,  
 which occasion’d it. For, to the great honour of his knowledge in the constitution of his coun-  
 try, and his constant zeal for its security and welfare, he was, tho’ no counsellor of state, often  
 call’d to the council table; where no small difference was paid to his arguments and observa-  
 tions in the various debates that arose upon matters in church or state, in war or peace. After  
 this libel has revil’d the greatest and wisest ministers of the nation, it seems to have reserved the  
 quintessence for him, who had the ability so many ways to crush the pernicious purposes which  
 were daily hatching by the viperous brood which brought it forth; tho’ after all, by embarking  
 his character in such an old and shatter’d bottom of detraction, ’tis much they could so long  
 keep its weather-beaten credit a-float: and indeed, how they came to launch first out into such  
 an improbable contumely, seems a mystery comprehensible only to the patron of their iniquity.  
 For *Raleigh* had given such proofs of his sound and sincere affection to religion, some of which  
 have in the foregoing pages been noted, that his sentiments were made use of to reform or regu-  
 late even the professors of it; yet now his head must be turn’d so excessively to its detriment,  
 as to provoke this libeller’s pious spleen against nothing less than *Sir Walter Raleigh’s School of*  
*Atheism*; compendiously insinuating, as if truly he was not satisfied with being a disciple, but  
 set up for a doctor in his faculty, and won young “ gentlemen into his said school; wherein  
 “ the Old and New Testament were jested at, and scholars taught to spell *God* backwards.”  
 Then he complains, “ what a miserable thing it is, that her majesty should make laws  
 “ and proclamations according to these mens senses and opinions.”<sup>c</sup> But there may need little  
 pains

Aspers’d with  
*Atheism*.

of his life were stormy and turbulent, so was his end; for the constable of his parish requiring somewhat roughly the payment of certain rates, his passion moved him to blows, whereof complaint being made to Justice *St. John*, he rather inclin’d to pity than punish him; but *Brown*, at fair words also disgusted, ceased not till he was sent to *Northampton* jail on a bed in a cart, being very infirm, and aged above eighty years; where soon after he sicken’d and died *Anno* 1630. Thus the church historians have painted out this story, but in larger dimensions. See *Fidler*, &c. As for *Brown*’s tenets, ’tis said one *Bulston* had preach’d them among us, and that they are only revived from the ancient *Donatists*; but those, who think it worth while to hunt more distinctly after them, may read *Dr. Fulk*; *Rogers* on the sixteenth article; *Dayrel* against the *Brownists*; *Breckwell’s* Detection of *Glover* the *Brownist*; *Gifford’s* Treatise of *English Donatists*; with his Reply to *Barrone* and *Greenwood*; and *Stow’s Chronicle*; where it appears the *Brownist*’s books were prohibited by authority, and that some were hang’d for dispersing them, with such-like writings. There is a volume (containing some ingenious remarks) ascribed to the earl of *Argyle*, and named the *Happy future State of England*, which fol. 280.

quotes from this speech of *Sir Walter Raleigh*’s, his ob-  
 servation above, to what number the *Brownists* were so  
 early multiply’d; yet, as he adds, the name of these  
 schismatics is now evaporated, and their tenets almost  
 universally unknown.

<sup>a</sup> *Townshend’s Historical Collections*, fol. 76. and *Dewes’s*  
*Journal*, fol. 517.

<sup>b</sup> *Elizabethae Reginae Angliae Edictum, promulg. Lond.*  
*Nov. 29. 1591. Et Andr. Philopatris ad idem Responso.*  
*8vo. Lugd. ap. J. Didier. 1593.*

<sup>c</sup> See the said *Responso. ad Elizab. Reg. Edictum contra*  
*Catholicos*, under that name of *Andr. Philopater*; also an  
 extract or abbreviation of the same in *English*, printed at  
*London* in 8vo. near the same time: and the same extract,  
 or another of it, in a late collection, named, *Miscellanies*  
*Historical and Philological*, &c. found in a nobleman’s  
 study, 8vo. 1703. p. 171. It is in this book call’d, *An*  
*advertisement to a secretary of the lord-treasurer’s, by an*  
*English Intelligencer*, &c. concerning a book writ in *Latin*, and  
 published in divers languages, against her majesty’s late pro-  
 clamations for search and apprehension of seminary priests, and  
 their receivers. That intelligencer gives this character of it;  
 “ I assure you, it is the most sharp, bitter and odious  
 “ thing



pains to blunt the point of this dart, when we shall further consider that it came out of a jesuitical quiver ; for by whom should it be levell'd against him but *Robert Parsons*, the notorious traitor and incendiary ! however deeply he disguis'd himself into a *Lover of his Country*. So that, till we shall find a more credible father for the aspersions, we may safely enough believe it no genuine issue of truth : nevertheless, some ten years after, when *Raleigh* was trampled down by the court, and there was a turn of state to serve, this might be a good serviceable obloquy enough to upbraid him with, and depreciate him in the eye of the populace. But these prejudic'd representations will probably be thought of so little authority, that the reasons and matter of fact which have been produc'd in a poetical performance, may be sufficient to make those stains even befriend his reputation, and brighten it in clearing them away.<sup>a</sup>

INDEED there is a traditional author who accounts for the grounds of this aspersion, in the following words ; “ Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the first (as I have heard) who ventur'd to tack  
“ about, and sail aloof from the beaten tract of the *schools* ; and who, upon the discovery of  
“ so apparent an error as a *Torrid Zone*, intended to proceed in an inquisition after more solid  
“ truths : till the mediation of some, whose livelihood lay in hammering *shrines* for this super-  
“ annuated *study*, possessed queen *Elizabeth* that such doctrine was against God, no less than  
“ her father's honour ; whose faith (if he owned any) was grounded upon *school divinity* :  
“ whereupon she chid him ; who was (by his own confession) ever after branded with the ti-  
“ tle of an atheist, tho' a known assertor of God and Providence.”<sup>b</sup> That he was such as-  
sertor, seems to be affirmed by an author of his acquaintance, who introduces the apparition  
of Sir *Walter*, speaking to him in this manner. “ Thou well knowest that the world hath, at  
“ sundry times, cast a foul and most unjust aspersion upon me for my presumed denial of a  
“ Deity ; from which abominable and horrible crime I was ever most free ; and not any man  
“ now living better knows the same than thy self ; in whose presence I was often accusom'd  
“ highly to praise and esteem the book of *Lessius*, written in proof of the being of a Deity.”  
So requests, that he would translate the same into *English*, “ which I my self, says the ghost, had  
“ done, if cruel fate had not untimely cut off the thread of my mortality ; and let the title bear  
“ my name ; that so the readers may acknowledge it was done by my sollicitation.” Then the  
said translator of that book says in his own person to the reader, “ It is well known that  
“ Sir *Walter* was a man of great natural parts ; and yet was suspected of the most foul and exe-  
“ crable crime of atheism ; how truly God and himself only knows ; yet *I have reason to think*  
“ *it a false aspersion.*”<sup>c</sup> If thus much is said of *Raleigh* by an author who knew him ; what  
credit shall we pay to another who wrote many years later ? never knew him, produces no au-  
thority for the principles he charges upon him ; yet pretends to give us the tutor's name from  
whom he imbib'd them ; and that, a man of no less learning and merit than the famous  
Mr. *Thomas Hariot* ?<sup>d</sup> This was that *English* philosopher from whose illustrious discoveries,  
he, who was the glory of the *French* philosophers, is not denied to have borrowed much of the

“ thing that ever I think was written by the papists.”  
See the said *Miscellanies*, p. 164. *Will. Watfon* the secular  
priest, speaking of *Blackwell* the arch-priest's inhibition  
against certain catholic books, says, “ Among other er-  
“ rors committed by him therein, it was one, that he  
“ would suffer all *Parsons's* seditious books to pass cur-  
“ rent ; as his *Philopater*, speaking most rebelliously  
“ against her majesty and the whole state and nobles of  
“ the land.” See his *Quodlibets* of religion and state,  
4to. 1602. p. 107. There was also the like extract of  
this *Philopater* made in some *Collections of Poetry, His-  
tory, &c.* by *John Heyward* of *Gray's Inn* Esq; which I  
have seen in a *Quarto* volume among the MSS. of the  
late curious *Thomas Granger* Esq; which *Collections* are  
likewise mention'd in the *Catalogue of the remaining part*  
*of his MSS.* p. 6. No. 18.

<sup>a</sup> The late Dr. *George Sewell*, in his tragedy of *Sir Wal-  
ter Raleigh*, 8vo. 1719. Act I. Scene I. makes the fol-  
lowing reflexion on the attorney general's starting from  
the question in debate at *Raleigh's* trial, to upbraid him  
with this imputation of atheism.

*Sir Julius Caesar.* When prejudice and strong aver-  
sions work,  
All whose opinions we dislike are *Atheists* ;  
Now 'tis a term of art, a bugbear word,  
The villain's engine, and the vulgar's terror.  
The man who thinks and judges for himself ;  
Unsway'd by aged follies, rev'rend errors ;  
Grown holy by traditionary dullness  
Of school-authority ; he is an *Atheist* !  
Tho' man, who hating idle noise, preserves

A pure religion seated in his soul ;  
He is a silent, dumb, dissembling *Atheist* !  
*Lord Howard.* I had forgot it—yes the base-tongu'd  
gownman  
Did call him *Atheist*—so men judge at home,  
Who never trac'd a Providence at sea ;  
And saw his wonders in the mighty deep.  
The *Atheist*-sailor were a monstrous thing,  
More wonderful than all old ocean breeds !  
But I will witness for my *Raleigh's* faith ;  
Yes, I have seen him when the tempest rag'd,  
When from the precipice of mountain-waves,  
All hearts have trembled at the gulph below ;  
He with a fleshy, supplicating look,  
Display'd his trust in that tremendous pow'r,  
Who curbs the billows, and cuts short the wings  
Of the rude whirlwind in its midway course,  
And bids the madness of the waves to cease.  
O fellow-soldier ! were that folly thine ;  
Tho' thou wert dearer than the love of honour  
To this old bosom ; I would pluck thee hence,  
Tho' my heart crack'd—

<sup>b</sup> *Francis Osborn's Miscellany of sundry Essays, Para-  
doxes, &c.* in preface to the reader, among his works the  
last edition, vol. 1. 12mo. 1722.

<sup>c</sup> *Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost* : or his Apparition to an in-  
timate friend, willing him to translate into *English* the  
learned book of *Leonard Lessius*, entitled, *De Providentia*  
*Numinis, & animi immortalitate, &c.* 8vo. 1651. with  
*Sir Walter Raleigh's* picture before it, grav'd by *R. Vaughan*.

<sup>d</sup> *Ant. Wood Ath. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 460.



light wherewith he shone: <sup>a</sup> this was that excellent mathematician, who, says our author *Wood* aforesaid, “coming to the knowledge of this heroic knight Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was entertain’d by him in his family, who allow’d him a yearly pension, <sup>b</sup> and was instructed by him at leisure hours in that science.” <sup>c</sup> This was that virtuous and religious man, who, being sent over by Sir *Walter Raleigh* with his first colony to *Virginia*, but did not bear him company, as the said author mistakes, to survey the bounds of the *English* discoveries, with the commodities and customs of the country, did first communicate the gospel to those heathen inhabitants; and, “in every town where he came, explained to them the contents of the Bible; declaring, that therein was set forth the true and only *God*, and his mighty works; that therein was contain’d the true doctrine of salvation through *Christ*; with many particulars of miracles and chief points of religion, as I was able then to utter (continues he) and thought fit for the time. And tho’ I told them the book, materially and of itself, was not of such vertue as I thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contain’d; yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke over all their bodies with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.” <sup>d</sup> Yet this is the man whom the above-cited *Anthony Wood* charges with having had strange thoughts of the scripture; with undervaluing the old story of the creation; with never believing that trite position *Ex nihilo nihil fit*; with making a *philosophical Theology*, wherein he cast off the *Old Testament*; so that consequently the *New* would have no foundation. Further, with being a Deist, and imparting his doctrine to the earl of *Northumberland*, into whose service *Raleigh* had recommended him, and of whom he also receiv’d a yearly pension of a hundred and twenty pounds. Lastly, with infusing those principles likewise into Sir *Walter Raleigh* himself, when he was compiling his *History of the World*. This last insinuation, and probably all the rest, is surely a manifest slander, as *Wood* himself must have own’d, if he had sufficiently read that *History of the World*; where Sir *Walter Raleigh* has, in many places, given stronger evidences of his Christian faith, than any of his detractors ever did of theirs. And however *Harriot* might controvert certain theological matters with some divines of those times, which made them have no good opinion of him (says *Wood*) and look upon the manner of his death as a judgment; not unlike the charity of some divines in all times; yet enough of his religious character <sup>e</sup> might be said, as there has been of his patron, Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s, to clear them both from this common and threadbare calumny.

As for *Raleigh*, what might not a little sharpen these detractions against him, was perhaps a grant about this time made him from the crown of some church-lands; a course of reward usual with queen *Elizabeth* towards such as had perform’d any considerable services for the state. The

<sup>a</sup> This assertion will further appear to any who shall have the curiosity to consult the late learned Dr. *John Wallis*, in his treatise of *Algebra*, where he compares the improvements which *Harriot* made, with what *Descartes* has advanced, as his own, without mentioning the name of this *Englishman* in his *Geometry*; and gives it clearly on *Harriot*’s side. Nay, this *Plagiarism* was so well known, as to have been objected against Monsieur *Descartes* in his own country; and the *Frenchman*, who has paid the singular honours to his memory of writing his life, having confess’d it was the opinion of some, that he stole his method of *Algebra* from one *Harriot*, an *Englishman*, does not go about to contradict it. See the life of Monsieur *Descartes*, translated from the *French* by S. R. 8vo. Lond. 1693. p. 283.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Pref. R. Hakluyt ad orbem novum, scriptum per P. Martyr. Angler. 8vo. Paris, 1587. of which I have met with this note,

Editor dicat Gualtero Raleigho, quem impense laudat: Bibliopola vero Chartam Geographica Ricardo Hakluyto ducit.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. Oxon ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> See Mr. *Harriot*’s brief and true Report of the New-foundland of *Virginia*, &c in Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 277, 278.

<sup>e</sup> For would Dr. *Richard Corbet*, as orthodox a divine as any of them, and afterwards a bishop of the Church, tell Sir *Thomas Aylesbury*, That *Harriot*’s deep mine was without dross, if it had any such allay? See his Poems, 8vo. 3d edit. 1672. p. 56. Would another as grave and virtuous an author as any in those times, Mr. *George Chapman*, his contemporary, tell all who knew him, in the preface to his *Homer’s Iliad*, “That some places he had shewn to his worthy and most learned friend Mr. *Harriot*; whose judgment and knowledge in all kinds I know (says he) to be incomparable and bottomless; yea, to be admir’d as much, as his most blameless life, and the

“right sacred expence of his time, is to be honour’d and reverenc’d; if this were not his true character.” Nor is it likely the earl of *Northumberland* would also have made such a man a domestic, and allowed him so handsome a salary, to have infected his sons with atheistical principles: neither would *Harriot*’s noble executors, Sir *Thomas Aylesbury*, and *Robert Sidney*, viscount *Lisle*, have bestowed on him in *St. Christopher’s Church, London*, where he was buried in July 1621, a monument, since destroyed by the great fire, with an inscription that might have been contradicted by all the town, if it had been false; beginning as follows: *Omnes scientias calluit, & in omnibus excelluit; Mathematicis, Philosophicis, Theologicis, veritatis indagator studiosissimus, Dei Trinitus cultor piissimus, &c.* As to the manner of his death, Dr. *Alex. Rhead*, in his works, Lond. 1650. treat. 2. lect. 26. speaking of the lip, says, “That cancerous ulcers often seize on that part; and that this grief hastned the end of that famous mathematician Mr. *Harriot*, with whom I was acquainted (says he) but a short time before his death.” He adds none of those scandalous reflections aforesaid; and whether it begun first in his lip, seems not to have known; tho’ possibly the brass instruments which mathematicians are so familiar with, and, for readiness, often hold in their mouths, might occasion such a disease. But I have seen an epigram in MS. as old as the time of his death, which makes an allusion or comparison between the ulcer in Mr. *Harriot*’s Nose, and that in Count *Gondomar*’s Posteriors (who had a Fistula) and my reader may see that Epigram too, if he pleases; for it is lately printed by Mr. *Morgan*, in his *Phoenix Britannicus*, or *Revival of scarce Tracts*, 4to. 1731. p. 368. As to his learned writings, they are mentioned by *Ant. Wood*; but not all of them, for he wrote a Chronicle of *Virginia*, besides the Brief Report thereof before quoted; and mentions the particulars of that Chronicle in the said Brief Report. See Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 280.



story, as we are forc'd to gather it from those authors, by whom it has not been over-favourably told, is, That about the year 1594<sup>a</sup> the bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *John Coldwell*, who had been bred a physician, gave his see a strong purge, by alienating the manor of *Sherborne* to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Sir *John Harrington*, before quoted, speaks of an ominous presage, to make his tale as affecting as he can to prince *Henry*, and insinuate the displeasure even of Heaven against Sir *Walter Raleigh*; where he observes, "That Sir *Walter*, using often to ride  
 " post in these days, upon no small employments, between *Plymouth* and the court, when  
 " *Sherborne* castle being right in the way, he cast such an eye upon it, as *Ahab* did (says he) upon  
 " *Naboth's* vineyard; and once above the rest being talking of it; of the commodiousness of  
 " the place; of the strength of the seat; and how easily it might be got from the bishoprick;  
 " suddenly, over and over came his horse; that his very face, which was then thought a very  
 " good face, plough'd up the earth where he fell. This fall was ominous, I make no question  
 " (says he) as the like was observ'd in the lord *Hastings*, &c. but his brother *Adrian* would  
 " needs have him interpret that, not as a courtier, but as a conqueror, it presaged the quiet  
 " possession thereof. And this, through the queen's favour, came to pass:"<sup>b</sup> for after Dr. *John Piers* was translated to *York*, this Dr. *Coldwell* was elected to succeed him in the see of *Salisbury*; but it lay vacant three years: in which dangerous juncture for denial, all the Doctor's church-preferments being dispos'd of, yet before his election was confirm'd, Sir *Walter Raleigh* (as the church-historians have colour'd it out) assaulted his consent; importun'd him to pass *Sherborne* to the crown, and effected it; so shot the good old man (as one of them phrases it) *between wind and water*; tho' indeed (confesses) a good round rent was reserved to the bishoprick. Then Sir *Walter* begg'd the same of the queen, and obtain'd it; much after the same method Sir *William Killigrew* got the manor of *Crediton* (a bough almost as big as the rest of the body) from the church of *Exeter*, by the consent of bishop *Babington*.<sup>c</sup> We shall leave it for *Harrington* to determine whether *Raleigh*, who was now so high in the queen's favour, might with less suit than he was fain to make to her before he could perfect this purchase (as he perhaps at last justly calls it) and with less money than he bestowed afterwards on *Sherborne*, in buying out leases and in drawing the river through rocks into his garden, have compassed a better, without giving umbrage to church or state: while from others we observe, that *Raleigh* embellish'd his sovereign's bounty with great magnificence and commendation; not that he was in danger thereby of falling under the remark he has made on common builders of sumptuous seats, *That men are rather known by their houses, than their houses by them*; <sup>d</sup> it not being easy for him, who had been such a solid architect in the temple of fame, to make his habitation more considerable than its inhabitant, or raise any edifice with his fortune, which should be more illustrious than what he had already founded by his virtue. Yet his elegant taste in building is sufficiently attested by an author who survey'd the improvements he made upon this estate when they were fresh and in their splendor, and who tells us, "That the queen having  
 " granted the see-farm of *Sherborne* to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, he began to build the castle very  
 " fairly; but altering his purpose, he built in the park adjoining a most fine house, which he  
 " beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves of much variety and great delight: so that, whe-  
 " ther you consider the pleasantness of the seat, the goodness of the soil, or the other delica-  
 " cies belonging to it, it rests (says he) unparallel'd by any in these parts."<sup>e</sup> How he came afterwards to be juggled out of it, may also sufficiently appear when we arrive at the latter part of his life. But here, since we have touch'd something upon gardening, we may take an opportunity of remembring a plantation of his, which is somewhat observable. A late author mentions it with respect to him, but in a distant manner; where, telling us, "That  
 " *Beddington* near *Croydon* in *Surrey*, is a neat curious seat, built by Sir *Francis Carew*,"<sup>f</sup> he further adds; "The orchards and gardens are very pleasant, and especially famous for

His manor of  
*Sherborne*,

And build-  
ings there.

<sup>a</sup> *Richard Ifacke's Antiquities of Exeter*, 8vo. 1681. p. 141.

<sup>b</sup> *Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England*, &c. p. 92.

<sup>c</sup> *Fuller's Church-History*, lib. 10. p. 27. Where he also observes, that among the acts passed in king *James* the first's parliament, none were more beneficial for the church, than that which made the king himself and his successors incapable of any such church-land to be convey'd to them; yet some (adds he) were so bold as to conceive this law void in the very making of it, and that all the obligations thereof confided (not in the strength of the law) but only in the king's and his successors voluntary obedience thereunto: accounting it injurious for any prince in parliament to tie up his successors, who neither can nor

will be concluded thereby further than it stands with their own convenience: however, it was to stand in force till the same power should be pleased to rescind it.

<sup>d</sup> *History of the World*, lib. 5. sect. 4. cap. 1.

<sup>e</sup> See *Coker's Survey of Dorsetshire*, fol. 1732. p. 124.

<sup>f</sup> *Fuller*, in his *Worthies of Surrey*, says, it was Sir *Nicholas Carew* (put to death by king *Henry VIII.* for retorting some sharp words upon him, with more truth than discretion) who built the fair house, or palace rather, at *Beddington*, which by the advantage of the water is a paradise of pleasure. However Sir *Francis*, who was a curious and polite gentleman, and lived very nobly here the latter end of queen *Elizabeth's* reign, did enrich it with considerable improvements.



“ the orange-trees, which have now grown there above these hundred years ; being planted, in the  
 “ open-ground, under a moveable covert, during the winter months : they were the first that were  
 “ brought into *England*, by a knight of that noble family ; who deserves no less commenda-  
 “ tion than *Lucullus* met with for bringing cherry and filbert-trees out of *Pontus* into *Italy* ;  
 “ for which he is celebrated by *Pliny* and others.”<sup>a</sup> Now it has been a constant tradition at  
*Beddington*, that this knight of that noble family was Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was allied there-  
 to, if not otherwise, by the last of that surname’s adopting his near kinsman, a *Throgmorton*, to  
 be his heir, on condition that he would assume the name and arms of *Carew* :<sup>b</sup> and how *Raleigh*  
 became related to the *Throgmortons*, will in a little space appear. But that we might not here want  
 such further confirmation, as the place will afford, of the first planter of that famous orangery,  
 whereof there are several trees still flourishing of the original plantation, which are the stateliest  
 and most perfect bearers of this fruit in *England*, I have been oblig’d with the gentleman’s *An-*  
*swer* to the *Enquiry*, who now dwells at the seat ; and his words are, “ ’Tis the common opinion  
 “ of this family, that Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was related to it, brought over and planted the  
 “ old orange-trees here.”<sup>c</sup> But in the house they preserv’d a fine cabbin-bed which was his,  
 having furniture of green silk and legs carved like dolphins, gilt with gold. In short, the seat  
 was now so frequented, that not only *Raleigh* and other courtiers, but the queen received here  
 many agreeable entertainments ;<sup>d</sup> for some of which she could not escape the censure of her  
 jesuited enemies.

His orangery  
at *Beddington*.

OF the other places of residence which *Raleigh* might have, besides what is before-men-  
 tion’d, to compass a perfect knowledge, would need more time and pains than at last per-  
 haps might be thought necessary here to bestow. As to the seat at *West-Horsely* in *Surrey*,  
 there is good authority that it was in the possession of his son, as will be further observ’d, if  
 not his own ; and in the hall of that house, there are in several places of the walls and ciel-  
 ing the arms of *Raleigh* still visible.<sup>e</sup> But there is a house no farther from *London* than *Isling-*  
*ton*, about a bow’s-shot on this side the church, which, tho’ I think it has no such evidences  
 remaining upon its walls, cieling, or windows, that will prove him to have been its owner,  
 the arms that are seen there, above a hundred years old, being of a succeeding inhabitant ; is

His house at  
*Islington*.

<sup>a</sup> Addit. to *Camden’s Britan.* translat. by the present bishop of *London*, fol. 1695. p. 166. upon which we may observe, tho’ the *English* have not been so grateful as the *Romans* were in celebrating those worthy persons, who have made the like beneficial importations to the lasting ornament and fertility of their country ; yet that we have had some authors not altogether silent in these vegetable antiquities, from whom we learn, that Dr. *Linacre* first brought into this land that prince of flowers the *Damask Rose* ; that the *Perdigwen Plum*, with two kinds more, were first made natives of this soil by *Thomas* lord *Cromwell*, when he return’d from his travels ; and the *Apricock*, by a priest named *Wolfe*, gardener to king *Henry VIII.* In this reign were also first propagated among us *Hops* and *Artichokes* ; and then were *Cherry* orchards first planted here, about *Sittingbourne* in *Kent*, with a more improv’d kind of that fruit, brought from *Flanders* by one *Harris*, another of that king’s gardeners : but what effect *Cardan’s* recommendation of *Olive*-trees had with king *Edward VI.* I find not. In the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, when *Edmund Grindal*, afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, return’d from exile, he first transported the *Tamerisk*, so useful in medicine against diseases of the *Spleen*. Then also after our opening a trade with *Zant*, the shrub which bears the *currans* was first transplanted hither. In 1578 the *Tulip* first shewed her gaudy garment in *English* ground ; and, lastly, not to extend further on this subject now, as for the profitable plant *Tobacco*, and that princely one the *Orange*-tree, enough is said above, in the body of this work, to the honour of Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

<sup>b</sup> *Fuller’s Worthies*, as before.

<sup>c</sup> Extract of a letter from *Beddington*, dated Dec. 19. 1733.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Hugh Plat* informs us, “ That delicate knight Sir *Francis Carew*, once making a splendid entertain-  
 ment for queen *Elizabeth* at *Beddington*, led her majesty, after dinner, to a *Cherry-tree* in his garden, which had on it fruit in their prime, then above a month after all cher-  
 ries had taken their farewell of *England*. This retardation he perform’d by straining a tent or canvas cover over the whole tree, and wetting it as the weather requir’d with a scoop ; so by obstructing the sun-beams, they grew both great, and were very long before they gain’d their perfect cherry-colour ; and when he was assur’d of the time her majesty would come, he remov’d the tent, and

“ a few sunny days brought them to their full maturity.” See his *Garden of Eden*, 12mo. 1655. p. 165.

<sup>e</sup> With a draught whereof having been oblig’d (among many other useful particulars) by the ingenious Mr. *George Vertue*, I find that coat agree with the arms upon Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* seal in yellow wax to the letter before exhibited ; and also with the draught represented before his life, in *Prince’s Worthies of Devon* ; where, as this author blazons it, he bears *Gules, three Fusils in Bend Argent*. But *Prince* further adds, a *Label of three Points Azure* ; which the draught from *Horsely-Hall* does not specify : neither do I remember to have observed this distinction in the impression of Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* said seal. Nor is it in that seal, of which a fair impression remains, upon another letter he wrote about this time to the lord-treasurer’s secretary *Hext* or *Hicks*, also before-mention’d ; and lately communicated to me by the obliging *James West Esq;* where the crest is the same with that in the other seal ; but in the dexter-chief of the shield, that other family-distinction of a martlet, as I take it. As for his crest, it appears in those seals as I before remark’d, to have been a stag, or other like animal ; but at *Horsely*, and under the sculpture of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, before his *History of the World*, it is, I think, a *Cap of Honour* ; to which possibly it might afterwards be chang’d for his further merits of it. And as for the motto, it is at *Horsely*, *Amore Et virtute* ; as also to his arms before the history aforesaid. *Hooker*, in his dedication of the *Hisb* chronicles, often before-quoted, explaining or mythologising the signatures of *Raleigh’s* arms, shews us at the same time what they were. For telling him he is taught to be careful in restoring the house of his decay’d fore-fathers, not only by their good examples, but also by the ensigns of their and his own nobility ; he adds, “ the *Fusils* being an instrument of travel and labour, adver-  
 “ tise you that you are one of the sons of *Adam*, born to  
 “ walk in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable  
 “ member of the Church of God, and in maintenance  
 “ of the common society. The white colour or silver  
 “ metal, doth teach you virtue, sincerity, and godli-  
 “ ness, &c. And therewith also, which by the *gules* co-  
 “ lour is meant—You be bold and valiant for the defence  
 “ of your country, and for the safety thereof to spend  
 “ both life and goods : such were your ancestors, and  
 “ so it shall be with you,” &c. which, by the way, was a perfect prophecy.



yet popularly reported to have been a *villa* of his. For the present tenant affirms, “ his land-  
 “ lord <sup>a</sup> was possess’d of some old-account-books, by which it appears beyond all doubt this house  
 “ and fourteen acres of land, now let at about seventy pounds *per Ann.* did belong to Sir *Walter*  
 “ *Raleigh*; and that the oldest man in the parish <sup>b</sup> would often declare his father had told him,  
 “ Sir *Walter* purposed to wall in that ground, with intention to keep some of his horses therein;  
 “ further, that some husbandmen ploughing up the same a few years since, found several pieces  
 “ of queen *Elizabeth*’s money, whereof they brought, whatever they might reserve to them-  
 “ selves, about fourscore shillings to their master, the said tenant,” in whose hands I have seen of  
 the said coin. As for the house, it is, and has been for many years, an inn; so that what it  
 was, is not clearly to be judg’d from its present outward appearance, it being much impair’d,  
 or very coarsely repair’d, and diminish’d perhaps from what it might be when persons of dis-  
 tinction liv’d in it. For there is now to be seen but a narrow front, which soon coming to an  
 angle, shoots down backwards only one range of buildings; as if another part of the front  
 was wanting on this side, for the gateway to appear in the middle, and such another range of  
 buildings where the new parsonage-house now stands, to make the whole uniform. However,  
 there are within-side some handsome spacious rooms; the parlour was painted round the upper-  
 most part of the wainscot in about a dozen pannels with scripture histories; but now so old and  
 decay’d, as to be scarcely distinguishable. There is also a noble dining-room, the cieling  
 whereof is all over wrought in *plastic* or fret-work, with representations of the *Five Senses*;  
 and the chimney-piece, with the *Three principal Christian Virtues*. But the arms in the window,  
 as well as in that of the hall, are by the present inhabitants erroneously call’d Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s;  
 there being a date under one of the coats, which shews it was *aneal’d* six years after his death.  
 So that we are not sure the decorations aforesaid were done by his direction, or that others more  
 rich and elegant were not in their stead before them. As for his dwellings in *London*, we have  
 read before that he had apartments in the court at *Somerset-house*, and shall read hereafter of  
 some acquaintance resorting to him at *Durham-house* in the *Strand*: that he had a house by  
 the *Thames*-side, which might be the same; and another at *St. James*’s, or apartments also in  
 the court there; but to be distinct and particular in these, would be a task perhaps more  
 difficult than profitable to attempt.

THE truth is, Sir *Walter Raleigh* did not live so long at court, and so much about the daz-  
 ling beauties in it, without having the wings of his glory, at last, somewhat findg’d in the  
 flames thereof: yet love, which in some other great courtiers of those times, was the grand bu-  
 siness of their life, seemed only an interlude in his. And tho’ a gratification of this passion is  
 usually thought lighter of in martial men, and those embarrass’d with the weight of public  
 action, as a convenient relaxation of their cares, or reward of their toils and perils; yet a  
 more severe construction was made of a little indulgence *Raleigh* might about this time take of  
 that kind, than was in some others, who more frequently and notoriously made a practice thereof.  
 Whether it was that his greater merits, in other parts of his conduct, made malice more poi-  
 nant in this; or that little failings are not thought such in those where we commonly see, and  
 therefore constantly expect, great virtues; whereby men of superior qualifications undergo greater  
 discredit than their inferiors for the same misdeeds; as any disproportion or disfigurement in a  
 statue of gold or alabaster gives us more displeasure than one in stone or common clay; and  
 we look with regret upon the flaws in a diamond, while even greater in the flint do not affect  
 us: but this seems to have been *Raleigh*’s case. For there was among the queen’s maids of ho-  
 nour a beautiful young lady (as her picture represents her) named *Elizabeth*, daughter of  
 Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, an able statesman and ambassador, whose negotiations and charac-  
 ter are recorded both by the *French* and *Scotch*, as well as *English* historians of those times.  
 With this lady, *Raleigh* had it seems an amour; and, as he was a man of nervous address, won her  
 heart even to the last favour (if we may use the phrase of a polite author) inclusive. This in-  
 timacy came at last to the queen’s knowledge; whether enviously betray’d by any female con-  
 fidant, as some might apprehend, from a character *Raleigh* would bestow upon the ladies of the  
 privy-chamber and bed-chamber; being wont to say, *They were like witches who could do hurt,*  
*but could do no good*:<sup>d</sup> or whether the intrigue could not be long conceal’d for the fruits of it,  
 as some, who manifestly slander *Raleigh* in other particulars, have not scrupled to suggest, the  
 reader has it in his choice to believe. But in such colours this matter of devirginating a maid  
 of honour was heighten’d, that *Raleigh* was out of favour again; also in confinement for sever-  
 al months; and when enlarg’d, forbidden the court;<sup>e</sup> whence the lady also was dismiss’d

<sup>a</sup> Justice *Milner*, late of *Hatton-Garden*.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. *Whitford*, as I remember, lately deceas’d.

<sup>c</sup> *Vide Thuanus, Hicquesfort, Melvin, Camden’s Annals,*  
*the Cabala, and Leicester’s Commonwealth.*

<sup>d</sup> Lord *Bacon*’s *Aposophismes* new and old, 8vo. 1625.

<sup>e</sup> p. 45.

<sup>f</sup> *Camden’s Annals*, 1595.



from her attendance. Yet, as heinous as this misdemeanor was in *Raleigh*, her majesty did not punish it in *Leicester*, *Essex*, and other courtiers, noted in their days for such intrigues; especially the former, who turn'd off *Douglas Sheffield*, by whom he had a son, to marry the earl of *Essex*'s mother. But *Raleigh* very readily made the most honourable reparation he could, and cemented this flaw in their conduct, by marrying the object of his affection. It appears they lived together ever after in the most exemplary degree of conjugal harmony; and when he was in his greatest troubles, there are testimonies from one, who was otherwise none of his greatest friends, of her extraordinary diligence and fidelity in making interest and applications to assuage them.<sup>a</sup> What his thoughts were of a married life, in comparison with a single one, may somewhat appear in that observation he made upon a certain nobleman's growing plump after matrimony, who was meagre before; for another person in company remarking thereupon, that it fared with him contrary to what it did with other married men, who usually at first became lean after it; *Raleigh* very pleasantly obviated the rarity, by saying, *Why there is no beast, that, if you take him from the common, and put him into the severall, but he will grow fat.*<sup>b</sup> Many years afterwards, when *Raleigh* wrote his *instructions to his son*, he sufficiently explained this sentiment in the grave and paternal manner he is then writing, among others there laid down for his conduct in the *choice of a wife*; which topic he concludes, with advising him "to bestow his youth so, that he may have comfort to remember it when it has forsaken him." And further, amongst the judicious precepts he there gives, one of them is; "That his son would evermore care to be beloved by his wife, than be besotted on her." That in regard to the alterations of youthful affection, "If he cannot forbear to love, yet forbear to link." However, approves of a mature and settled choice at last, even while he is upon the stage of his virility. "For, believe it, the young wife betrayeth the old husband; and she that had thee not in thy flower, will despise thee in thy fall." But not to marry for beauty only; "lest thou bind thy self for life, to that which perchance will never last or please one year." Nor yet an uncomely woman; "as much regard being due at least to our own issue as to any other race of creatures; and comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. He remains perhaps pretty safe in this opinion from many censures by the hard-favour'd part of the sex, because he knew that few ladies would be positive upon this head in their right to reprove him; nor will widows believe he has treated them with rigor, while they remain in that state, since he has said, "Leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead; but that she may live according to thy estate; especially if thou hast few children, and those provided for." Tho' he does also further say, "Leave her no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee; nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings."<sup>c</sup> Not that he was averse to second marriages, for he advised his own wife to marry again when he was in expectation of being suddenly divided for ever from her.<sup>d</sup> Many other weighty admonitions may be found relating to that sex among his writings, some of which we meet with, quoted by our most accomplish'd humanists and critics in the manners and passions of life, as from an author who had read their hearts through all their veils and disguises: but one of those writers, tho' he allows him all the advantageous views of life through such a variety of scenes; as "having lived in courts and camps; travell'd through many countries; seen many men under several climates, and of as various complexions;" yet thinks (in which every body will not agree) he speaks of our impotence to resist the wiles of women, in very severe terms;<sup>e</sup> where *Raleigh* has upon the solid ground of the greatest examples admonished us, to what fatal inconveniences mankind is allur'd by their restless curiosity of knowing what is unfit for their knowledge, and the prevailing expedients to gratify it of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness.<sup>f</sup>

WHILE *Raleigh* was under the displeasure aforesaid, and in retirement, he projected a further removal from the court; the better by that distance, and some memorable exploit, to allay the malice of his enemies, and recover his sovereign's love. Some thought this an impolitic course; as if his foreign actions could not work so effectually to his advantage, as the applications of his adversaries to his disparagement.<sup>g</sup> And hereupon Sir *Robert Naunton* says, "That finding his favour declining, and falling into a recess, he undertook a new peregrination to leave

Married.

<sup>a</sup> Sir *John Harrington*, in his *Brief View* aforesaid.

<sup>b</sup> Lord *Bacon's Apophthegms* new and old, p. 295.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's Remains*, 12mo. 1726. p. 62.

<sup>d</sup> The arraignment of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, copied by Sir *Thomas Overbury*, 4to. 1648. p. ult. and *Raleigh's Remains* aforesaid, p. 195.

<sup>e</sup> See the *Spectator*, vol. VII. no. 510.

<sup>f</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's History of the World*, lib. 1. cap. 4. sect. 4.

<sup>g</sup> *Lloyd's observations on the statesmen and favourites of England*, 8vo. 1665. p. 488.



“ that *Terra infirma* of the court, for that of the wars, and by declining himself, and by ab-  
 “ fence to expel his and the passion of his enemies ; which in court (says he) was a strange  
 “ device of recovery ; but that he knew there was some ill office done him, that he durst not  
 “ attempt to mind any other ways than by going aside, thereby to teach envy a new way of  
 “ forgetfulness, and not so much as to think of him : howsoever, he had it always in mind ne-  
 “ ver to forget himself ; and his device took so well, that at his return he came in, as rams do  
 “ by going backwards, with the greater strength ; and so continued to the last great in her  
 “ grace.”<sup>a</sup> Thus also says another author, “ His enemies of greater rank kept him under ;  
 “ sometimes in, sometimes out ; and then he would wisely decline himself out of the *court-road* :  
 “ and then you found him not but by fame ; in voyages to the *West-Indies*, *Guiana*, *New Plan-*  
 “ *tations*, *Virginia*, or in some expeditions against the *Spaniard*.”<sup>b</sup> And thus writes a third  
 to the same purpose : “ ’Tis observable, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was in and out at court so  
 “ often, that he was commonly call’d the *Tennis-Ball of Fortune* which she delighted to sport  
 “ with. His enemies perpetually brought him into disgrace with his mistress, and his merit in  
 “ a little time restor’d him again to her favour : and as she always grew cold to the earl of  
 “ *Essex* after absence ; so she ever receiv’d *Raleigh* with greater marks of her esteem ; and he  
 “ was too hard for his rivals by the very means which they intended for his destruction.”<sup>c</sup>  
 Certainly he deserved such good fortune, beyond all others, of a restitution to royal favour,  
 who could so much more hazardously and heroically than any of them aspire to earn it ; as now  
 he abundantly manifested, in that grand and gallant undertaking to discover and conquer the  
 large, rich, and beautiful empire of *Guiana* ; an enterprize which had baffled the repeated ef-  
 forts of some of the ablest and most renowned captains and cavaliers in *Spain* for near a hun-  
 dred years past : for, in one of their own authors, we may read the names of many brave  
 commanders, and their commendations for the miseries they endur’d, who within that space  
 had trod this maze, and lost themselves, with some, five hundred, some a thousand men apiece,  
 in finding out this country.<sup>d</sup> And yet none of all their own authors have more nobly and li-  
 berally celebrated these, and other such like adventurers of the *Spanish* nation, than *Raleigh*  
 himself has done.<sup>e</sup> How justly therefore his painful and perilous enterprize for the same disco-  
 very, will entitle him to praises equal with the most worthy of them, may soon appear, now  
 that we are lanching forth into the spacious and meandrous channels thereof.

FOR *Raleigh*, industrious in diving into the causes of so many failures, having inform’d him-  
 self what ambient courses the preceding adventurers had taken to arrive at the heart of the coun-  
 try they sought, and which was the shortest way to make a successful discovery, found that  
 most of the *Spanish* attempts in these parts had fail’d, through the mutinies and discords which  
 they had fomented among themselves ; as most of their conquests in others, were much owing  
 to the like factions among the *Americans* : and if “ there was not an expert soldier or seaman  
 “ but he consulted (as one author observes upon his character in general) nor a printed or  
 “ manuscript discourse but he perused ; whereby it came to pass, there were not exacter rules  
 “ or principles for both services then he drew :”<sup>f</sup> much more may we believe he now particular-  
 ly made use of these helps and lights to draw those rules and directions by which this year (last  
 mention’d, 1594) he gave to an old officer, captain *Whiddon*, whose experience he had before  
 try’d, for a voyage to the country aforesaid : and this same year that captain also return’d from  
 thence, with several inducing confirmations of the grandeur and opulency of *Guiana*, having  
 learnt the same from some of the grand *casiques*, or principal rulers, upon the borders thereof ;  
 but not without complaints of some barbarous treachery from the *Spanish* governor, who had  
 then got some footing there ; and, after promises of suffering the *Englishmen* to furnish them-  
 selves with what supplies they wanted, decoy’d several of them to their destruction. *Raleigh*

<sup>a</sup> *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 29.

<sup>b</sup> *Julicus Coquinarius*, p. 78.

<sup>c</sup> *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, in *Lives English and Fo-*  
*reign*, vol. I. p. 98.

<sup>d</sup> *Juan de Castellanos clerigo*, in his book entitled,  
*Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias*.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh* expressly points at the *Spanish* at-  
 tempts upon *Guiana*, as any one may perceive who has  
 read *Castellano’s Elegies*, just before quoted, where he says,  
 “ Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient virtue of  
 “ the *Spaniards*. We seldom or never find that any na-  
 “ tion hath endured so many misadventures and miseries as  
 “ the *Spaniards* have done in their *Indian Discoveries* ; yet  
 “ persisting in their enterprizes with an invincible constancy,  
 “ they have annexed to their kingdoms so many goodly  
 “ provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past.  
 “ *Tempests*, *shipwreck*, *famine*, *overthrows*, *mutinies*, *heat*  
 “ and cold, *pestilence*, and all manner of diseases, both old

“ and new ; together with extreme poverty and want of  
 “ all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith  
 “ every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or  
 “ other, hath encounter’d. Many years have passed over  
 “ some of their heads in the search of not so many leagues ;  
 “ yea, more than one or two have spent their labour, their  
 “ wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden kingdom,  
 “ without getting further notice of it, than what they had  
 “ at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding,  
 “ the third, fourth, and fifth, have not been dishearten’d.  
 “ Surely they are worthily rewarded with those treasures  
 “ and paradises which they enjoy ; and well they deserve  
 “ to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtues  
 “ in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.” *History*  
*of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 10.

<sup>f</sup> *Lloyd’s observations on the statesmen and favourites of*  
*England*, p. 486.



had thus more spurs than one, inciting him to visit these regions in person ; and the scheme he form'd upon an answerable return, might, according to the probability of his own propositions, which will not be pass'd over, being founded upon the testimonies of the best inform'd writers, and intelligence of travellers into the country, have subjugated not only the *Spanish West-Indies*, but *Spain* it self, to the crown of *England* : for if we could but compass golden territories in *America*, as the *Spaniards* had done, he doubted not to extend the empire of his royal mistress as far beyond the dominion of other *European* princes, as she surpass'd them in her magnanimous virtues. And now this *golden country* made such invitations, being then no less, if not more confidently describ'd and attested for such, than any other in those parts of the world,<sup>a</sup> at least before they were perfectly discover'd ; he cheerfully determin'd, in quest thereof, tho' through an ocean of difficulties, to wash away the malice of his adversaries at court, and render his character more impenetrable against the little censures which swarm in that theatre of circumvention to sting and fester superior merit : as if he thought no foreign expedition could be more hazardous to the brave, or such as cannot live without distinguishing themselves, than the busy factions and parties which are daily undermining them at home ; but that, like *Chabrias*, and others of the greatest *Athenians* in his time, he should be remov'd from envy, as far as he was distant from his native country. With such like views *Raleigh* very speedily fitted out a fleet, and at a great expence ; tho' the lord admiral *Howard* and Sir *Robert Cecyl* were at the further charge of augmenting it ; such opinion they also had of this enterprise. We may distinguish five ships under him, besides barges, wherries, and other necessary tenders, in his own excellent *narrative* of this voyage, tho' he names them not at first setting out ; because he seems not to have been then accompanied with more than one of them : but, as they afterwards join'd him, he mentions them. Whence we understand, the ship himself went in was his own, which he does not name ; but the *Lion's Whelp*, which was the lord-admiral's, was commanded by captain *George Gifford* ; captain *Keymis* had the command of a *galego*, besides a bark, which was committed to captain *Cross*, and another to captain *Calfield*. The whole number of men in this fleet is not mention'd ; but the select company of officers, gentlemen and soldiers, he us'd in his discoveries, exceeded not one hundred. Thus prepar'd, he departed from *Plymouth* on the sixth of *February* following, and made to the *Grand Canaries*, and so to *Tenerif*, where he waited a-while for the *Lion's Whelp*, and for captain *Amias Preston*. But this captain disappointed him, and went upon another adventure, which proved some disadvantage in the prosecution of his discoveries. After seven or eight days, not seeing them, he proceeded for *Trinidad* with his own ship and captain *Cross's* only (for the *galego* which set out with them linger'd behind on the coast of *Spain*) They reach'd that isle on the 22d of *March*, and cast anchor at *Point Curriapan*, which the *Spaniards* call'd *Punta de Gallo*, situate in eight degrees or thereabouts. In the four or five days he continued here, he came not to the speech of any *Indian* or *Spaniard*. On the coast he saw a fire, but for fear of the *Spaniards* none of the *Indians* dared to approach him. Then *Raleigh*, in his barge, coasted close along the shore, and landed in every cove, the better to know the island, while his ships kept the channel. From hence he remov'd in a few days up north-east, to recover that place the *Spaniards* call *Puerto de los Espannoles*, but the inhabitants *Conquerabia* ; and as before (revictualling his barge) he left the ships, and kept by the shore, that he might better speak with the inhabitants, and observe the rivers, watering-places, and ports in the island ; of all which he took draughts as he pass'd along, which he re-

His voyage  
for the disco-  
very of *Guia-*  
*na*.

<sup>a</sup> The empire of *Guiana* is directly east from *Peru* towards the sea, and lies under the equinoctial line, was then governed by the same laws, and under the same religion. There are many attestations of the wonderful riches in these parts, especially the imperial city, which they call'd *Manoa*, where, *Francisco Lopez*, speaking of the magnificence of the emperor's court, says, " That all the vessels of his house, table and kitchen, were of gold and silver ; that in his wardrobe were hollow statues of gold, which seem'd giants ; and the figures, in proportion and bigness, of all the beasts, birds, trees and herbs that the earth brings forth, and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdom breeds. Finally, there was nothing in his country whereof he had not the counterfeit in gold," *vid. Fran. Lopez de Gomara, Hist. gen. de las Ind. cap. 120.* Further, that city of *Manoa* was by *Juan Martinez*, the first Christian who saw it, call'd *El Dorado*, or the *Golden City*, upon seeing the *Guianians* there, and all about the borders, in their drunken revels, anoint themselves with a glutinous balsom, and powder their naked bodies over with gold dust till they all glitter'd from head to foot. The sub-

stance of which report is at the end of the navigation of the great river of *Marannon*, written by *Gonzalo Fernando de Oviedo* to cardinal *Bembo*, and printed in the *Raccolta delle Navigazioni, &c. da Giovanni Battista Ramusio*, vol. 3. fol. 416. We may read also in *Martin Fernandez de Encica's* discourse of the ports, creeks, and havens of the *West-Indies*, dedicated to *Charles* the emperor *Ann. 1518.* in *Lopez Vaz*, and several other authors, repeated assurances of the mountains and rivers in this country abounding with gold. And this very year, that *Raleigh* sent for intelligence thither, there were *Spanish* letters taken at sea by captain *Popham* (who laid them before the council) wherein were many testimonies of gold and jewels found there in vast plenty ; and a great idol weighing forty-seven quintals, with a bark brought from thence to *Madera*, containing two millions of gold. Confirming also the natives besprinkling themselves over with the powder of gold when they enter'd their *Borracheras* or *Bacchanalian* feasts, which the honourable Mr. *Rob. Duddely*, in his voyage to the isle of *Trinidad*, also mentions. See *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 634, 699, 778, 576, &c.



duced at last to one general map. At *Parico* he found a fresh-water river, and at *Terra de Brea*, another port, call'd by the natives *Piche*, great quantities of very good oysters growing upon the branches of certain trees, here so numerous, that he travell'd for a dozen miles together under them ; which enabled him afterwards to rectify the ancient accounts of this tree, and the fond conceits of some moderns, that it was the *tree of knowledge*.<sup>a</sup> In short, he coasted three parts of the isle of *Trinidad*, in the month he staid there for captain *Preston*, the more exactly to make his draught thereof afore said.<sup>b</sup> At *Puerto de los Espannoles* he met with his ships, and found a company of *Spaniards* keeping guard at the descent, who, in doubt of their own strength,<sup>c</sup> offer'd signs of peace. He sent captain *Whiddon* to parley with them, whom he afterwards left buried in the island to his great grief, being a man, says *Raleigh*, most honest and valiant. From some of the *Spanish* soldiers, whom he found means to make free of their tongue by the help of wine ; and from one of the *Indian* rulers, named *Cantyman*, whom captain *Whiddon* had been acquainted with, he gather'd what strength the *Spaniards* were of, and how far it was to the city they had built under their governor *Don Antonio de Berreo*. Here he found occasion of staying a-while ; both to have some reckoning with *Berreo* for his treacherous dealings with the *English* under *Whiddon* ; and to learn also the strength, riches, and passages to several other parts of the country. But when *Raleigh* was credibly inform'd that the *Spanish* governor had sent for a recruit of soldiers, and how lamentably the natives suffer'd under his cruelties ; that the very lords of the country were made his slaves ; that he had put one of them, named *Morequito*, to death ; that several others were then lying in chains, and languishing under the most exquisite tortures, he found sufficient occasion not only to revenge the loss of his countrymen, but a good opportunity to gain the hearts of the *Indians*, by attempting to rescue them from this yoke of tyranny : and indeed without this attempt, in vain had any other been towards his intended discoveries. For, considering he was to enter *Guiana* in small boats, and to leave his ships some hundred miles behind, he was not unapprehensive how indiscreet he should be thought by all men, if he left also a garrison of enemies at his back, interested in the same enterprize, and in daily expectation of reinforcements from *Spain* : therefore, taking his advantage, he boldly set upon the *Corps du Garde* in the dusk of the evening ; and having put them to the sword, advanced with a hundred men, and by brake of day took their new city call'd *San Joseph*, which, at the entreaty of the *Indians*, he set on fire. Then were the natives in confinement, set at liberty. Among them were five *Casiques*, or petty kings in those parts.<sup>d</sup> These, all bound together in one chain, almost dead with famine, and wasted with torments ; having had their naked bodies basted or dropp'd over with burning bacon ; *Raleigh* also, to his great reputation, deliver'd from their captivity ; and several years after, when this, with *Raleigh's* other noble acts among these *Indians*, was mention'd by some of our *English* adventurers to *Guiana*, it was freshly retain'd and gratefully acknowledged by them to his honour ; when also one of their bravest princes, who had been in *England*, and christen'd *Leonard Ragapo*, came above a hundred miles to visit them, for the great love he bore to *Raleigh* ; manifestly shewing, how durably he had engag'd their affection and desires for his return to be their ruler and protector.<sup>e</sup> But for the governor, who had imprison'd so many of them, he was now become a prisoner himself ; and *Raleigh*, by his courteous treatment of him, reaped the fruit of that knowledge and experience he had gather'd in the many years he had consum'd, with great sums of money, upon the discovery of *Guiana*.<sup>f</sup> The same day that *Raleigh* made this conquest, arrived captain *Gifford* and captain *Keymis*, and in their ships divers gentlemen and others, which to his little army was a great succour and

Fires the city  
of San Joseph.

Delivers five  
Indian princes  
from Spanish  
bondage.

Takes Berreo  
prisoner.

<sup>a</sup> 'Tis the *Indian fig*, which he has curiously describ'd ; and how it bears oysters, by planting it self into the sea ; so that one stem soon becomes a grove. See *Hist. of the World*, lib. 1. cap. 4. sect. 2.

<sup>b</sup> *Martin Fernandez de Encica*, before quoted, says this island of *Trinidad* is twenty-five leagues in length, and as many in breadth ; but *Raleigh*, who knew it much better, says it is but narrow, and in the form of a sheep-hook ; that the north part is mountainous ; the soil excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodities the *Indies* yield ; has store of deer, wild porks, fruits, fish, and fowl. Mr. *Dudley*, in his voyage thither before-mention'd, call'd the bay under the point of *Curiapam*, *Pelicans Bay*, from the abundance of those birds there ; says they had also parrots in great number and variety ; and, according to Sir *Walter Raleigh's* account, divers beasts which the *Indies* have not, who adds, the *Spaniards* confess'd they had found grains of gold in some of the rivers ; but he carried not in search thereof, through his desire of entering *Guiana*.

<sup>c</sup> And yet the *Spaniards* had now gotten some three hundred soldiers there, as Mr. *Dudley*, in his voyage above-cited, informs us, which was the reason he could not attempt to displant them. *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 575.

<sup>d</sup> Their names were *Wamawananare*, *Carroaori Maquarima*, *Tarroopanama*, and *Alterima*.

<sup>e</sup> See captain *Rob. Harcourt's* voyage to *Guiana*, 1608, in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. 4. 1625. fol. 1268 and 1271.

<sup>f</sup> This *Berreo* was a man of great honour, and of a great heart, as *Raleigh* acknowledges (at least while he was his prisoner) tho' otherwise unfit for his undertaking, as well for his cruelty, for which he would have been expell'd, as being utterly unlearn'd, and not knowing the east from the west ; therefore, no ways curious after the intelligence he should have procur'd ; for tho' he had been eleven years upon this discovery, had lost above a thousand men ; and, as he swore to *Raleigh*, had spent three hundred thousand duckets ; yet never could he enter so far into the land as my self (says *Raleigh*) with that poor troop, or rather handful of men.



solace. Then proceeding upon his discovery, *Raleigh* first call'd all the chiefs of the island together, who were enemies to the *Spaniards*; for some of them *Berreco* had brought out of other countries, and planted there, to eat out and waste the natives; then by his *Indian* interpreter, whom he carried out of *England*, he made them understand “he was the servant of a queen, who was the greatest *Casique* of the north, and a virgin, who had more *Casiqui* under her than there were trees in that island: that she was an enemy to the *Castellani*, in regard of their tyranny and oppression; and having freed all the coasts of the northern world from their servitude, had sent him to free them also; and withal to defend the country of *Guiana* from their invasion and conquest.” Then he shew'd them her majesty's picture, which they so admir'd and honour'd, that it had been easy for him to have made them idolatrous thereof. The like and larger speeches he made in solemn manner to the rest of the nations, both in his passage to *Guiana* and to those of the borders: so as in that part of the world the queen of *England*'s fame was diffus'd with great admiration. This done, *Raleigh* return'd to *Curiapan*, and tho' he had learnt of *Berreco*, that *Guiana* was some hundred miles further than the accounts he receiv'd of captain *Whiddon* had represented it, he kept the knowledge thereof from his company, whom he fear'd would have been discourag'd thereby from prosecuting the discovery. When *Raleigh* had further gather'd from *Berreco* the proceedings of the past adventurers and his own, of all which he gives us a succinct and curious history, he told him he was come upon the same design, and was resolv'd to see *Guiana*. *Berreco* used many arguments to dissuade him; as that he must venture in very light and small boats to pass so many dangerous shallows, and could not carry victuals enough above half the way; that none of the country would speak with him; and, if he followed them, would burn their towns; besides, the way was long, the winter at hand, and the rivers beginning to swell; but above all, that the kings and lords, who bordered upon *Guiana*, had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow. *Raleigh*, resolving however to make trial, directed his vice-admiral, captain *Gifford*, and captain *Calfield*, to turn eastward against the mouth of the river *Capuri*, and gave them instructions to anchor at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over; but they labour'd in vain: nor did the flood continue so long, but the water fell before they could have passed the sands. Then *Raleigh* sent one *King*, master of the *Lion's Whelp*, to try another branch, called the *Amana*, if either of the small ships would enter; but when he came to the mouth, he found it as the rest. After him went *John Dowglass*, who discover'd four goodly entrances; but all shoal'd and shallow in the bays leading to them. In the mean time *Raleigh*, fearing the worst, caused his carpenters to cut down an old galego boat, to fit her with banks for oars, and so as she might draw but five foot; in this went *Raleigh*, with gentlemen and officers to the number of threescore. In the *Lion's Whelp* boat and wherry they carried twenty; captain *Calfield*, in his wherry, carried ten; and a barge of *Raleigh's* ten more. This was all the means they had, having left their ships at *Curiapan*, to carry a hundred men, with weapons and provisions for a month, exposed to all the extremes of the weather, all the hazards of the water; to lie open to the air, and upon hard boards by night; in storms of rain, or under the burning sun by day; to smell the wet cloaths of so many crowded together; the dressing of their food, and that mostly stale fish, in the same place; to be in such a labyrinth of rivers, in such a remote and unknown region; what prison could be more loathsome and unhealthy? what prospect more fearful and desolate? At first setting out, they had twenty miles of a high sea to cross in these scanty boats; so that they were driven before the wind into the bottom of the bay of *Guanipa*, inhabited by inhuman cannibals, who shot poison'd arrows: and from thence to enter one of the rivers of which *Dowglass* had brought tidings. After four days, they were past ebbing and flowing, and might have wander'd a whole year about, and never been able to extricate themselves, in such a general confluence or rendezvous of streams were they now bewilder'd; and so resembling one another, as not to be distinguish'd; but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the same places where they had been before; passing between many islands and streights, whose borders were so thickly arch'd and over-shadowed with trees, as bounded their sight to the breadth of the river and length of the avenue, while the gloominess of the prospect added horror to the loneliness of the place. At length, on the 22d of May 1595, they fell into a river; which, because it had no name, they call'd the *Red-cross River*, these being the first Christians who ever enter'd the same. When they drew into the creek, which led to a town upon this river, their *Indian* pilot, named *Ferdinando*, landing, was set upon by his countrymen, who hunted him with dogs; whereupon *Raleigh* seiz'd an old man passing that way, and threaten'd to cut off his head if he would not procure his pilot's liberty: but he, by his agility, soon escaped them,

His speech to the chiefs of *Trinidad*.

Discouragements.

Yet leaves his ships at *Curiapan*.

Driven into the bay of *Guanipa*.

And into the *Red-cross River*.



Among the  
*Tivitivas*.

Enters the  
*Great Amana*.

In five de-  
grees.

In great di-  
stres.

Relieved.

them, and swam to *Raleigh's* barge: however, they kept the old man, and used him kindly, assuring themselves of useful information from a native so long conversant in those parts. And indeed, but for this accident, they had never found their way forward to the country they sought, nor back to that where their ships lay; the old man himself being often in the utmost perplexity which river to take, so numerous and intricate they were. Those people who dwell in the flooded lands of this *insular* and broken world, or in all the tracts towards *Guiana*, which the eight branches of the *Orenoque* fashion into islands, are generally called *Tivitivas*, but distinguished into two tribes, a hardy and valiant generation; who, though they inhabited houses on the ground in summer, yet in winter were forced to ascend and reside in the trees, where they built themselves artificial towns, and whole families were to be seen lodg'd in an arm or branch of those aerial or vegetable tenements; as, it is written in the *Spanish history* of the *West-Indies*, those people also did in the low-lands, near the gulph of *Uraba*; for between *May* and *September* those islands are over-flow'd in some places twenty foot high by the said grand river of *Orenoque*.

DEPARTING from this quarter of the *Tivitivas*, which was under the division or tribe call'd *Ciarwani*, he kept passing up the river with the flood, and anchoring in the ebb; yet the third day of his entering the river aforesaid his galley ran a-ground, and stuck so fast, they all thought their discovery was at an end, and that the greatest number of them must live like rooks, and build their nests in the boughs; but, after emptying her ballast, and much labour, they got her a-float at the end of the fourth day, and struck into another river call'd the *Great Amana*, spacious and without winding, being one of the fairest branches of the grand *Orenoque*: but here the flood of the sea left them, and every man, from the highest to the lowest, was forced to tug by turns at the oar for several days, against a rapid current, and in a most sultry clime; for they were now in five degrees of the *line*. Many goodly rivulets they pass'd on either side, which *Raleigh* nam'd in his map, and shewed their rise and descent. When three days more were passed over, his company began as well to despair at the length of the way, as to languish through excessive heat; and well might their courage, now their provision also began to fail; yet now had they most need of strength and vigor, when the current of the river grew most boisterous and violent against them. Here *Raleigh* had a great task to keep up the spirits of his disconsolate companions, which could not be done by exhortations, without example; without being ever foremost to endure labour, and the last who gratify'd himself with refreshment. He also strictly commanded his pilots to promise an end every next day; which honest deceit he used so often, they were forced to assure it would be at every reach. Thus while he was giving them hopes of attaining the land where their patience should be rewarded with plenty; while he was wringing out every man's thoughts of returning, by the strongest arguments which could be oppos'd; as that they were now got so far, and reduced to such slender accommodations, they could not avoid perishing if they return'd; but might find relief in proceeding: Providence seems to have rewarded his trust in her, by happily shifting the scene, and presenting the most beautiful landskip they had ever beheld. For here mountains, crowned with garlands of fruitful trees, invited one sense; and verdant plains of many miles extent, enamell'd with groups of odorous flowers, regal'd another. Birds of such sorts and colours as they had never seen,\* tempted them to supply themselves by their fowling-pieces; and fishes of various kinds, by their nets; without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, only the thick and troubled water of the river, they had been in the greatest extremity. Now the old *Ciarwanian* they had taken (as before-mention'd) persuading them he would lead them to a town up the branch of a river on the right hand, where they might be supply'd with all conveniences, and return before night; *Raleigh* leaving his galley, took eight musketers in his barge, and with *Gifford* and *Calfield* in their wherries, having eight musketers more, enter'd the mouth of that river; but rowed till sun-set, and saw no sign of the town even till they were forty miles distant from the galley, and the rowers were ready to give up the ghost. They had certainly hang'd this pilot, but that their necessities were his security; for it was quite dark, and they knew not their way back again; but as they proceeded, the river grew so narrow, and was so over-spread with trees from side to side, that they were all forc'd with their swords to cut a way for their oars, being still in hopes of a supper that would make amends for their breakfast. About one a-clock after midnight they discern'd a light, and heard the barking of dogs; soon after they found the village, and there they were stored with provisions, according

\* Sir *Walter Raleigh* afterwards made some very judicious philological observations on the birds and beasts that have been discover'd in strange lands; tending to

prove that the difference of colour or magnitude in many of them made not a difference of species. See his *Hist. of the World*, lib. 1. cap. 7. sect. 9.



to the promises of the old pilot. In the mean time, the company in the galley mann'd out a boat in search of them ; but next day they return'd, and continu'd their course, after they had made this hungry and hazardous voyage for fourscore miles in that river ; which, besides other strange fishes of marvellous bigness, abounded with those ugly serpents call'd *Crocodiles* ; whence the people nam'd it the river of *Lagartos*. *Ralegh* had a very proper young negro attending upon him in his galley, who, leaping out to swim in the mouth of this river, was, in the sight of them all, instantly devour'd by one of these amphibious animals. Not long after, being again in want of victuals, they took two canoes laden with excellent bread, being run ashore by the *Indians* in them call'd *Arwacas*, who fled to hide themselves in the woods ; fearing, through the prepossessions of the *Spaniards*, that *Ralegh* and his company were *Canibals*. *Ralegh* pursuing them, in hopes of some intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the bushes, a refiner's basket, there being in it quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers other materials, for the trial of metals ; and also the dust of some ore that had been refin'd : but in two other canoes which escaped them, they heard of a good quantity of ore and gold. *Ralegh* then landed more men, and offer'd five hundred pounds to any of his soldiers who should take one of the *Spaniards*, whom they thought to have also landed in these last canoes ; but they escaped while he was pursuing the former : however, while he was in search of the *Spaniards*, he found the *Arwaca*, hidden in the woods, who had been pilots for the *Spaniards* ; of which *Ralegh* kept the chief for his pilot, and carried him to *Guiana* ; by whom he understood in what parts the *Spaniards* labour'd for gold, which he divulged to few of his company, knowing both the season of the year and other conveniences would be wanting to work any mine himself. Therefore he hasted away from this place, his purpose being at that time rather to discover what he could of the country, and win over the people to subjection. Here *Ralegh's* own words are : “ To stay  
“ and dig out gold with our nails, had been *opus laboris*, but not *ingenii*. Such a quantity as  
“ would have served our turns we could not have had ; but a discovery of the mines to our  
“ infinite disadvantage we had made ; for those mines (defended with rocks of hard stone, which  
“ we call *white spar*) are not easily broken or open'd in haste ; and I could have return'd a good  
“ quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.” Besides this restraint from all greediness after their gold, there was another virtue he no less strictly observ'd, which highly advanced him in the esteem of all those *Indians*. For, whereas the *Spaniards* were wont to satisfy their lusts without controul upon their wives and daughters, *Ralegh* suffer'd not a man of his so much as to touch any of their women. “ I protest (says he) before the majesty of the living God, that I neither knew, nor believe that any of our company, one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women ; and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very young and excellently favour'd, which came among us without deceit, stark naked.” And because he found it a very troublesome work to keep the meaner sort from pilfering and spoil, when they went to any of the *Indians* houses, *Ralegh* caused his interpreter at every place, when they departed, to enquire after, and know the losses or wrongs that had been done ; and if he found any thing had been stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restor'd, and the party punish'd in their fight, or else it was paid for to their utmost demand. In the river of *Crocodiles*.

AFTER he was recruited as aforesaid with bread and other provisions, which greatly encourag'd his men, who now cry'd out, *Let us go on, we care not how far* ; *Ralegh* sent back in one of the canoes the old *Ciawan*, and *Ferdinando*, his first pilot ; giving them such things as they desir'd for their voyage, and wrote a letter to his ships, which they deliver'd, and then he went on under the pilotage of one of those *Arwacas* he had taken, whom the *Spaniards* had christen'd *Martin*. But the next or second day after, they run a-ground again with their galley, and she was very near being cast away with their new store of victuals : they lay on the sand one whole night, and were in far greater despair of disengaging her than before, because they had no tide of flood to help them. In the midst of their fears, they bethought them of fastening an anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off. So the fifteenth day (of their absence from their ships) they discover'd at a distance, to their great joy, the mountains of *Guiana* ; and towards the evening were brought by a northerly gale in sight of the great *Orenoque*,<sup>•</sup> which they soon after enter'd ; a river of vast extent and magnitude, lying mostly east and west even from the sea to *Quito* in *Peru*, thought to be three hundred miles wide at the mouth, a thousand miles navigable for ships, two thousand for lesser vessels, and discharging it felt by sixteen arms into the sea, whereby many parts of the *Spanish Indies* might most easily His continence.  
And justice.  
Enters the grand *Orenoque*.

• In the language of *Trinidad*, *Orenoue* signifies water. See Mr. *Duddey's* voyage in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 578.



Call'd *Raleana*.

be invaded. From other observations, it appears in many places of the channel to be twenty fathom deep; and in few that are shoally, less than two and a half. It was called by the succeeding voyagers to this place, in honour of Sir *Walter*, after his name. One of them gives his reason for it in these words: "Of the worthiness of this river because I cannot say enough; " I will speak nothing; we have presumed to call it by the name of *RALEANA*, because your self " was the first of our nation who ever enter'd the same.<sup>a</sup> Now when *Ralegh* had procur'd of one of the bordering princes, named *Toparimaca*, a skilful old pilot, who was his brother, and who perfectly knew this river, he sail'd up a branch thereof, having on the left hand a great island which they call *Affapana*; and thence along the banks of several other islands, which they chose rather to anchor at than by the main land, because of the tortoises eggs, which they found there in abundance, to their great relief; and for the convenience of casting their nets from the rocks, of a blue metalline colour, which looked like steel ore. So keeping always westward up the river, there open'd after a while a land on the right side, which appear'd a spacious champain, and the banks perfectly red. *Ralegh* sent captain *Gifford*, *Thynn*, *Calfield*, his cousins *Grenvill* and *Butthead Gorges*; also his nephew *John Gilbert* and some others, with a guard of soldiers, to march over the banks, and discover what prospect it afforded; and finding it a level of an unbounded space, it proved, as their pilot inform'd them, the plains of *Saima*, reaching to *Cumana* and *Caracas* in the *West-Indies*, which are a hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and inhabited by four principal nations, whereof one were the *Aroras*, as black as negroes, but of smooth hair; a desperate people, using the strongest and most deadly poison of all others on their arrows. *Ralegh* was most curious to know the composition of this poison, and what remedies could be had against the dreadful effects of it. For, besides the mortality of the wound, the patient is afflicted with most insufferable torment, and accompanied with such irksome symptoms, that the physician cannot abide the cure. None of the *Spaniards* could ever extort this secret either by kindness or cruelty; and indeed but few of the *Indians*, besides their priests and soothsayers, knew it.<sup>b</sup> *Ralegh* was therefore more beholden to the *Guianians* than any body; for *Antonio de Berrio* told him, that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof. " And yet they taught me (says *Ralegh*) the best way of healing as well " this, as all other poisons." Then he tells us those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root call'd *Tupara*,<sup>c</sup> which also marvellously quenches the heat of burning fevers, and heals inward wounds; and that those of common poison'd arrows were wont to be heal'd by some of the *Spaniards* with the juice of garlic. But this he communicates as a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the *Indies* where poison'd arrows are used, that they abstain from drink; for if they take any liquor into their body, whereunto they will be exceedingly provok'd by drought, and drink before the wound is dress'd, or immediately upon it, there is no relief but present death.

His skill in the cure of poisons.

AFTER having pass'd the mountain *Aio*, and a great island, which he mentions, he reach'd on the fifth day of his entering the great river aforesaid, as high as the province of *Aromaia*, and anchoring at the port of *Morequito*, which is some three hundred miles within the land, upon the said great river *Orenoque*, he sent a messenger to the old king of *Aromaia*, named *Topiowary*, who came the next day before noon on foot from his house, and return'd the same evening, being twenty-eight miles backwards and forwards, tho' himself was one hundred and ten years of age. He had many attendants of both sexes, who came also to wonder at the *English*, and brought them great plenty of flesh, fowl and fish, with divers sorts of fruits, and among them abundance of *pinas*, the most excellent of all kinds,<sup>d</sup> especially those of *Guiana*;

<sup>a</sup> Relation of the second voyage to *Guiana* by captain *Laurence Keymis*. *vid. Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 681, 682.

<sup>b</sup> Whether the poison they used in *Guiana* was the same with that in some other parts of the *West-Indies*, *Ralegh* has not told us; but Sir *John Hawkins* informs us, that about *Cumana*, where they are very expert archers, " their " poison is of such force, that a man being struck there- " with, dies in twenty-four hours: and, that in his judg- " ment, there can be no stronger; using thereunto apples, " which are fair and red of colour; but are a strong poi- " son (perhaps the *Manchineil*) of which with venomous " bats, vipers, adders, and other serpents, they make a " medley, and anoint their arrows." See *Hawkins's* voyage to *Guinea* and the *Indies* of *Nova Hispania*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 508.

<sup>c</sup> Captain *Robert Harcourt*, in his voyage to *Guiana* before quoted, says the juice of the leaf *Uppre* cures the wounds of their poison'd arrows. See *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. 4. fol. 1276.

<sup>d</sup> Whether *Ralegh*, at his return, brought of this fruit into *England*, which is otherwise call'd the *Ananas*, and vulgarly the *pine-apple*, from some resemblance it bears in shape to the cones of the *pine-tree*; or any of that most delicious wine made thereof, which he there also tasted, has rather been suggested than confirm'd; but afterwards, when, a speedy voyage, some of the fruit was brought over and by presented to king *James*, in greater perfection than we can conceive from tasting what is forced out of hot beds here, he discover'd one of the noble maxims in his *king-craft*, by declaring, *It was a fruit too delicious, for a subject to taste of*. See a book call'd, *Advice to the planters of both Indies*, 8vo. without date. But had he known the profuseness which the *English* have since been at to eat them, how imperfectly soever, of their own raising, he might perhaps have more justly said, *It was a fruit too extravagant, for a subject to taste of*.



besides bread, wine, and a sort of parroquites no bigger than wrens. And one of them presented *Ralegh* with a little beast, which the *Spaniards* call *Armadilla*, having his body scal'd or plated over like the *Rhinoceros*, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts as big as a hunting horn. This horn is recommended in medicine,<sup>a</sup> and the flesh for food, since *Ralegh* soon after made a feast of it.

WHEN the old king had rested himself a while in a tent which *Ralegh* had caused to be pitch'd for him, they enter'd, by the interpreter, into discourse about the murder of *Morequito*, his predecessor, and the other violations of the *Spaniards*. Then *Ralegh* acquainted him with the cause of his coming thither, whose servant he was, and that it was his queen's pleasure he should undertake this voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the *Spaniards*; dilating at large (as he had done before at *Trinidad*) on her majesty's power, her justice, and her clemency towards all oppressed nations: all which, being with great reverence and attention receiv'd, he began to sound the old man touching *Guiana*; as what sort of commonwealth it was, how govern'd, of what strength and policy, of what extent; with whom in alliance or enmity; lastly, the distance and way to enter the heart of the country? The king gave such ample and perfect account of these particulars, that *Ralegh* wonder'd to find a man of such gravity, judgment, and good discourse, without the help of learning or breeding. After his departure, *Ralegh* sail'd westward to view the famous river *Caroli*, both because it was so wonderful in it self, and led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, who were enemies to the *Epuremei*, subjects to the *Inga*, or emperor of *Guiana* and *Manoa*. Even when he was short of it, or lower down than the port of *Morequito*, he heard the roaring falls of this river; but when he enter'd it with his barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles to the *Cassipagotos*, he was not able with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's throw in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the *Thames* at *Woolwich*. Therefore encamping on the banks, he sent off an *Indian* to acquaint the nations upon the river of his arrival, and his purpose; and that he desir'd to see the lords of *Canuria*, who dwelt in that province. Then one of the princes came down, named *Wanuretona*, with many of his people, and brought great store of provisions, as the rest had done. By him *Ralegh* found, the *Carolians* were not only enemies to the *Spaniards*, but most of all to the *Epuremei*, who abounded in gold; and that there were three mighty nations at the head of that river which would join him against them. He was further inform'd by one captain *George*, whom he had taken with *Berreio*, that near the banks of this river there was a great silver mine; but the rivers were all now so risen, that it was not possible for the strength of man with any boat to row against the stream. Therefore he dispatched a party between thirty and forty to coast the river by land, while himself, with two or three officers and half a dozen shot, marched over-land to view the strange and wonderful overfalls of the said river *Caroli*, which roar'd at such a distance, and the plains adjoining, with the rest of the province of *Canuri*. When they had got to the top of the first hills over-looking the river, they beheld that prodigious breach of waters which pour'd down *Caroli*, and how it ran in three streams for twenty miles together. No less than ten or a dozen of these steep cataracts appear'd in sight, each as high above the other as a church-tower; which rush'd down with such violence, that the very rebound of the waters made the place seem as if it had been all over cover'd with a great shower of rain; and in some places they took it at first for a thick smoke which had risen out of some great town, till they drew nearer down in the valley to this thunder of waters, where they better discern'd and distinguish'd the effects of it. And here *Ralegh* says, he never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; the hills so raised up and down about the valleys; the waters winding into such various branches; the plains so clear of bush and stubble, and cover'd all with fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, and easy for the march either of horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds, towards the evening, singing on every tree a thousand several tunes, with cranes and herons of white, crimson and carnation, perched along the river banks; the air refresh'd with gentle easterly breezes; and every stone they stoop'd to take up, promising either gold or silver by its complexion. His company, at their return, brought several of these stones home; which they rather found colour'd outwardly like gold, than any of that metal fixed in them; for those who had least judgment or experience, kept only such as glitter'd, and would not be persuad'd but they were rich, because they shone, thereby bred an opinion, that all the rest were no better. Yet some of these stones *Ralegh* shewed afterwards to a *Spaniard*

His conference with the king of *Aro-maia*.

And with *Wanuretona*.

Views the wonderful cataracts of *Caroli*.

And the beautiful plains of *Canuri*.

<sup>a</sup> *Monardus* writes, that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cures deafness. See his treatise of the virtues of herbs, trees, animals, &c. in the *West-*

*Indies*, translated by *J. Frampton*, and call'd, *Joyful news from the new world*, 4to. 1577, and 1596.



of the *Caracas*, who told him it was *El madre del oro*, that is, *the mother of gold*; and that the mine was further in the ground.

His report of the *Ewaipanoma*.

AMONG the goodly rivers beyond the *Caroli*, there is one named *Caora*. Upon this branch, it was attested to *Ralegh* by the most intelligent and credible chiefs of the adjacent parts, there dwelt a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which, because every body in the provinces of *Aromaia* and *Canuri* also affirm'd, he was inclin'd to believe. They are call'd *Ewaipanoma*, and reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and mouths in their breasts (or in a level with them.) It was further avouch'd to him, they used bows, arrows, and clubs thrice as big as any of the *Guianians*; and that one being taken prisoner the year before, was brought into *Aromaia*. When *Ralegh* doubted of such a race to the prince, hereafter mention'd, who came with him into *England*, he answer'd, it was no wonder among them; for they had lately slain many hundreds of his father's people. *Ralegh* observes, "That *Mandevill* had before written of such a nation;" and that, since the *East-Indian* discoveries, we find "many of his relations true, which were before held incredible." Further, that when he afterwards arriv'd at *Cumana*, he spoke with a *Spaniard* eminent for his travels, and withal for his credit and veracity; who, hearing that *Ralegh* had been as far in *Guiana* as *Caroli*, immediately ask'd him if he had seen those people, and declar'd he had seen many of them. Then *Ralegh* names some *French* merchants of *London*, who were there present, and heard what this *Spaniard* had thus asserted. "Whether it is true or no (says he) the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination; for my own part, I saw them not; but am resolv'd, that so many people did not all combine or fore-think to make the report." After all, whether the observation of any garment loosely rising above the shoulders of these people, or the crouching posture in which they were so much seen, by their constant exercise of archery, might not first give some rise to this report, I leave for others more largely to explain; and how far the same person should here be condemn'd for an implicit faith, who was, as we have read, censur'd for the want of it. This consideration may be further offer'd for what *Ralegh* also repeats, not only from the writers of all nations, concerning the modern *Amazons* in these parts,<sup>c</sup> but from their very neighbours. For having told us, that *Orellana* first discover'd *Marannon*, which is call'd the river of *Amazons*,<sup>d</sup> and also after the said discoverers own name, *Ralegh* was inquisitive to know whether there were any of those warlike women, from whom this river should be so call'd, in these *American* parts, who are so fam'd in ancient histories to have been in *Asia* and *Africa*; and was assur'd by an ancient *Casique*, that there was such a nation of women on the south of the said river, in the provinces of *Topago*, whose manners and customs, as they describ'd to him, did somewhat conform with what is recorded of the ancient *Amazons*: as, that they cohabited with men but one month in the year; sent them the male children, and kept only the females; "but that they cut off their right breast (says he) I do not find to be true." He was further told, they scrupled not to accompany with the prisoners they took in war at any time; but in the end constantly put them to death: and that, as others of the bordering nations, these women wore certain plates of gold, which they had

And of the *Amazons*.

<sup>a</sup> Sir *John Mandevill's* words, according to the old *Latin* copy of his travels, are (speaking of some southern island:) "*Alia insula habet homines aspectu deformes, nihil autem colli aut capitis ostendentes; unde & Acephali nuncupantur: oculos autem habent ante ad scapulas, & in loco pectoris os apertum, ad formam ferri quo nostri cavalli frenantur.*" See also the late *English* edition of his *voyage and travel*, &c. 8vo. 1727. printed from a MS. in the *Cotton* library three hundred years old; where it plainly appears, his description of these headless people, p. 243. is copied out of *Pliny's Nat. Hist.* lib. 7. cap. 2. and lib. 5. cap. 8. But the notion of such a people did now so prevail, captain *Keymis* bringing fresh assurances of men with mouths in their breasts, exceeding wide, from *Guiana* the year after, that *Shakespeare*, in his *Tempest*, tells us every adventurer would now bring good warrant of them. He repeats the description again of those people; where *Othello* relates the wonders of his travels, to charm the attention and concern of his *Desdemona*: and this, as 'tis thought, in compliment to Sir *Walter Ralegh's* authority; for *Shakespeare* had certainly read his discovery of *Guiana*, as by other passages in his plays might be proved.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. *Theobald* thinks, we may be able to account, in a few lines, for the mystery of these supposed headless people: for *Charlus* speaking (says he) of the manner of cloathing of the *Savages*, a people of north *Muscovy*, says, "Their garments are made like those call'd *Cosiques*, open only at the necks. When the cold is extraordinary, they put their *Cosiques* over their heads, and let the

"sleeves hang down, their faces being not to be seen but at the cleft, which is at the neck; whence some have taken occasion to write, that in these northern countries, there are people without heads, having their faces in their breasts." *Theobald's Shakespeare*, 8vo. 1733. vol. VII. p. 393.

<sup>c</sup> *Vid. Fran. Lopez Hist. de las Ind.* par. 1. cap. 28. Also *Andrew Thwait*, in his *Antarctic* transl. by *J. Hacket*, 4to. 1568, and dedicated to Sir *H. Sidney*, cap. 63. Also *Lopez Vaz*, in his discourse of the *West-Indies* and the *South-Sea*; where he confirms the account of these *Indian* women, who fought in the wars with bows and arrows to aid their husbands, but not without them; and who, shewing themselves more valiant than their husbands, against the *Spaniards*, they therefore call'd the river, upon parts whereof these women dwelt, the river of *Amazons*.

<sup>d</sup> Of this river, see the accounts in *Mart. Fern. de Enciza*, before mention'd. Also *Joseph de Acosta*, in his *Nat. and Mor. Hist. of the West-Indies*, lib. 3. cap. 20, and 25. Also an historical and geographical description of the great country and river of the *Amazons*, *London*, 8vo. 1661. Which book, however set down by *A. Wood*, in the list of Sir *H. Ralegh's* writings, perhaps because said in the title-page to be the place he intended to conquer, was written originally in *French* by the count of *Paçan*, who dedicated it to cardinal *Mazarine*; and this translation is made by *W. Hamilton*. At the 129th page of this book, there is a chapter on the *Amazons* of *America*.



sometimes exchange'd with other countries for *spleen-stones*; which are of a green colour; and whereof (says *Ralegh*) I saw divers in *Guiana*; for every king or casique commonly has one, which their wives chiefly wear, and esteem as great jewels. These strange reports, however difficultly digested by those who had only travell'd at home; which made *Ralegh* afterwards produce many learned authorities, both ancient and modern, to justify himself from imposing any inventions of his own;<sup>a</sup> foreigners, it seems, thought not so extravagant, being more familiar and current among them; and *Hugo Grotius*, intimates as if *Ralegh* shew'd no more regard to these accounts than any other traveller would have done; where, mentioning this his discovery of *Guiana*, he says, "That as to the *Amazons*, and those who had their faces in " their breasts, having only heard talk of them, he left it for others to find them out."<sup>b</sup> But to return:

WHILE *Ralegh*, with his company, lay at anchor on the coast of *Canuri*, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of the *Caroli*; had found out many tribes who were enemies to the *Epuremei* and the new conquerors, having now sail'd and wander'd for the space of near a month, distant from his ships above four hundred miles; besides the long digressions up many arms and branches on every side by the way, they found the winter-season advance apace,<sup>c</sup> and the *Orenoque* threaten them with greater fury every day than other; the time they spent at *Trinidad*, and the company they there in vain waited for, being both wanted here to compleat their enterprize. For the most violent storms of thunder and lightning which now so frequently broke out, pour'd down such floods of rain, as made all the rivers rise and rage most fearfully; so that if they waded them over-shoos in the morning outward, homeward they could not come, even the same day, without wading to their necks, or swimming before they could reach their boats. Besides, they all grew very uneasy to themselves and one another for want of shifting, no man having room to bestow any other apparel than what he wore on his back; and that was wash'd through to his skin often ten times a day. These inconveniences, with those of having no instruments to try any mines, or men sufficient to secure them against the guarded nations nearer the imperial city of *Manoa*, captain *Preston* having fail'd them, as was before said, made *Ralegh* conclude there was now no advancing thither, or staying longer here; but that he might well content himself for this voyage with the various discoveries of the situation, products and riches of the country, which he had thus far made; with the interest and friendship he had thus spaciouly procur'd; and which no adventurer to those regions ever had in a much larger space of time, with much greater aids and provisions, the diligence and dexterity to equal.

As he return'd therefore to the east, he spent some time in discovering the river towards the sea which he had not survey'd, and which he thought also necessary to do. In a day's time he arriv'd again at the port of *Morequito*; for, gliding down the stream, he went without labour, tho' against the wind, little less than a hundred miles a day. When he came to anchor, he was very desirous of some further conference with old *Topiwari*, who soon, upon notice, came, with a multitude of his people, flocking down to *Ralegh's* tent upon the shore, every one loaded with presents. When the old king was refresh'd, and the crowd retir'd, *Ralegh*, by his interpreter, enter'd into a long conference with him; telling him that as both the *Epuremei* and the *Spaniards* were his enemies; the one having conquer'd *Guiana* already, and the other endeavour'd to get it from both, he desir'd to be instructed both in the best ways to the golden parts of *Guiana*, and the civiliz'd towns, or apparell'd people of *Inga*. The king answer'd, he could not perceive *Ralegh* meant to proceed to the great city of *Manoa*, because neither the season of the year nor the strength of his company would enable him; for he remember'd that in the plains of *Maquireguarai*, the first civil town of *Guiana*, where all the gold plates were made which were scatter'd over the neighbouring nations, and about four days journey from his own, three hundred *Spaniards* were destroy'd, who had no friends among the borderers; therefore advis'd *Ralegh* never to invade the strong parts of *Guiana*, without the help of all those nations which were their enemies. *Ralegh* ask'd, if he thought the company he had with him were sufficient to take that town: the king thought they were, and proffer'd to assist him with all his borderers, if he would leave him a guard of fifty men upon his departure; but *Ra-*

His last conference with the king of *Aromaita*.

<sup>a</sup> See Sir Walter Ralegh's *History of the World*, lib. 4. cap. 2. sect. 15.

<sup>b</sup> *Hugo Grotius*, having spoken of Sir Francis Drake's death, says, *Quo tempore Anglus alter Walterus Raleghus regis a latitudo prepositus, Orenocum flumen ingressus, Guianam nunquam Hispanis perdomitam adiit, ac notitie tradidit, ex quo que videt; de Amazonibus, & his queis vultus in posterum audita tantum & aliis plenius indaganda. Histor. de Rebus Belgicis, lib. 4.*

<sup>c</sup> "The winter and summer here, as touching cold and heat (says *Ralegh*) differ not; neither do the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but have always fruit either ripe or green; and most of them, both blossoms, leaves, ripe fruit, and green at one time; but their winter consists of terrible rains and overflowing of the rivers, with many great storms and gulls, thunder and lightnings; of which we had our fill ere we return'd.



*legb* knowing if they should escape the *Guianians*, the *Spaniards* expecting supplies, would repay upon them his treatment at *Trinidad*, very plausibly excus'd himself. Hereupon the king desir'd he would forbear him and his country at this time; for if the *Epuremei* should know he had given *Ralegh* any aid or intelligence, he should soon be over-run by them; nor could he avoid the *Spaniards*, if they should return, who had before led him seventeen days in a chain like a dog, till he paid a hundred plates of gold and several chains of spleen-stones for his ransom: but if *Ralegh* would return in due season next year, he would engage all the borderers in the enterprize; for that he could not more desire to make himself master of *Guiana*, than they to assist him; having been plunder'd in their wars by the *Epuremei* of their women, whom to recover they would willingly renew the war, without hopes of further profit; for the old king complain'd of it as a matter of grievous restraint, that now they were confin'd to three or four wives apiece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a dozen; while the lords of their enemies had no less than fifty or a hundred. But they seem to have had a political reason for this recovery, to strengthen their alliance and increase their forces, these frontiers having been much depopulated between the subjects of *Inga* and the *Spaniards*. *Ralegh*, after further consultation, finding it absolutely improper either to leave any of his company, or attempt war upon the *Epuremei* till the next year, apply'd himself now only to learn how these people wrought those plates of gold which were dispers'd about, and how they divided it from the stone. The king told him, that most of their plates and images were not sever'd from the stone; but that on the lake of *Manoa*, and many other rivers thereabouts, they gather'd the perfect grains of gold, and mingling a proportion of copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen pot, under which they increas'd the fire by the breath of men, through long canes fasten'd to the holes round the said pot, till the metal dissolv'd, which then they cast into moulds of stone and clay, and so made those plates and images; whereof *Ralegh* brought two sorts into *England*, more to shew the manner of them than their value: for he gave more pieces of gold of the twenty shilling coin, with the queen's effigies upon them, among these people, to wear in honour of her majesty, and to engage them in her service, than he receiv'd; so little did he make his desire of gold known to them. He also brought over some gold ore of their mines, "whereof I  
" know some is as rich (says he) as any the earth yields, and of which I know there is suffi-  
" cient, if nothing else were to be hop'd for;" but they wanted time, hands and instruments to break the ground, without which there could be no working of mines. "We saw (adds he)  
" all the hills with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we try'd them to be no *Mar-  
" quesite*; and therefore such as the *Spaniards* call *El madre del oro*, or, the mother of gold,  
" which is an undoubted assurance of the general abundance thereof; and my self saw the out-  
" side of many mines of the *Sparre*, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world;  
" and of those, more than I will speak of." Now *Ralegh*, besides having learn'd the riches of the country, having also won the affections of the people, and receiv'd a faithful promise of the chiefs in those provinces of *Aromaia* and *Canuri* to become servants to her majesty, took his leave of old *Topiwari*, and receiv'd his son prince *Cayworaco* as a pledge betwixt them, whom he brought into *England*, where he was christen'd *Gualtero* with great solemnity, leaving with the old king two of his own people in exchange; the one named *Francis Sparrow*, who being a good draughtsman, and could describe a country with his pen, desir'd to be left for that purpose, whom *Ralegh* instructed to travel as far as he could to *Manoa* with such merchandise as he committed to his care; the other was a boy, who waited upon him, named *Hugh Goodwin*, for whom he left orders to be taught the language of the country. This done, he weigh'd anchor, and coasted the river on *Guiana*-side, because he came towards it on the north-side by the lawns of *Saima*.

Discovers the gold mines.

Brings the king's son into England.

THERE was a powerful casique named *Putijma*, who accompanied *Ralegh* and his men from *Aromaia*, with promises to lead them to a mountain call'd *Iconuri*, which contain'd a mine of gold; and which (says *Ralegh*) he perform'd. *Ralegh* travell'd a great way towards it himself along the river *Mana*, till, through weariness, he was forced with some of his attendants to rest on the banks of a lake in the delightful valley of *Oiana*; where one of his guides kindling a fire with two sticks,\* they stay'd a while to dry their shirts, which, with excessive heat, were very wet and heavy upon them; sending captain *Keymis* the while with a party under that casique to take cognizance of the said mine, and promis'd to meet him at the river *Cumaca*, in

\* Succeeding voyagers have observ'd of the *Karaguata Guana*, a *Brazilian* tree about fourteen or fifteen foot high, with yellow flowers on the top, and large long thick leaves, which yield an unctuous liquor serving for soap, and fit for fishing nets; that with the wood thereof, and

of another call'd *Imbaita*, the inhabitants kindle their fires by striking them together, as we by a flint and steel. See *Nieuhoff's voyages*, vol. 2. fol. 141; also Sir *Tho. Brown's vulgar errors*, fol. 131.



his way to *Emeria*; the province of *Carapana*, one of the greatest lords of the *Orenoqueponi*, with whom he fought to establish a league. And as *Raleigh* return'd by the river *Mana* towards the said province, he saw himself many rocks like gold ore, and on the left hand a round mountain of mineral stone. From hence returning down the stream, he coasted the province of *Parino*; but the branches of the rivers he here pass'd, with *Aio* and other mountains, he reserv'd to the representation in his map; which, for the numerous and distant rivers and countries therein occasionally refer'd to, appears to have been a very accurate and comprehensive performance.<sup>a</sup> In the river of *Winicapora* he saw what they call'd the mountain of crystal, which look'd at a distance like a white church-tower of exceeding height, over the top of which a mighty river rush'd down with prodigious noise. *Berreio* told him, there were diamonds and other stones of great value thereon, which blaz'd at a great distance. Upon this river *Raleigh* rested a while, and marched to a town of the same name, where he found the natives all as drunk as beggars, it being the time of their festival. Here *Raleigh* refresh'd himself with the provisions of the place; and the delicate wine of *Pinas*, which the people brought him and his company in great plenty. But understanding that *Carapana* was retir'd from *Emeria*; and imagining, because he was an old subtil prince, it was to wait till he should return next year, then join him, if the *English* were strong enough to tempt his alliance; if not, that he might excuse his retirement to the *Spaniards*, as tho' it were in fear of these new visitors; *Raleigh* spent no more time in seeking after him; but making to the river *Cumaca*, he met with *Keymis*, and took his leave of *Putijma*, who, of all others, most lamented his departure; for the *Orenoque* was now swoln most dreadfully, so that it was impossible to return by the way he enter'd, for the river of *Amana* could not be sail'd back by any means, the breeze and current of the sea were so outrageous: therefore he follow'd the branch of *Capuri*, which enter'd into the sea eastward of his ships, that he might bear with them before the wind; and great need there was so to do, having by that way as much to cross of the main sea, in their little boats, after they came to the river's mouth, as between *Gravelin* and *Dover*. But when they arriv'd at the sea-side, and anchor'd in the mouth of *Capuri*, they were in a most desperate condition; for there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so that they run before night close under the land with their boats, and brought the galley as near as they could, which had much ado to live, and was often near sinking with all her men. *Raleigh* was in the utmost doubt what course to take; either to venture in the galley through six foot water on the sands for two leagues together, and that in the channel, when she drew five; or trust in such a raging wind and sea to cross over in his barge. At last, seeing the tempest increase the longer he tarried, he took *Gifford*, *Calfield*, and *Grenvil*, in his barge; and about midnight thrust into the sea, leaving the galley to come by day-light. "Thus faintly chearing one another in shew of courage (says *Raleigh*) it pleas'd God by nine a-clock the next morning we discover'd the isle of *Trinidad*." So they kept along the shore to *Curiapan*, where they found their ships at anchor; "than which (says he) there was never to us a more joyful sight;" especially when they found, upon meeting together, they had lost but one man (before-mention'd) through so many extremes of wet, heat, hunger, want of rest, sleep, lodging, and such like violent hardships in this toilsom and dangerous adventure, as drove them to many unusual and unhealthy shifts, especially in their diet; such as feeding upon many strange and corrupted fruits; upon fresh fish without seasoning; *crocodiles*, *sea-cows*,<sup>b</sup> *anta's*, and *armed hogs*; upon all sorts, of the land or water; good and bad; without order or measure; and yet no *calenture* befell them, or other pestilent diseases which are wont to infect all regions so near the *line*; so wholesom was the country, or so happily suited to their constitutions. The many praises which *Raleigh* further bestows upon the plenty and other felicities of *Guiana*, I must leave to the noble description he has writ of it, having here only extracted such parts as more chiefly respect our present endeavour at the personal history of its author.

Draws a general map of the country.

In a dreadful storm.

<sup>a</sup> This large and general map of *Guiana* and the neighbouring countries, *Raleigh* often mentions; and where he is speaking of the *Orenoque*; how far it is navigable; what considerable parts of the *Spanish West-Indies* are to be invaded thereby; to what other regions it leads, the descent of its branches; and where it falls into the sea, he tells us, these particulars, that he may not be tedious, shall better be perceiv'd in the general description of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nueva Roma*, the kingdom of *Papayan* and *Roidas*, with the province of *Panagala*, to the bay of *Uraba*, behind *Carthagena* westward; and to *Aracama* southward. Whether the title map, which I think is pick'd to the *Latin* edi-

tion of *Raleigh's discovery of Guiana*, hereafter mention'd, is a contraction of this large and general map; I do not remember, when I had that tract in my hand, to have observ'd by any inscription there may be thereon.

<sup>b</sup> Of these *sea-monsters*, otherwise call'd *manati* by the *Spaniards*, *Raleigh* says he had seen as big as a wine-pipe; others describe its flesh to be like beef, and to yield an excellent oil; the hide, being dress'd, makes good buff; and dried, good targets or armour; wherefore, we are told, Sir *Walter Raleigh* brought several of these hides into *England*. See captain *Harcourt's* voyage in *Purchas* (before-mention'd) fol. 1275.



Fires some  
Spanish towns.

IN his return homewards he touch'd at *Cumana*, to store and refresh himself with such provisions as he wanted; but the *Spaniards* refused to supply him, at which he threatned the town; and upon their refusing also to save it by such reasonable ransom as they had just before offer'd captain *Preston*, he set it on fire: the like he did at *St. Mary*, and at *Rio de la Hach*, as we are informed by *Camden* and others; some of whom affirm, he got not only great glory hereby, but riches; the latter of which will be thought doubtful to those who have read the *Spaniards* had removed their effects to the mountains, before they entered into a capitulation with *Preston*. On the 13th of *July*, when the said captain *Preston*, with the rest of his company, were under *Cape St. Anthony*, the westernmost part of the isle of *Cuba*, "we met (says the " writer of his voyage) with the honourable knight Sir *Walter Raleigh*, returning from his " painful and happy discovery of *Guiana*, and his surprise of the isle of *Trinidad*: so with glad " hearts we kept him and his fleet of three ships company (for he mentions no more) till the " twentieth day at night, at which time we lost them." <sup>a</sup>

Writes a discourse of  
his Guianian  
discoveries.

WHEN *Raleigh* was arrived in *England*, he soon applied himself to digest the observations he had made in his discoveries, and they were, not many months after, committed to the press. <sup>b</sup> Several authors have bestowed characters in praise of this *discourse*, which manifests such a wonderful genius in compassing the knowledge of so many places, productions, and people, with so small a power, and in so short a time. The honourable Mr. *Duddely*, natural son of the earl of *Leicester*, and afterwards a knight also of great renown for his writings and adventures, speaking of a discovery into *Guiana*, which had been communicated to him, says it was in the self-same manner almost such as Sir *Walter Raleigh* hath very discreetly written. <sup>c</sup> *Camden* refers those who would know more of this enterprize, to an ingenious book of *Raleigh's* writing, wherein he gives a most accurate description of the countries, as if he had been born and bred there. <sup>d</sup> And a later author mentions this treatise as one of those written by *Raleigh*, which is full of proper, clear and courtly graces of speech. <sup>e</sup> The action it self has also had many just encomiums bestowed upon it by Mr. *Hakluyt*, captain *Harcourt*, and others; the latter of whom, speaking of the *Great Orenoque* (at a time wherein he will not be suspected guilty of flattery to the first of our nation who explored that river) adds, wherein Sir *Walter Raleigh* performed his worthy and memorable discovery. <sup>f</sup> Nor could the muses forbear to celebrate such a glorious exploit, as well by the pens of those who were eye-witnesses of his toils and travel, as those who were no ways concerned in them: for captain *Keymis*, who bore him company, as we have observed, wrote this year a *Latin* copy of verses in praise of the *Guianian* expedition, describing the situation of the country, with its riches, and *Raleigh's* unparallel'd dexterity, for performing that discovery in a month, which so many brave *Spaniards* had in vain attempted many years. <sup>g</sup> And another learned poet, whom I take to have been Mr. *George Chapman*, wrote at the same time a heroic poem in *English* upon the same subject. Those who have read this whole poem attentively, which contains near two hundred lines, and observed what lofty strokes of praise the author bestows upon this enterprize, as well as the cordial instigations wherewith he animates his country to persevere in it, may conceive, I have had some constraint upon my self, through a regard to that proportion which is here necessary, in transcribing no more from it, than those parts wherein *Raleigh* is directly mentioned, when the whole redounds so much to his glory. And first, the poet, after having invoked his muse to sing the atchievement of that hero's sword, which is consecrated to his queen; and told us, the subject of his song is riches with honour, and conquest without blood; enough to seat universal monarchy, like the bird of *Jove*, upon *Eliza's* hand; and described the wealthy *Guiana* bowing her mighty breast, and making every sign of submission to become both the sister and the daughter of that sacred maid; he goes on thus:

<sup>a</sup> See Robert *Dawie's* vict. voyage of captain *Amias Preston* and captain *George Sommers* to the *West-Indies*, begun *March* 1595, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 582.

<sup>b</sup> Under the title of, *The discovery of the large, rich and beautiful empire of GUIANA; with a relation of the great and golden city of MANOA*, call'd by the *Spaniards* *El Dorado*, &c. performed in the year 1595, by Sir *W. Raleigh* knight, captain of her majesty's guard, lord-warden of the *flameries*, and her highness's lieutenant-general of the county of *Cornwall*. Imprinted at London by Robert *Robinson*, 4to. 1596. reprinted in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 627. consisting of about nine sheets. It was also translated into

*Latin* (and perhaps other languages) with the title of *Brewis & Admiranda Descriptio Regni Guianæ &c. per Dn. Gualt. Raleigh Equit. Angl. delectæ; Tabulâ Geographicâ Jodoc. Hondii &c. Norimb. impens. 4to 1599.*

<sup>c</sup> See his voyage to *Trinidad* in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 576.

<sup>d</sup> *Annal. Eliz. Anno 1595.*

<sup>e</sup> *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 438.

<sup>f</sup> Captain *Harcourt* in *Purchas* (as before) fol. 1270.

<sup>g</sup> *Ad Thomam Hariotum Mathematicum, & universæ Philosophiæ peritissimum, de Guiana carmen. Dat. Anno 1595. vid. Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 672.*



*Then most admir'd sovereign, let your breath  
Go forth upon the waters, and create  
A golden world in this our iron age;  
And be the prosp'rous fore-wind to a fleet,  
That seconding your last, may go before it.  
In all success of profit and renown:  
Doubt not but your election was divine;  
As well by fate, as your high judgment order'd,  
To raise him with choice bounties who cou'd add  
Height to his height; and like a liberal vine,  
Not only bear his virtuous fruit aloft,  
Free from the press of squint-ey'd envy's feet,  
But deck his gracious prop with golden bunches;  
And shroud it with broad leaves of rule o'er-grown,  
From all black tempests of invasion.*

THEN having exhorted the queen not to let the course of her reign be like those great winds, which in the morning of their power tear up forests by the roots, raise the seas to the skies, and make the earth tremble, yet, bury their wastful bravery in the evening; but rather like a river that flows from the mountains, and grows greater the further it runs, till, mixing with the main, it takes his titles and command: having also exposed those politicians, who would be wise in spite of wisdom; who think nothing can be right but certainty, and place their faith in incredulity; that coward's castle, sluggard's cradle, and only wit of fools, which slovenly defaces all things fair: and lastly, having bewail'd the corruptions of nature in our greatest nobility, whose bodies have choak'd their minds, which are bereft of sense through excessive sensualities, till the effects of their lusts have like lightning wounded her soul through her flesh unwounded; so that she must need incitements to her recovery even from the part she hurts; the poet finely continues in these words:

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*O how most like  
Art thou, heroic author of this act,  
To this wrong'd soul of nature! that sustain'st  
Pain, charge, and peril, for thy country's good;  
And she much like a body numb'd with surfeits,  
Feels not thy gentle applications  
For the health, use, and honour of her powers!  
Yet shall my verse through all her case-lock'd ears  
Trumpet the nobles of thy high intent;  
And if it cannot into act proceed,  
The fault, and bitter penance of the fault,  
Make red some others eyes with penitence,  
For thine are clear — and what more nimble spirits,  
Apter to bite at such unhooked baits,  
Gain by our loss, that, must we needs confess,  
Thy princely valour would have purchas'd us;  
Which shall be same eternal to thy name,  
Though thy contentment, in thy grave desires  
Of our advancement, sail deserved effect.  
O how I fear thy glory which I love,  
Lest it should dearly grow by our decrease!  
Natures, that stick in golden-gravel'd springs,  
In muck-pits, cannot scape their swallowings.*

YET the poet confiding in the *Patrician* spirits of the nation to encourage this sublime endeavour at such imperial enlargements of the *British* dominion, and especially in the temptations of the country it self, Gold, like fate, giving life and law to all our actions; presages they should all go to *Gutana*; that *British* colonies should be planted, churches and palaces built there; and that the whole world, by this heroic conquest, should pay homage to the queen of *England*: but it cannot be so justly described as in the lines themselves.



*Then in the Thespiads bright prophetic font,  
 Methinks I see our liege rise from her throne,  
 Her ears and thoughts in steep amaze erect,  
 At the most rare endeavour of her power,  
 And now she blesses with her wonted graces  
 Th' industrious knight, the soul of this exploit;  
 Dismissing him to convoy of his stars.  
 And now for love and honour of his worth,  
 Our twice-born nobles bring him bridegroom-like,  
 That is espous'd for virtue to his love,  
 With feasts and musick ravishing the air,  
 To his Argolian fleet; where round about  
 His bating colours, English valour swarms  
 In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque,  
 With his full waters fell upon our shore.  
 And now a wind as forward as their spirits,  
 Sets their glad feet on smooth Guiana's breast;  
 Where, as if each man were an Orpheus,  
 A world of savages fall tame before them,  
 Storing their thrift-free treasures with gold.  
 And there doth plenty crown their wealthy fields;  
 There, learning eats no more his thriftless books;  
 Nor valour, ostridge-like, his iron arms:  
 There, beauty is no strumpet to her wants,  
 Nor Gallique humours putrify her blood;  
 But all our youth take Hymen's lights in hand,  
 And fill each roof with honour'd progeny:  
 There, makes society Adamantine chains,  
 And joins their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disjoin'd:  
 There healthful recreations strew the meads,  
 And make their mansions dance with neighbourhood,  
 Which here were drown'd in churlish avarice:  
 And there do palaces and temples rise  
 Out of the earth, and kiss th' enamour'd skies;  
 Where New Britannia humbly kneels to heaven,  
 The world to her, and both, at her blest feet,  
 In whom the circles of all empire meet.<sup>a</sup>*

But the poet was no prophet in this respect; for *Raleigh*, with all his zeal and assiduity for the honour and advantage of his country, of which he could not give more sincere proofs than he did, by his continual forwardness to venture his fortune, and his life therein, could never induce the state to proceed in the plantation of *Guiana*; not so much through any real incredulity of the emoluments that would accrue from it, the superficial cause of its neglect; as through that malignant jealousy which so eternally bias'd the domestic competitors for royal favour, to curb the foreign services of enterprising men, lest the achievements of the one should outshine the administrations of the other: and this reason we may have further occasion hereafter more expressly to confirm out of *Raleigh's* own words; whence we may here observe, that he, whose engaging qualities had gain'd him such influence, such an ascendancy over the most savage and unciviliz'd nations, found no dispositions so barbarous and intractable among those strangers, as he did in his own country; like *Hercules* himself, who having, by his glorious labours, shewed his power of subduing and taming all other monsters, found envy and detraction invincible at last. That *Raleigh's* labours were attended with the same fate, himself has sufficiently discover'd in that dedication, which, with so much eloquence, modesty, and generosity, he made of his discourse upon *Guiana* aforesaid, to the lord-admiral *Howard* and Sir *Robert Cecyl*. For notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, "It appears (says *Raleigh* therein) that I made no other bravado of going to sea than was meant, and that I was never hidden in Corn-

<sup>a</sup> De GUIANA Carmen Epicum, Authore G. C. in Hakluyt, vol. 1. fol. 663.



“ *wal* or elsewhere, as was suppos’d. They have grossly belied me, that fore-judg’d I would Traduc’d.  
 “ rather become a servant to the *Spanish* king than return; and the rest were much mistaken;  
 “ who would have persuaded that I was too easeful and sensuál to undertake a journey of so  
 “ great travel: but (as he generously continues) if what I have done receive the gracious con-  
 “ struction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall think all too little;  
 “ and that there were wanting to the rest many miseries.” And as he had just before observ’d, in  
 a delicate reflection upon the ungrateful custom of making one failing eclipse the merit of many  
 virtuous actions, where he says, “ If ought might have been deserv’d in former times to have  
 “ counterpois’d any part of offences, the fruit thereof, as it seems, was long before fallen from the  
 “ tree, and the dead stock only remain’d.” So here he goes on; “ But if both the times past;  
 “ the present, and what may be in the future, do all by one *grain of gall* continue in eternal  
 “ distaste; I do not then know whether I should bewail my self either for my too much travel  
 “ and expence, or condemn my self for doing less than that which can deserve nothing.  
 “ From my self I have deserv’d no thanks, for I am return’d a beggar and wither’d; but  
 “ that I might have better’d my poor estate, it shall appear by the following discourse, if I had not  
 “ respected only her majesty’s future honour and riches. It became not the former fortune in  
 “ which I once liv’d, to go journeys of picory; and it had sort’d ill with the offices of honour  
 “ which by her majesty’s grace I hold this day in *England*, to run from cape to cape, and from  
 “ place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes.” The insignificancy of these pursuits also  
 in our other *English* adventurers to distress the king of *Spain*, he lays open a little further, in  
 the following manner: “ This undertaking hath another ground and assurance of riches and  
 “ glory than the voyages of the *West-Indies*; an easier way to invade the best parts thereof  
 “ than by the common course. The king of *Spain* is not so impoverish’d by taking three or  
 “ four port-towns in *America*, as we suppose; neither are the riches of *Peru* or *Nueva Espanna*  
 “ so left by the sea-side, as to be easily wash’d away with a great flood or spring-tide, or left  
 “ dry upon the sands at a low ebb. The port-towns are few and poor in respect of those  
 “ within the land; are of little defence, and only rich when the fleets are to receive the trea-  
 “ sure for *Spain*: and we might think the *Spaniards* very simple, having so many horses  
 “ and slaves, if they could not upon two days warning carry all the gold they have into the  
 “ land, and far enough from the reach of our foot-men, especially the *Indies* being so moun-  
 “ tainous, so full of woods, rivers and marshes.” Here he goes on to give a large variety  
 of examples, naming, besides the ports of *Camana* and *St. Josepho*, which he took himself,  
 and found not therein one rial of plate, many other towns and cities which are wealthy, but of  
 difficult access through our want of good footing in the neighbourhood of them. And leaves  
 many more islands, ports, cities and mines in *Peru* and other parts unnam’d with the rest, both  
 that the grandeur of those territories might not seem incredible, and for this further reason;  
 “ Of all which (says he) because I have written a particular *treatise* of the *West-Indies*,<sup>a</sup> I  
 “ will omit the repetition at this time; seeing that in the said treatise I have anatomiz’d  
 “ the rest of the sea-towns, as well as of *Nicaragua*, *Jucatan*, *Nueva Espanna*, and the  
 “ islands, as those of the inland; and by what means they may be best invaded, as far  
 “ as any mean judgment can comprehend.” But *Raleigh* was in hopes it would appear  
 there was now a way found out to answer every man’s longing; a richer *Indies* than any  
 the king of *Spain* enjoy’d, which if the queen would patronize, he was willing to end  
 the remainder of his days in reducing it to a total subjection. Whatever he further advanced  
 of this kind, diffidence and detraction were so predominant, that because some of *Ra-*  
*leigh’s* company brought over *marcasite* for gold, as he informs us a little further,<sup>b</sup> there  
 were some who would not believe the real gold ore which he brought, and which he had  
 helped to dig out of the rocks with his own dagger, was of greater value. Nay, when  
 many trials had been made of this ore,<sup>c</sup> wherein some quantities were proved by one *Westwood*,  
 a refiner in *Wood-street*, to hold after the rate of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds a ton.  
 Other parcels, by Mr. *Bulmar* and *Dimock*, assay-master, found also to hold after the rate of  
 twenty-three thousand pounds the ton; and a third sort tried by Mr. *Palmer*, comptroller of  
 the *Mint*, and Mr. *Dimock* in *Goldsmiths-Hall*, holding after the rate of twenty-six thousand  
 nine hundred pounds the ton; who tried also some gold dust of the same mine, which held  
 eight pound six ounces weight of gold in the hundred, and an image of copper made in

His treatise  
of the *West-*  
*Indies*.

His trial of  
the *Guiana*.

<sup>a</sup> This treatise, was I think never printed, at least under Sir *Walter’s* name; nor has it ever been taken notice of by any of those writers of his life, who have attempted to give us a catalogue of his writings.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *W. Raleigh’s* preface to the discovery of *Guiana*.

<sup>c</sup> Some of the ore which Sir *W. Raleigh* brought from

*Guiana*, and probably of this which he brought at this time, has been so carefully preserv’d in his family, that it is now in the possession of captain *William Flete*; who, among other communications relating to Sir *W. Raleigh*, has courteously oblig’d me with a sight thereof.



Discredited. *Guiana*, which held a third part of gold: when all this was prov'd, there were those who would not yet believe it gold of *Guiana*; but that *Ralegh* purchas'd it upon the *African* coast, and carried it over thither. "Surely, the singularity of that device (says *Ralegh*) I do not well comprehend: for my own part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages, as to devise thereby to counsel my self; to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subject to perils, to diseases, to ill favors, to be parch'd and wither'd, and withal, to sustain the care and labour of such an enterprize; except the same had more comfort than the fetching of *marcasite* in *Guiana*, or buying of gold ore in *Barbary*. But I hope the better sort will judge me by themselves, and that the way of deceit is not the way of honour or good opinion. I have herein consumed much time and many crowns, and I had no other respect or desire than to serve her majesty and my country thereby. If the *Spanish* nation had been of the like belief with these detractors, we should little have fear'd or doubted their attempts wherewith we now are daily threaten'd. But if we now consider of the actions both of *Charles V*, who had the maidenhead of *Peru*, and the abundant treasures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affairs of the *Spanish* king now living; what he has added to the acts of his predecessors; how many kingdoms he has endanger'd; how many armies, garrisons and navies he maintains; the great losses he has repair'd, as in *eighty-eight*, above a hundred sail of great ships, with their artillery; and that no year is less unfortunate, but that many vessels, treasures and people are devour'd; and yet that he begins again, like a storm, to threaten shipwreck to us all; we shall find that these abilities arise not from the trades of *sack* and *Seville-oranges*, nor from ought else that either *Spain*, *Portugal*, or any of his other provinces produce; it is his *Indian* gold that endangers and disturbs all the nations of *Europe*; it creeps into councils, purchases intelligence, and sets bound loyalty at liberty in the greatest monarchies thereof: if the *Spanish* king can keep us from foreign enterprizes, and from the impeachment of his trades; either by offer of invasion, or by besieging us in *Britain*, *Ireland*, or elsewhere, he has then brought the work of our peril in great forwardness: for those princes, who abound in treasure, have great advantages over the rest, if they once constrain them to a *defensive* war, where they are driven, once a year or oftener, to cast lots for their own garments." <sup>a</sup> For these and other substantial reasons which *Ralegh* produces, he declares, he has labour'd all his life, both to the utmost of his own power and persuasion of others, in the promotion of those attempts which promis'd either an enlargement of our own national interest, or an abatement of the encroaching greatness of the *Spaniard*, who, in his judgment, is not to be more easily reduc'd than by *such a war*; from so many weak nations are his treasures gather'd, and so far separated from mutual succour. But because he thought such resolution and preparations were not to be hoped for in haste, he doubted not, if her majesty would embrace the offer of those provinces, and that empire now by him discover'd, before they were engross'd by the enemy; but it would yield greater quantities of treasure than all the king of *Spain* possesses from the *Indies*, both *East* and *West*; and he would be contented to lose her good opinion for ever, and his life withal, if the country should not be found to exceed whatever had been promis'd in his discourse of it. <sup>b</sup> Tho' he has therein written, he doubts not after the first or second year that the same should be coloniz'd, but to see in *London* a contraction-house of more receipt for *Guiana*, than that in *Seville* for the *West-Indies*. And is positive, "That if there was but a small army a-foot in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa*, the chief city of *Inga*, he would yield to her majesty, by composition, so many hundred thousand pounds yearly, as should both defend us from all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home; and that he would besides pay a garrison of three or four thousand soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: for he cannot but know how his predecessors were beaten out by the *Spaniards*, and that they have ever since, with the greatest cruelties, fought the entry of his country, wherefore he would doubtless be brought to tribute; if not, having neither shot nor iron weapon in his empire, he might easily be conquer'd." <sup>c</sup> And in another part of the said discourse, he has these words, "If it be my lot to prosecute the same, I will willingly spend my life therein; and if any else shall be enabled thereto, and conquer the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perform more than ever was done in *Mexico* by *Cortez*; or in *Peru* by *Pizarro*, whereof one conquer'd the empire of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*; <sup>d</sup> and whatsoever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be lord of more gold and of more beautiful empire, and of more cities and people, than either the king of

<sup>a</sup> Sir W. Ralegh's preface as before.

<sup>b</sup> Idem.

<sup>c</sup> His discovery of *Guiana*, 4to 1596 p. 100

<sup>d</sup> *Fide Pizarro*, vol. 4. fol. 1493. & 1590



“ *Spain* or the Great Turk.”<sup>a</sup> Concluding his whole treatise of *Guiana* with “ his trust, in him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords to put it into her heart who is the Lady of ladies to possess it; if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, says he, who by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves.”

ALL this, and much more, would not do to raise the saternine, or rather malignant genius of the state to pursue this action; and upon this occasion we might observe, as *Raleigh* did afterwards upon another<sup>b</sup> from a poet of his own time,<sup>c</sup> That *some great men cloathing their private envy in the fair colours of the publick good, curbed the most needful and noble undertakings with distrust, through a specious care for the service of the state.* Among these sage and sceptical politicians, we may discern Sir *Robert Cecyl* to be one, who, in his conferences with some of the speculative geographers of his time, would shew how careful he was not to be overtaken with any partial affection to the planting of *Guiana*, as we are told by one of them, whom he would consult about the matter; and who, perhaps therefore, admires, in a dedication to him, as the manner is in this sort of writing, with no small joy, the exact knowledge he had acquired in matters of *Indian* navigation.<sup>d</sup> Nevertheless, *Raleigh's* advice was not wholly disregarded. For that part of it before-mention'd, proposing to drive the *Spaniards* to a defensive war, but upon their own proper coasts or harbours, was approv'd of; and *Raleigh* himself chosen, with other commanders, as we shall soon find, to put it in execution. In the mean time, however discourag'd in his new discovery, he would not relinquish it; but within six months after his return, that is, in the latter end of *January* following, he fitted out captain *Keymis* with a couple of ships, the *Darling* and *Discoverer*; but provided, rather to continue the correspondence and peaceful traffic with the *Indians*, than to strengthen them in a warlike manner with forces and accoutrements, which was what they most desir'd and expected. When *Keymis* arriv'd at *Guiana*, he found his friends much disperfed, but yet enquiring what was become of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, whom they had been prepar'd some months to join? were mighty joyful to hear he was not slain at *Cumana*, as the *Spaniards*, now much increas'd among them, had attested; but sadly disappointed that he had not sent a larger fleet to expel them, and conquer their neighbouring enemies up to the imperial city. *Keymis* further learnt, that *Berreio*, being left at *Cumana*, and lodged in the house of one *Fashardo*; the governors of the *Caraccas* and *Margarita*, conspiring together, had sent into *Spain* to inform king *Philip*, that *Berreio*, being retired to spend the remainder of his declining days in privacy and ease, was utterly unable to pursue the enterprize; yet of what importance his majesty's regard thereto was, since so eminent an *English* cavalier, as Sir *Walter Raleigh*, had, by a vigorous progress and most artful address, made such conquests and discoveries in some parts, and render'd himself so extensively engaging in all where-ever he came, that unless they had power given them to undertake the charge, all their past endeavours and future hopes in those parts would come to nothing.<sup>e</sup> But *Berreio's* camp-master having been long before sent into *Spain*, with gold enough gotten out of *Guiana*, to levy and furnish five hundred men, so effectually solicited *Berreio's* cause, that present order was given for the victualling and manning of ten ships to be sent him; so well worth his care did the king of *Spain* think this undertaking. And further, this gold bore such weight, that the king commanded eighteen ships more to stop at *Trinidad*, and not follow their other directions, before they saw that place secur'd from enemies. But *Berreio* himself suspecting that speedy dispatch, return'd to *Carapana's* port with fifteen men, the scatter'd remnant that *Raleigh* had left him. Those governors follow'd him, and anticipating the authority they promis'd themselves from *Spain*, enter'd *Guiana* with their men, and deter-

The second voyage to *Guiana*.

<sup>a</sup> Discovery of *Guiana*, 4to. p. 9.

<sup>b</sup> *History of the World*, lib. 4. cap. 2. sect. 17.

<sup>c</sup> *Sam. Daniel's* tragedy of *Philotas*. Act 3. in the chorus. Which play being writ not long after the death of the earl of *Essex*, the town fancied that favourite characteriz'd therein; but the poet, in his apology at the end thereof, endeavours to clear himself from any such intention.

<sup>d</sup> *Hakluyt's* dedication to Sir *R. Cecyl* of his second volume of voyages, fol. 1599.

<sup>e</sup> How much alarmed *Spain* was at this attempt of *Raleigh's*, Count *Gondomar* is introduced thus confessing to his ghost, in a pamphlet, writ not long after his death. “ The tottering ground whereon my king's title to the *Indies* stood, that it was nothing but violence and force, tyranny and Usurpation; and that if a stranger or more gentle army should enter, how easy it was to set us besides the cushion: this I know thou knewest, and what not beside, which belongeth to so great an attempt and

“ Triumph.” And a little further, “ I dare not (for the honour of my nation) unfold the woeful perplexity in which *Spain* stood during this tedious voyage; how she quaked to think of the general view which thou hadst taken, without impeachment of all the *West-Indies*; but most of all, when she was advertis'd of thy long and laborous passage upon the river *Orenoque*, the distinguishments which thou hast made betwixt it and the river of *Amazons*, and the intelligences which thou hadst gotten for thy ascent to the great city of *Manoa* and kingdom of *Guiana*: *Desfer*, which if they had been pursued, according to thy willingness and knowledge, we had not at this day acknowledged one foot of earth for ours in all the *West-Indies*.” Sir *W. Raleigh's* *Quest*; or *England's Forewarner*: discovering a secret consultation newly held in the court of *Spain*; together with his tormenting of Count *Gondomar*, &c. *Utrecht*, 4to. 1626. p. 14, 16.



min'd to murder *Berreio*, who fled towards *Caroli*, expecting his son *Antonio de Ximenes* with succours from the new kingdom of *Granada*. And now *Topiowary*, who had fled to the mountains, being dead, where the *English* boy, *Ralegh* left, was devour'd by a tyger, *Sanjago*, a *Spaniard*, in the faction of the governors aforesaid, took *Francis Sparrow* prisoner, who was also left by *Ralegh*, as has been related; but having gather'd great plenty of gold, he ransom'd his life therewith, yet was kept in captivity by the *Spaniards* some years, as we may hereafter learn. After this, the faction return'd to *Trinidad*, and begun to rebuild their town, where, unhappily to these new lawless rulers, the twenty-eight sail of ships arriv'd from *Spain* in *February* following, and took *Sanjago*, one of the busiest among them, prisoner, whom *Keymis* found in chains, expecting to be put to death. The other actors in this interlude vanishing in canoes, recover'd *Margarita*, and *Cumana* again. When eighteen of those ships had left all things in good order, they departed according to their instructions, leaving the other ten to fortify at *Conquerabia*, for the reception of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* fleet. Nor was it above four months after the arrival of those ships from *Spain*, that the king had prepared several others, it being in *June* 1596, to transport a new supply of whole families, to the number of six hundred persons, for *Guiana*; so little did this prince mistrust that the planting thereof would not turn to account. But these ships not sailing before *Ralegh* himself visited the coast where they lay; what work he made among them, and the rest of the *Spanish* navy, will now in a little space demand our attention.

His account of the gold mines in *Guiana* confirmed.

When *Keymis* was advanced to *Topiowary's* port, he found the *Spaniards* under *Berreio* had planted a village there, and that a rocky island against the mouth of *Caroli* was their fort or refuge; but now leaving both town and island, they gather'd at the mouth of that river, and had sent for cannon to defend the passage to "those mines, says *Keymis* to *Ralegh*, from whence " your ore and white stones were taken the last year:" adding, " we all, not without grief, " to see our selves thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made void, were witnesses of this their " remove." Then *Keymis* resolved to seek out *Putiima*, who, with some friends, was retir'd to the high lands, not far from the mountain *Aio*; intending, if the *Indians* should think themselves too weak with his help to displant the *Spaniards*, to set some of them to work, for hatchets and knives, to return him grains of gold and white stones from such places as they should be directed to. But when he came to the place of their aboad, they were fled, apprehending him and his company perhaps to have been a party of *Spaniards*. " Here, as *Key-* " *mis* goes on, *Gilbert* my pilot offer'd to bring us either to the mine of white stones near " *Winicapora*, or else to a gold mine which *Putiima* had shewed him, being but one day's jour- " ney over-land from the place where we now staid at anchor. I saw far off the mountains adjoin- " ing to this gold mine; and, having measured their paths near the same place this last year, could " not judge it to be fifteen miles from us. I do well remember, how coming that way with " *Putiima* the year before, he pointed to this same mountain, making signs to have me go with " him thither. I understood his signs, and marked the place, but mistook his meaning; ima- " gining that he would have shew'd me the over-fall of the river *Curwari* from the mountains. " My *Indian* shewed me in what sort, without digging, they gather the gold in the sand of " a small river named *Macawini*, which springs and falls from the rocks where this mine is. " And further told me, that he was with *Putiima* when *Morequito* was to be executed by the " *Spaniards*, and that then the chief of *Morequito's* friends were in consultation to shew this " mine unto them, if it might redeem their captain's life; but upon better advice, supposing " them in this case to be implacable, and that this might prove a means to lose not only their " king, but their country, they have to this day conceal'd it from them, being of all others " the richest and most plentiful." And a little further, among the reasons he gives for his not bringing proofs away from this mountain of his having known the contents of it, this is one, " Forethinking withal that there being no means but our selves to make known our dis- " covery, if we return'd not; in our misfortune, the hope of following this voyage would be " buried." And further still, he says, " I could promise hope of gold mines, and certain " assurances of pieces of made gold; of spleen-stones, kidney-stones, and others of better " estimate: but because our belief seems to be mated in these greater matters, and a certainty " of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weak hopes, I go not so far, " says he, as my own eyes might warrant me." These testimonies, and others which may be produced,\* will both shew, that *Ralegh* was not more sanguine in his golden hopes and pro-

miles

\* *Francis Sparrow*, above mention'd in the body of the work, confirms this account of the mines in these words: " *Orenoque*, I came to the rich country of *Cucua* in *Guiana*, where are the mines of white stone, in which is much natural and fine gold, which the *Indians* call *Cathay* "



mises, than the experience of other men, as well as his own, would justify; and withal, from the authority of these professions, that his choice was rationally grounded in making *Keymis* his agent for the further discovery of these mines many years afterwards; when, because he was not so successful as a prejudic'd and greedy government expected, the whole undertaking was, with the most flagrant ingratitude, branded as a fictitious project to impose upon his country, since indeed there was no imposition, unless where it is most unlikely there should be any, none being so great a sufferer thereby as *Raleigh* himself. But more of this in its due place.

WHEN *Keymis* was arriv'd at the port of *Carapana*, this casique sent some of his people in canoes to assure him he would come down next day and have a conference with him; but not coming in five or six days, he at last sent one of his aged attendants to excuse the fatigue of such a journey, so unfavourable were the ways, and himself so disabled with years and infirmities. This old envoy then enlarged upon the inconveniences they felt in using the *Spaniards* assistance against their enemies, especially when he compared their conduct with that of the queen of *England's* subjects under her great commander: "For, said he, the last year, we doubted not but that he, being able, would have persecuted us as the supporters of your adversaries; would have taken our towns, and have made us ransom our wives and children: but we found it far otherwise; and that none of your well-govern'd company durst offer us any wrong; no, not when undiscover'd they might have done it. We then believed to be true, what your grand captain reported of his princess; took this for a good proof of her royal authority and wisdom, that had framed her subjects to such obedience; and of your happiness, who enjoy'd the benefit thereof: wherefore *Carapana*, weighing the friendly course of these proceedings, doth humbly crave of her majesty, for himself and his people, that with the rest of the *Indians*, who wholly depend on her princely regard, he also may enjoy her favourable protection; not as a man forsaken by the *Spaniards*, but one that, knowing their injustice, hates their cruelties, and takes it for the best course utterly to disclaim their friendship." Here *Keymis* breaks off, to consider it as a matter worthy of observation, how this precedent of *Raleigh's* moderation and good order, which, among them, his countrymen, who knew him, was but his customary comportment, or ordinary practice, therefore of small regard with them, had yet both alienated the *Indians* hearts altogether from the *Spaniard*, and stirred up in them true love and admiration thereof. After this, he discloses his further knowledge of the *Indian* wealth aforesaid in these words: "This old man shewed whence most of their gold cometh which is formed in so many fashions; whence their spleen-stones, and others of all sorts, are to be had in plenty; where gold is to be gather'd in the sands of their rivers; from what part the *Spaniards*, both by trade and otherwise, have returned much gold;" and doubts not but all this was divulged with the consent of *Carapana*, as an invitation to the further aid and protection he expected from the *English*.

The effects of his noble conduct among these *Indians*.

ACCORDINGLY *Keymis*, finding it was in vain to hope for a conference with that well-wishing, but wary casique, and, having sent him a present of iron, gave assurance to all the *Indians* who repaired to him of his speedy return with succours; promising to make them all rich in hatchets, knives, and beads, if they would only reserve good store of their *cassavi* (which they

"*Callicurii*. The gold in this place runs between the stones like veins, of which gold I had some store; but now the *Spaniard* is the better for it. In *Curaa* is also gold in small grains, which lie in the sands in the little rivers or brooks: I always took those grains for the finest gold. In these rivers where gold lieth are many *Aligartos* or *Crocodiles*." See the description of the isle of *Trinidad*, the rich country of *Guiana*, and the mighty river of *Orenoque*, written by *Francis Sparrey* (as my author writes him) left there by Sir *W. Raleigh* 1595, but taken by the *Spaniards*, and sent prisoner to *Spain*, who, after long captivity, got into *England* by great suit 1602. In *Purchas's Pilgr.* vol. 4. fol. 1249.

Captain *Harcourt* also gives this evidence to the same purpose; "As I daily convers'd among the *Indians*, it chanced that one of them presented me with a half moon of metal which held somewhat more than a third part gold, the rest copper. Another also gave me a little image of the same metal; and of another, I bought a plate of the same, which he call'd a spread eagle for an axe. All which things they assur'd me were made in the high country of *Guiana*, which they said did abound with images of gold, by them called *carrecoory*. These things I shewed to my company, to

"settle their troubled minds, which gave much contentment to the greater part of them, and satisfied us all that there was gold in *Guiana*. Shortly after that, my *Indian*, *Anthony Canabre*, brought me a piece of a rock of white spar, whereof the high country is full; and if the white spars of this kind, which are the purest white of all others (for every sort of mine hath a spar, and for the most part white) be in a main rock, they are certainly mines of gold or silver, or of both. I made trial of a piece of spar which the same *Indian* discover'd to me, and I found that it held both gold and silver; which, altho' it was in small quantity, gave me satisfaction that there be richer mines in the country to be found; but the best lie deeper in the earth, and we had not time nor power to make search for them." See the said captain *Harcourt's* voyage to *Guiana*, Anno 1603, dedicated to prince *Charles*, in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1277.

"These instruments were such preferable commodities among some of those *Indians*, that *Francis Sparrowe*, in his description of *Guiana* before-mention'd, tells us he bought at *Camalaba*, to the south of the *Orenoque*, eight young women, the eldest whereof was not eighteen years of age, for one red-hafted knife, which in *England* cost him one halfpenny.



used for bread) and some plates of gold, for exchange. And having further spent some time in the discovery of above fifty several rivers, tribes or nations of people, towns and casiques in this voyage, of all which he has given us a very accurate table, he directed his course homewards, and arrived at *Portland* in the latter end of *June* aforesaid; having spent five months in going, staying, and returning. As soon as he got home, he found *Ralegh* had been gone upon a grand expedition out of the nation near a month. Therefore he had time to draw up his account of this voyage (whence the passages which more immediately relate to our subject are extracted) ready to present him with at his return into *England*; which he did, and dedicated it *To the approv'd, right valourous, and worthy knight Sir Walter Ralégh, lord warden, &c.* In this dedication, he expresses himself in a most respectful manner, and highly to Sir *Walter's* honour for the great cost and travel which he had bestowed upon this discovery; telling him “the fervent zeal and loyalty of your mind, in labour with this birth of so honourable expectation, as it hath deserved a recompence far different (from what he had been describing) so needeth it not my poor suffrage to endear the toil, care and danger you have willingly undergone for the good and advancement of our weal publick: the praise-worthiness thereof doth approve itself; and is better read in your living doings, than in my dead unregarded papers,” &c. Subscribing himself, *Your lordship's to be commanded in all service.* And in his preface *To the favourers of the voyage for Guiana*, among the sensible motives he uses to remove all fig-leaves from our unbelief, and the examples he urges to exprobrate our remissness, one (which *Ralegh* had before touch'd upon with that modesty wherewith he always alludes to himself) is given by our author *Keymis* in these words: “If we should suppose our selves now to live in the days of king *Henry VII*, of famous memory, and the strange report of a *West-Indies*, or new world, abounding with great treasure, should entice us to believe it; perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the gravity of wise men, lightly to be carried with the persuasion and hope of a new-found *Utopia* by such a one as *Columbus* was, being an alien, and many ways subject to suspicion: but since the penance of that incredulity lies even now heavy on our shoulders; the example fore-threatening I know not what repentance: and that we have the *personal trial of so honourable and sufficient a reporter, our own countryman*; let it be far from us to condemn our selves in that, which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors, and to let our idle knowledge content itself with naked contemplation, like a barren womb in a monastery.” But in his relation of the *voyage* itself, which he concludes with many cogent and strenuous arguments, drawn from the justice, profit and necessity of prosecuting it, he introduces that conclusion with a paragraph which sets *Ralegh* forth so strongly, in his principal point of light; having persisted more inflexibly, through greater discouragements, in more exalted pursuits than any other of his contemporaries, by seeking, not a private, so much as a national benefit; not a transient, but perpetual aggrandisement of his country, that this author's grateful acknowledgment thereof demands an undeniable admission; which therefore take as follows.

“Thus have I emptied your purse, spending my time and travel in following your *lordship's* directions for the full discovery of this coast and the rivers thereof. Concerning the

\* Yet has our nation been reproached for our many neglects of this kind even to this day: a modern author observes, “That none of all our late *bubble-projectors* so much as ever propos'd one subscription for making any discoveries like Sir *Walter Ralegh's* in *Virginia* and *Guiana*. Where, says he, was the set of men who offer'd to subscribe to a fund for searching out the *north-west* passages to navigate to the pole, and solve the difficulty which all the proficients in *geography* speak of only by conjecture, *viz.* whether *Europe* and *America* join, or the *Tartarian* ocean is to be travers'd or no? Have any men yet subscrib'd to a company for discovering the continents or islands of the seas, more truly call'd the *South-Seas*, I mean due south of the cape *de Bona Speranza*, or due south of the *Terra del Fuogo*? Do we think there are any lands worth possessing in all the vast southern tracts from forty or fifty degrees south to the other pole of the world? Why are not these parts as well worth searching as the bottoms and deeps of *Hudson's* and *Davis's Straights*, or the icy mountains of the *Waggats* and *Nova Zembla*? The short is, our projects are all bubbles, and calculated for *Exchange-Alley* discoveries, not for enlarging our commerce, settling colonies, and spreading the dominions of our sovereign from pole to pole. Why has no bold adventurer followed the glorious Sir *Walter Ralegh* upon the river of *Amazon*, the

“*Rio Parano*, and the *Great Orenoque*? where thousands of nations remain undiscover'd; and where the wealth, the fruitfulness of the soil, the goodnets of the climate, and the infinite numbers of the people, exceed all that has ever been conquer'd or discover'd in the *American* world: but all is owing to the mercenary low humour of the times we live in, who, groveling in the baser methods of getting money by fraud and bite, by deceiving and over-reaching one another, scorn the glorious ways by which our ancestors grew rich, when they pursued, together with their private advantages, the honour and interest of their native country and of their posterity. If our *subscriptions* had been for such things as these, and the management had appear'd to be as fair, as the design was honourable, we had never had an act of parliament to suppress them as public nuisances and a scandal to a Christian government; but the *British* nation would have been encourag'd to exert itself to the utmost in them: whereas now we are all degenerated into *bubble* and *bite*, and the *Exchange* as well as *Exchange-Alley* is become a mere gaming stage, where, instead of merchants carrying on useful commerce, we see throngs of *fitters* and *cullies* shuffling and cheating one another.” See the *Humourist*, being essays upon several subjects, vol. 2. 8vo. 1725. p. 40, 41.



“ not making of a voyage for your private profit, I pretend nothing. Sorry I am, that where  
 “ I sought no excuse, by the *Spaniards*’ being there, I found my defect remediless. And for my  
 “ own part, I do protest, that if the consideration of the public good which may ensue, had  
 “ not over-pois’d all other hopes and desires, I would rather have adventur’d by such small  
 “ and weak means as I had, to do well with danger, than to return only with safety. Now  
 “ altho’ in a cause not doubtful, my allegation is no way needful, yet because the weightiness  
 “ thereof, and the expectation of others, seems of right to claim something to be said by me,  
 “ whom your especial trust and favour have credited and grac’d with this employment : par-  
 “ don it, I beseech your honour, if where my lamp had oil, it borrow light also, and my  
 “ speech, which is altogether unfavoury, season itself with some of the leaven of your own  
 “ discourse touching this discovery. The particular relation of some certain things I have re-  
 “ served as properly belonging to your self, who only, as knowing most, can make best use  
 “ thereof. So much in general is here touch’d, as may serve, I hope, to refresh the memory of  
 “ this worthy enterprize in those it may concern, and testify your care and expence in follow-  
 “ ing the same : That in a second age (when in time truth shall have credit, and men, won-  
 “ dering at the riches and strength of this place, which nature it self hath marvellously forti-  
 “ fied as her chief treasure-house, shall mourn and sigh to hold idle sickles, whilst others reap  
 “ and gather in this harvest) it be not said, SIR WALTER RALEGH was, of all men  
 “ living in his days, most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulness of an  
 “ inestimable public good : if, knowing that for envy and private respects, his labours were les-  
 “ sened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his de-  
 “ serts imparted to others : if (I say) seeing, knowing, and bearing all this, he with patience  
 “ had persisted in so good a way in doing his princess and country service, and had but perfected  
 “ his first discovery by sending a ship or two for that purpose ; for then surely all lets and doubts  
 “ being removed, and so large a kingdom, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things as this by  
 “ his discourse appeared to be, being offer’d ; no devices and vain surmises could have taken place ;  
 “ no illusions could have prevail’d ; it had been blindness and deafness in those who, being near her  
 “ majesty, do spend their days in serving the commonwealth, not to see and know in so weighty a  
 “ matter ; it had been malicious obstinacy, impotence of mind, and more than treason to the com-  
 “ monwealth ; the matter standing only upon acceptance, to seek either to foreclose so fit an occasion,  
 “ or forsake so general a blessing : but this If is now cut off, through a singular and incompa-  
 “ rable temper, in overcoming evil with good.”

His perseve-  
 rance ap-  
 plauded.

WHEN *Keymis* return’d into *England*, *Raleigh*, as we observ’d, was abroad, being sent upon  
 that enterprize which proved the most victorious and renowned of any the *English* undertook in  
 those days against the *Spaniards*. For the queen having heard they had received encourage-  
 ment from *Tir-Oen*, the *Irish* rebel, to threaten her with a new invasion ; that because she had  
 strengthened their enemies, they would take the shortest course, and begin with *Eng-  
 land*.<sup>b</sup> Therefore had made great naval preparations, to which they might not be a little  
 embolden’d both by the death of her two brave old commanders, *Drake* and *Hawkins* ; and  
 again by their late success, no further from her own coasts than *Calais* ; which taking by storm,  
 under cardinal *Albert*, archduke of *Austria* and governor of the *Netherlands*, the thunder of  
 the *Spanish* artillery alarmed her majesty’s ears in her palace at *Greenwich*. This posture of  
 affairs made the queen determine, with the advice of her council, to use the most effectual  
 means for preventing the mischiefs of an assault, by taking the start of them, and sending a  
 force sufficient to destroy the *Spanish* shipping in their own harbours.<sup>c</sup> Accordingly, a power-  
 ful fleet was fitted out to the number of a hundred and fifty sail, according to *Camden* from  
*Stow*, and *Speed* from both. But in the old manuscript list of this fleet, which *Camden* follow-  
 ed as to the number of men, it appears there were no more than ninety-six ships of the *English*  
 navy,<sup>d</sup> which were afterwards join’d by twenty-four sail of *Hollanders*, as I gather out of *Grotius*  
 and their other historians. As to the number of men ; the general calculation at the end of that list  
 aforesaid, was taken upon trust by *Camden*, or he would not have given it us without doubt ; for  
 it neither does agree with the erroneous sums under the particular heads of ships, mariners, captains,  
 and soldiers, nor with the true ones which have since it was printed, been subjoin’d ; and if it  
 did, it would not give satisfaction ; the list it self being manifestly defective in omitting the

<sup>a</sup> See a relation of the second voyage to *Guiana*, per-  
 form’d and written in the year 1596, by *Laurence Keymis*,  
 Gent. and dedicated to the approved right victorious and  
 worthy knight Sir *Walter Raleigh*, &c. in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3.  
 fol. 683.

<sup>b</sup> Earl of *Effex*’s *Apology*, the last edition, 8vo. 1729.  
 p. 10.

<sup>c</sup> *Camden*’s *Annals*, 1596.

<sup>d</sup> *Cotton Library*. *Julius F.* VI. fol. 278.



land-companies which went over in the capital ships: so that not to be too scrupulous, the account which will best correspond with all variations is, that this *English* fleet contain'd about fourteen thousand men, whereof one thousand were volunteers. For as yet the *English* nobles and gentry had not learnt to live lazily and loosely at home, while their countrymen were fighting abroad for the safety and glory of the nation.<sup>a</sup> Now if to this number of men, we add also that in the *Dutch* ships, which according to their own computation was near twenty-six hundred men, there might be enough to leave the whole fleet furnish'd with sufficient hands to guard and work it, and allow of ten thousand three hundred and sixty men to land upon the *Spanish* coast, as it is propos'd in the conclusion of the list before-mention'd.

The lord-admiral *Howard* and the earl of *Effex* were joined in commission generals of this enterprize; but the queen considering what there might be wanting to keep an old head and a young one, a cool and a warm one in due temper and harmony, allotted them a council of war in these words. “For the better and more orderly execution of this your commission, and of those former articles comprised in these our instructions, we do ordain, that there shall be two persons serving for the seas, and two that are appointed to serve with the forces for land-service, to be as counsellors to you in our name, that is, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Chosen of the council of war, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*; Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *Coniers Clifford*; and to these four, we do add Sir *George Carew*, lieutenant of our ordnance, to make the number of five; whom also we charge by these presents, that they will, as they will answer before God, give their counsels to you both, without any private respect to either of you, for love or fear, in all actions to be put in question or taken in hand; and the same deliberately to debate, as the weight of the matter shall require, before any resolution be made, and before the putting of the matter in action.”<sup>b</sup> There is further to be understood by those two persons serving for the seas, that the Lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* were also constituted admirals in this expedition. Hence was the whole *English* fleet divided into four squadrons, and so it appears in the list aforesaid, wherein we find that which was commanded by *Raleigh* consisted of twenty-two ships, thirteen hundred fifty-two mariners, and eighteen hundred seventy-five soldiers. The *Dutch* squadron was commanded by the admiral of *Holland*, named *John Duvenword*, Lord of *Warmond*. How *Effex* relish'd the division of authority, may be somewhat guess'd at by the queen's answer to one of his letters it seems, which she thought very strange. “You mention, says she, first a danger to commit authority to any other, because you are referr'd to your commission and instructions formerly sent you, which hath no power of deputation; as who should say, that if you did follow the directions of our hand, our great seal in this matter should be brought to dispute the validity of your warrant.” A little further it appears, that he had been impatient to be gone for fear he should be detain'd, for the queen had perswaded him to stay behind; but not prevailing, she now gave him liberty to depart, and told him, “Tho' we meant to drive it to the last considerations and utmost debates as much as could be, yet we compared times so sufficiently, as a prince who knows what belongs to such a matter, that nothing should be done to retard you (being ready) one hour: for as we know *Raleigh* not to be arriv'd, so we know after it, some time to embark such an army must be required.”<sup>c</sup> But *Raleigh* joined the fleet, and the whole army was embark'd within ten days after the writing of this letter, for on the first of *June* before-mention'd the fleet set sail from *Plymouth*.<sup>d</sup> When they came to the north cape of *Spain*, they called a select council, by hanging out the flag of arms; and then had the master and captain of every ship his sealed instructions given him, or letters of rendezvous, which were not to be open'd till they were past *Cape St. Vincent*, unless separated by bad weather; but to be thrown overboard in case of danger from the enemy; and by which it appear'd the voyage was determin'd for *Cadiz*. They had a fortunate progress, both as to the wind, and the taking of every ship which

<sup>a</sup> *Lives English and Foreign*, vol. 1. p.

<sup>b</sup> See the queen's Instructions to the generals in the *Cotton* library. *Ordo E. IX.* Also *Rymer's Fœdera*, Anno 1596. And Mr *Lediard's Naval Expeditions* in that year.

<sup>c</sup> See the queen's said letter, dated May 21. 1596, in the volume of the *Cotton* library before-cited; also lately printed in Mr. *Lediard's Naval Expeditions*, fol. 324.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Francis Vere*, who was now marshal of the land-forces, and who would incline us to think nobody's services even at sea in this expedition, were so considerable as his own, tho' he was not allotted to any signal service, having (as he owns) till now been a stranger to actions at sea, says further, “During this stay of the army about

*Plymouth* (which, by reason of the contrariety of winds, was near a month) it pleased my lord of *Effex* to give me much countenance, and to have me always near him, which drew upon me no small envy; inasmuch as some open jars fell out between Sir *Walter Raleigh*, then rear-admiral of the navy, Sir *Coniers Clifford*, sergeant-major-general of the army, and my self; which the general qualified for the time, and ordered, that in all meetings at land, I should have the precedence of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and he of me at sea.” *Vere's commentaries*, fol. *Cambridge*, 1657. p. 30, and 26. But those jars could not spring from such envy in *Raleigh*, who never coveted that favour which *Vere* courted.



could give the enemy intelligence of their approach. On the twentieth of *June* the fleet came to anchor in the bay of *St. Sebastians*, short of *Cadiz* half a league. The lord-admiral, being careful of her majesty's ships, had resolved, with the earl of *Essex*, that the town should be first attempted, to the end that both the *Spanish* galleons and galleys, together with the forts of *Cadiz*, might not all at once beat upon the *English* navy. *Raleigh* was not present at this resolution, as himself has declar'd in that account of this action, which he dispatched soon after it was over to a minister of state in *England*; <sup>a</sup> which being the clearest I have met with, and easiest to be confirmed, not only by the more indifferent pens of foreigners, but the most partial ones of our own country, those of his competitors themselves for honour in this engagement, will here be our best guide. Hence therefore we learn the reason of *Raleigh's* absence at that resolution of first landing the army to have been, because he was engaged the day before outward on the seas in stopping such *Spanish* ships as might pass out from *St. Lucar* or *Cadiz* along the coast. <sup>b</sup> When he return'd, two hours after the rest, he found the earl of *Essex* disembarking his soldiers, having put many companies into boats, with intention to make his descent on the west side of *Cadiz*; but the billows were so raging, that the boats were ready to sink at the stern of the earl, and divers were lost with some armed soldiers in them; <sup>c</sup> but because this course had been resolved on, and that doubting, now in the danger, might look like dreading of it, the earl continued his purpose of landing; when *Raleigh* came aboard his ship, and, in the presence of all the colonels, protested against the resolution; giving him many reasons and apparent demonstrations, that, to the utter overthrow of their armies, themselves, and her majesty's future safety, he was running the way of a general ruin. The earl excused himself, and laid it upon the lord-admiral, who would not consent (he said) to enter with the fleet till the town was first possessed. All the commanders and gentlemen present besought *Raleigh* to dissuade the attempt, <sup>d</sup> for they all perceived the danger, and were convinced that the greatest part must perish ere they could set foot on ground; and if any reached the shore, yet would they surely have their boats cast on their heads; and twenty men, in such a desperate descent, might defeat them all. The earl hereupon prayed *Raleigh* to go and persuade the lord admiral, who being also by him made sensible, that certain destruction would be the consequence of pursuing the former resolution, consented to enter the port. When *Raleigh* brought *Essex* the news of this agreement, <sup>e</sup> and call'd out of his boat *entramos, entramos*, as he return'd towards him, the earl threw his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. The day was now far spent, and it required much time to return the boats of soldiers to their own ships. So as that night they could not attempt the fleet, "Altho' many, seeming desperately valiant, thought it a fault of mine, says *Raleigh*, to delay it till morning, <sup>f</sup> tho' we had neither agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed who should lead, and who second; whether by boarding or otherwise; neither could our fleet possibly recover all their men in before sun-set. But both the generals being pleased to hear me, and many times to be advised by so mean an understanding, came again to anchor, and in the very mouth of the

Dissuades the  
generals from  
their rash  
course.

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's Relation of the action at Cadiz* in the year 1596, published by *Philip Raleigh*, Esq; his only grandson, among the genuine remains at the end of an abridgment of *Sir Walter's history of the world*, 8vo. 1700.

<sup>b</sup> In a foreign history we have this circumstance thus further confirm'd and enlarg'd. "*Raleigh* was dispatched before with certain ships to set upon some great vessels, which, as they heard, were ready to sail out of *St. Lucar's* bay; but they lay so near the shore, that he could not approach them, and was further hinder'd by a mist in which they escap'd; but they were by *Raleigh* so nearly chased to the land, that his own ships were in danger to have run on ground." See *The Triumphs of Nassau*, fol. 1613. p. 187. translated by *H. Shute*, gent. from the French book call'd, *Les Lauriers de Nassau: ou description & representation (en taille douce) de toutes les victoires gagnées par les états sous la conduite & gouvernement du prince Maurice de Nassau*, fol. a Leyden; par *Jean Jeantzoon Orlers*, & *Henry de Haellens*, 1612.

<sup>c</sup> An author who was in the engagement, observes, that in this hasty attempt of the earl's, a barge was sunk, having fourscore soldiers in her, and that eight of them were drowned. See the *Cadiz voyage* in *Hakluyt*, and the abridgment in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1929.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *W. Monson*, who was captain in the earl's ship, says, he also dissuaded him from landing. See his *Naval Tracts* in *Churchil's* collection of voyages.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *Francis Vere*, who was a commander of the land-

forces, was one of them who was for landing with the earl at the *Caletta*, as plainly appears from his own words; and having no command in the fleet, it is no less visible he envied those who had, the honour of a naval victory. For how maliciously has he disguis'd and disparag'd this signal service of *Raleigh's*! where he says, "This day the generals met not together, but the lord-admiral had most of the sea-officers aboard with him, and the lord of *Essex* had those for land-service, and *Sir Walter Raleigh* was sent to and fro betwixt them with messages; so that in the end, it was resolved and agreed upon to put the next tide into the bay." See *Vere's* commentaries, fol. 27, 28; but not one word, *alho* it was that dissuaded them from their first rash attempt; and *alho* brought them to this agreement; when even foreigners have given us more of the arguments wherewith the earl was persuaded by *Raleigh* alone, than *Raleigh* himself has done. See the *Triumphs of Nassau*, fol. 187.

<sup>f</sup> *Raleigh* himself was the first who complain'd of delay, by that indiscreet attempt of landing, both against the storm and the enemies ships, between them and the shore; but now the delay was necessitated, not only by the distance of the *Spanish* fleet up the bay, but the danger of being be-nighted, and then fighting in a freight and among the rocks. See the *Triumphs of Nassau*, as before; but *Raleigh* himself has given the best reason for their delay this night, which is, their having as yet agreed on no scheme or method of engagement; which must have brought all to confusion.



Lays down  
the order of  
fight.

“harbour. So that night, about ten a-clock, I wrote a letter to the lord-admiral, declaring therein my opinion, *how the fight should be order'd*; persuading him to appoint to each of the great galleons of Spain, two great fly-boats to board them, after the queen's ships had batter'd them; for I knew that both *St. Philip* and the rest would burn, and not yield; and then to lose so many of the queen's ships for company, I thought too dear a purchase, and what would be term'd but a *lamentable victory*.” This method being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the *body* of the fleet, the charge of the *van*, for putting it in execution, was, upon *Raleigh's* request, granted and assigned to him. The ship himself was in, called the *Warspile*, was one of the queen's, and carried about two hundred and ninety mariners. The rest, appointed out of her navy to second him, were, the *Mary-Rose*, commanded by Sir George Carew, the *Lion* by Sir Robert Southwell, the *Rainbow* by Sir Francis Vere, the *Swiftsure* by captain Cross, the *Dreadnought* by Sir Coniers and Alex. Clifford, the *Nonpareil* by Mr. Robert Dudley; besides twelve *Londoners* and certain fly-boats.<sup>a</sup> Thus the lord Thomas Howard, because the *Mer Honeur*, which he commanded, was one of the greatest ships, was also left behind with the generals; but being impatient thereof, he pressed them to have the service committed to him, and to that end exchange'd his ship with Mr. Dudley. Hereupon Raleigh observes, “For my own part, as I was willing to give honour to my lord Thomas, having both precedency in the army, and being a nobleman whom I much honour'd; so I was yet resolved to give, and not to take example for this service, holding my own reputation dearest.” Therefore with the first peep of day he weigh'd anchor, taking the start of all others a good distance,<sup>b</sup> and bear with the enemy, who was in the following disposition to receive him.

UNDER the walls of *Cadix* were ranged seventeen galleys, which lay with their prows to flank his entrance. There was also a fort call'd *Philip*, which beat into and commanded the harbour, besides the ordnance, which lay all along the curtain upon the wall towards the sea, and divers other pieces of culverin which scour'd the channel. Notwithstanding, as soon as the enemy perceived an *English* admiral under sail approaching, several of their galleons and other ships of war, with forty great vessels besides bound for *Mexico* and other parts, also set sail. Of all which, the *St. Philip*, *Matthew*, *Andrew* and *Thomas*, being four of the capital galleons of Spain, came again to anchor under the fort of *Puntal*, in a streight of the harbour which leads over to *Puerto Real*. On the starboard side of them, they placed three frigats of war; at their back, two great galleons of *Lisbon*, besides two well furnish'd argosies; and the seventeen gallies by three and three, were to interlace them as occasion should be offer'd. The admiral, vice admiral, and rear admiral of *New Spain*, with the body of the fleet,<sup>c</sup> were ranged behind them towards *Puerto Real*, hoping with this great strength to defend the entrance, the place being no broader from point to point, than that their line did in effect stretch over the streight as a bridge, and had besides the fort of *Puntal* for their guard.

Leads the  
van.

RALEGH, as aforesaid, advancing in the van, was first saluted by fort *Philip*,<sup>d</sup> next by the cannon on the curtain, and lastly in good order by the seventeen galleys which lay near the town with all their prows bent against him as he enter'd. Raleigh answer'd the firing of their

<sup>a</sup> The *Triumphs of Nassau* having told us, that every commander strived to have the *vanguard*, further add, “The council, resolving not to hazard the queen's great ships but upon urgent necessity, thought fit that Sir Walter Raleigh, with eight of the queen's lesser ships (instead of seven) six *Hollanders*, and twelve *English* merchant-men should have the vanguard.” fol. 187. The reason why Raleigh mention'd not the *Hollanders*, and the *English* merchants but slightly, is, because they were made little use of.

<sup>b</sup> The *Triumphs of Nassau* observe, “the resolution of giving Raleigh the *van* being oppugned by the lord Thomas Howard, who said that honour belong'd to him (as vice-admiral) it was concluded that both of them should go together; but Raleigh, as soon as it was day, to lose no time in weighing anchor, let slip, and thereby had the advantage of sailing first.” fol. 188.

<sup>c</sup> The number of ships in the bay of *Cadix* is not so exactly agreed upon as their situation, by those who saw them, which Raleigh has describ'd the best of any, because some take more notice, some less, of the *Spanish* merchant-men. Sir Francis Vere only says, “In the mouth of the bay, thwart the rocks called *Los Puercos*, there lay to our judgment forty or fifty tall ships, whereof were four of the king's greatest and warlikest galleons, eighteen merchant-ships of the *West-Indian* fleet outward-bound and richly laden, the rest private merchants.” *Comment.* fol. 27. So that he saw but four men of war. Another who was there, says, “Between five and six a clock in the morning our ships, with all speed,

“courage and alacrity, set upon the *Spanish* ships then under sail, and making up the bay of *Cadix* towards *Puerto de Suazo*, being in number fifty-nine tall ships, with nineteen or twenty galleys attending on them, sort'd in such good order and reasonable distance, as might still annoy us, and relieve themselves interchangeably.” *Vid.* the *Cadix* voyage in *Hakluyt*, and the *Abridgment* in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1929: so he mentions no merchant-men. But another having mention'd fifty-seven great ships, besides twenty galleys and a few other vessels of war, distinguishes also a fleet of thirty-five sail richly laden for the *West-Indies*, with as much wine, oil, lace, cloth of gold, and other precious merchandize, as was worth eleven or twelve millions of ducats. *Triumphs of Nassau*, fol. 186. This was the fleet above-mention'd in Raleigh's account, and near the number, bound for *Mexico*.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh afterwards, exemplifying how little a resolute and experienc'd man of war will fear to pass by the best appointed fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good tide and a leading gale of wind; and how hard a matter it is to stop a good ship without another as good to encounter it, says, “The fort *St. Philip* terrify'd not us in the year 1596, when we enter'd the port of *Cadix*; neither did the fort at *Puntal*, when we were enter'd, beat us from our anchoring by it; tho' it play'd upon us with four demi-cannons within point-blank from six in the morning till twelve at noon. *Hist. of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 10.



ordnance with a flourish of his trumpets, and still kept driving forwards, that he might draw up a sufficiency of the *English* fleet into play, and to engage those he passed by, while he was in action upon the body of the enemy.<sup>a</sup> Accordingly the ships that followed beat upon the galleys so thick, that they soon betook them to their oars, and got up to join with the galleons in the streight, as aforesaid;<sup>b</sup> then as they were driven to pass near him, he bestow'd his benediction from several broadsides among them; but ply'd *St. Philip*, the great and famous admiral of *Spain*, most constantly, as being most worthy of his fire, accounting the galleys but as wasps in regard of that sea-monster; and being now resolved to repay the enemy's former treatment of the *Revenge*, or to second her loss with his own life, he came to anchor by the great galleons, whereof the *Philip* and the *Andrew* were the two which boarded that brave *English* ship. Here he fell to battering of them very briskly, expecting, after a while the flyboats to come up, that he might board and take them. And now began the engagement to be very desperate. The lord *Thomas* came to anchor on one side of him, tho' pretty much behind,<sup>c</sup> with Sir *Robert Southwell*; Sir *George Carew* and the *Cliffords* on the other, and Sir *Francis Vere* was towards the side of *Puntal*. At last the thunder of the ordnance grew so great about ten a-clock in the morning, that *Essex*, impatient to abide far off, thrust up through the fleet, heading all those on the left hand, and on that side, anchor'd next to *Raleigh*; afterwards came in captain *Cross* as near as he could; but *Raleigh*, to his great honour, held always single in the head of all.<sup>d</sup> Now after they had beat, as at two butts, one upon another almost three hours; so that the volleys of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a skirmish of musketeers, till *Raleigh's* ship was in danger of sinking in the place, he made away to *Essex* in his skiff, to desire that he would inforce the promised flyboats to come up, that he might board; for, as he rid, he could not long endure so great a battery. *Essex* was then coming up himself; to whom *Raleigh* declared, *That if the flyboats came not, he would board in the queen's ship; for it was the same loss to burn or sink, and one he must endure.* Then the earl promis'd him, *That whatever he attempted, he would second him in person upon honour.* In the mean while, the lord-admiral *Howard*, being also at first disposed to advance, but the river was so choaked, that he could not pass in the *Ark*, came with the lord *Thomas* in the *Nonpareil*; and while *Raleigh* was speaking to *Essex*, "the marshal (*Vere*) who thought it some touch, says *Raleigh*, to his great esteemed valour, to ride behind me so many hours, got up a-head of my ship; which lord *Thomas* perceiving, headed him again, myself being but a quarter of an hour absent. At my return, finding my self from being the first to be but the third, I presently let slip anchor, and thrusting in between the lord *Thomas* and the marshal, went further a-head than all of them before, and thrust myself athwart the channel, so as I was sure none should outstart me again for that day." *Essex* thinking his ship stronger than

A sharp engagement.

<sup>a</sup> The *Triumphs of Nassau* says, "the *Spanish* gallies discharged all their ordnance upon *Raleigh*; but he made not one shot, leaving it to those that follow'd him, and so went directly towards the galleons which lay in the deepest part of the river, and with two other very great ships took up the whole breadth of it," fol. 188.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *William Monson*, describing the situation of the enemy, or manner of riding in their harbour at his first sight of them, agrees very well with this part of *Raleigh's* account, where he says the four galleons singled themselves from out of the fleet as guards of their merchants. "The gallies were placed to flank us with their prows at our entry; but, when they saw our approach the next morning, the merchants run up the river, the men of war to *Port-Royal*, and brought themselves into a good order of fight, mooring their ships a-head and stern to have their broadsides upon us. The gallies then betook themselves to the guard of the town, which we put them from, before we attempted the ships. See his *Naval Tracts*. But *Vere* takes this service entirely to himself in these words: "As the *Spanish* ships loosed from their anchors and made from us, their gallies, seventeen in number, under the favour of the town made towards us, ranged in good order. My ship was floaty, and stored with good ordnance, which made me hasten towards them without staying for any company, &c. So as I entered fight with them alone, and so galled them with my ordnance, that they gave back, keeping still in order and fight with me, &c." At last, says he, "I put them from under the town, and took certain ships which rode there at anchor forsaken of her men, and followed continuing in fight till they came under the fort of the *Puntal*,

"where thwart the bottom of the bay lay their four great ships with a distance between them; and, spreading the breadth of the channel, were now in hot fight of ordnance with our fleet." *Vere's Comment.* fol. 30, 31.

<sup>c</sup> Tho' this passage of lord *Thomas's* being now far behind is not mention'd by *Raleigh*, in the letter he then wrote of the *Cadix action*, which we here chiefly follow; yet I, have it from his own hand-writing, in the printed book called *Les Lauriers de Nassau*, before-mention'd, a copy of which history falling into his hands soon after it was publish'd, Sir *Walter Raleigh* has, in the language it is writ in, made short notes with a black-lead pencil throughout this whole action, where himself is mention'd, which are not only still legible, but demonstrable to be his own writing, both from the sense and form of the characters. In the margin of this copy against the words that signify, "The lord *Thomas* to have come up to Sir *Walter Raleigh* with six of the queen's ships as near the galleons as possible, discharging all their ordnance; and fighting from six a-clock in the morning till noon;" *Raleigh* has written with his pencil, *Mais bien Arriere*. This curiosity is in the possession of *Thomas Brian Esq;* of the *Inner-Temple*, who has favoured me with the use of those notes; the better to illustrate this part of their author's story.

<sup>d</sup> Hence might it be, that *Raleigh's* ship lost most men, and yet very few, in comparison of the length and heat of the engagement; and also might be one of those which was shot through two and twenty times, since none seems to have been so much disabled, as may appear a little further. *Vide* Abridgment of *Hakluyt* in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1930.



the rest, thrust *Clifford's* aside, and still got next to *Raleigh*, on the left hand, a-head of all that rank, but lord *Thomas*; while *Vere* secretly fastned a rope on *Raleigh's* ship-side towards him, and drew himself up equal with him; but some of his company advertising him thereof, he caused it to be cut asunder, so *Vere* fell back into his place, whom *Raleigh* guarded all but his prow from the sight of the enemy. <sup>a</sup>

The Spanish  
galleons de-  
stroy'd.

And taken  
by him.

BUT now *Raleigh* having no hopes of his flyboats, and *Essex* with the lord *Thomas* having promised to second him, <sup>b</sup> he laid out a warp by the side of the *Philip* to close, the wind hindering him otherwise to board her; and when the admiral thereof, with the commanders of the other three wooden apostles, found that *Essex* and the lord *Thomas* began to do the like, they all slip'd anchor, and ran aground; heaps of soldiers and mariners tumbling into the sea like coals out of a sack, says *Raleigh*, into many ports at once; some drowning, some sticking in the mud. He also tells us, the *Philip* thereupon burnt herself; and another author more particularly in these words: "As *Raleigh* thought to have boarded the great galleon "*St. Philip*, a negro gave fire to the powder, and escaped by swimming; it gave so great a crack, that the mast was blown up into the air, as if it had been an arrow. A pinnacle that lay near it was burnt, but the men escaped in boats. The other galleon, called *St. Thomas*, was likewise blown up, but did no harm to the *English*." He also mentions "two easterlings which ran ashore, and were burnt; but, says he, the *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew*, of ten or twelve hundred ton apiece, were saved from running aground, and carried away." <sup>c</sup> However, he does not inform us particularly by whom; and others seem to have done *Raleigh* more wrong, in nominating other persons, and omitting him in the performance; since it appears under his own hand-writing, that he took them both himself. <sup>d</sup> And this agrees with the manner his letter of this action in print has expressed it, where he says, "those galleons were recover'd with our boats ere they could get out to fire them." Here he observes upon the enemies running to the shores, and thus firing their ships, that the spectacle was very lamentable on their side; for many drowned themselves; many half burnt, leaped into the water; very many, hanging at the ropes-ends by the ship's-side under the water, even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds, till struck under water, and put out of their pain; and withal such huge fires, and such tearing of the ordnance, in the *Great Philip* and the rest, when the flames came to them, that *Raleigh* thought there was here to be seen the most lively figure of hell it self.

THUS the victory was obtained by sea, and the bay resign'd by two, some say, by four a-clock in the afternoon; <sup>e</sup> tho' no more of the *English* were constantly and closely engaged, than the ships and commanders before-mention'd, against the six great galleons, seventeen gallies, with the fleet of *New Spain*, argosies, and frigats, to the number of fifty-five, or fifty-seven, as *Raleigh* himself reckons them, besides the fort of *Puntal* playing upon them all the while. After the victory, "Ourselves spared the lives of all, says *Raleigh*; but the *Flemings*, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter; till they were by myself, and afterwards by my lord-admiral, beaten off." <sup>f</sup>

THEN did they hasten to land the army, and attempt the town<sup>s</sup>; in which there were of all sorts about five thousand foot, one hundred and fifty soldiers in pay, and about eight hundred

<sup>a</sup> This contention of Sir *Francis Vere's* for precedency again, he owns in these words: "Sir *Walter Raleigh*, very little a-head of me, cast his anchor, as did also the general, and as many of the fleet as the channel would bear; so as the shooting of ordnance was great, and they held us good talk, by reason their ships lay thwart with their broadsides towards us, and most of us right a-head, that we could use but our chasing-pieces. I sent my boat aboard Sir *Walter Raleigh* to fasten an hauser to wind up my ship, which was loosed soon after my boat was put off." *Vere's Comment.* fol. 32.

<sup>b</sup> The *Triumphs of Nassau* seem to explain the reason of the flyboats not coming up, where we find those of *Lubeck* and *Dantzick* fell into contest with the *English* ones about that service. After which, the commanders being aboard the general, they resolved to assail the galleons, commanding, says this history, the lord *Howard* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* to begin. See fol. 188. Against which last assertion *Raleigh*, in that which was his own *French* copy of this book, has written, *À Moy seul*; as much as to say, that desperate charge was committed to him alone. Mr. *Brian's* copy of *Les Lauriers de Nassau*, p. 133. And as much is implied above, in the text, from *Raleigh's* own epistolary account, which says, the lord *Thomas* promised to second him.

<sup>c</sup> *Triumphs of Nassau*, fol. 189.

<sup>d</sup> *J'ay pris tous deux*, are *Raleigh's* own words in the margin of his *Lauriers de Nassau*, even with that period which expresses the taking of these two galleons, but not the person who took them.

<sup>e</sup> I meet with no author but Sir *William Monson*, who prolongs the victory by sea to four a-clock.

<sup>f</sup> An author, who was present at this victory, speaking of the proclamation that was published by the generals and council, to prevent all further bloodshed after the surrender by the *Spaniards*, says, this honourable and merciful edict was, I am sure, strictly and religiously observ'd by the *English*; but how well it was kept by the *Dutch*, I will neither affirm nor yet deny; for I perceive between them and the *Spaniards* there is an implacable heart-burning. And therefore, as soon as the *Dutch* squadron was espied in the fight, immediately both they of *Seville*, *St. Lucar*, and other places, did not only arrest all such *Dutch* ships as dealt with them friendly by the way of traffick and merchandize, and confiscate their goods, but imprison'd the merchants and owners of the same; and, by report, treated many of them with extreme cruelty. *Vide Hakluyt*, and *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1931.

<sup>g</sup> *Cadix* was a large and beautiful city, and being the chief see of the bishop, had a good cathedral church, abbey, monastery,



hundred horse,<sup>a</sup> of the gentry and cavaliers of *Xetres* gather'd together upon the discovery of the *English* fleet two days before, as they lay becalm'd off *Cape St. Mary*. The horsemen sallied out to resist their landing, but were so vigorously assail'd and overpower'd by the *English*, that the greatest part made away to the bridge which leads to the main, called *Puente de Suago*; the rest retreated to the town, and were so eagerly pursued, that they were driven to forsake their horses at the gate, which the inhabitants durst not open to admit them; so that they were forced to leap down an old wall into the suburbs, which the *English* vanguard, close at their heels, perceiving, with *Essex* at their head, followed them; and so the town was carried with a sudden fury,<sup>b</sup> in a short space of time,<sup>c</sup> and with very little loss.<sup>d</sup> *Raleigh*, tho' he had received a grievous wound in his leg, being much torn and deformed with a splinter-shot in the fight; yet, willing to encourage the army with his presence, and desirous of seeing the actions and dispositions of the enemy, he was carried ashore on the shoulders of his men, where the lord-admiral, out of his care and regard, sent him one of his horses; but his own being recover'd in due time, was made ready for him. The torment he endur'd, and the fear he was continually in of being shoulder'd by the tumultuous soldiers, abandon'd to spoil and rapine, without any respect of persons, made him unable to abide above an hour in the town.<sup>e</sup> The same night therefore he return'd, chiefly because there was no admiral on board to order the fleet, or indeed few mariners left in the navy; *all*, to use his own words, *running headlong to the sack*; and also because he was fit for nothing but rest and retirement at that time: otherwise he might, like the rest of the commanders, have rewarded himself for his services. But leaving them in safe possession at his departure, they promised to preserve for him his share of the booty, and to give him a good quarter of the town; of which, as we have it under his own hand, they defrauded him.<sup>f</sup> He had desired the consent of the generals, that he might go and secure or destroy the *Indian* fleet, which was said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in *Puerto-Real* road; but they desired to consider on it till next morning. At break of day, *Raleigh* sent his brothers, Sir *John Gilbert*, and Sir *Arthur Throgmorton*, as also Sir *Henry Leonard*, to know their resolution; but the generals sent back to desire he would come ashore into the town.<sup>g</sup> *Raleigh* very favourably imputes these evasions to the great confusion, in which it was almost impossible for them to order many things at once. In the afternoon of the same day, the merchants of *Cadiz* and *Seville* offer'd the generals, by the Committee of the contraction-house, with the purveyor, corrigidor, and other officers, two millions of ducats to spare that

Wounded.

nery, and fine college of Jesuits; was strongly situated both by nature and art; the buildings of hard stone, all flat-roof'd, after the *Turkish* manner; so that having lodged heaps of great stones on the tops of their houses, every woman could endanger the passengers in the streets, which were very narrow, perhaps to avoid the great heat. All the houses had fair window-frames, and large folding shutters; but were barr'd with iron, and none glazed, except the churches. They had few chimneys, but in some lower out rooms for necessary uses; seeming to be more careful of keeping themselves from roasting, than to have much of any thing roasted. *Abridgment of the Cadiz voyage in Puchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1932.

<sup>a</sup> *Puchas* also adds, the town had above four thousand fighting men, and six hundred horse, well furnish'd, no doubt, so many ships being always at hand, and so well stored with ammunition. Another author writes, the number of men and women might be eight or nine thousand. *Triumphs of Nassau*, fol. 192.

<sup>b</sup> *Vin's Commentaries*, fol. 39.

<sup>c</sup> Before eight a-clock that night, the *English* were masters of the market-place, forts, town, and all but the castle, which held out till break of day.—Thus was this notable victory, as well by sea as land both begun, and in effect perform'd within the compass of fourteen hours. *Puchas*, as before, fol. 1931, 1932.

<sup>d</sup> In all the terrible fight by sea, not much above one hundred *English* men were slain and hurt; one pinnacle of Sir *R. Southwell's* fired with the *Philip* aforesaid, and one *Flemish* flyboat, with a hundred men, blown up by her own powder, as *Puchas* observes. By land, Sir *Walter Raleigh* mentions Sir *John Wingfield*, who was slain in the market-place, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, captain *Bagnol*, and captain *Meckle*, as the *Dutch* historians call him. These two last were knighted with Sir *Arthur Savage* the 21st or 22d of *June*, by the earl of *Essex*, who the *Sunday* following very royally bestow'd the like honour upon at least three-score more, most of them his friends and followers, and

many, mere creatures and flatterers. The earl thought he should strengthen his party and interest thereby, and has warmly justify'd himself in his *apology* for shewing them that distinction; but it weaken'd him in the queen's opinion to see him ape her prerogative, or play king *Robert* so extravagantly. And what may we think she said of this number? when for his having before made twenty-four knights at the succour of *Rhoan*, none of whom were in meaner circumstances than many of these, the queen said, *My lord might have done well to have built his almshouse before he made his knights*. Lord *Bacon's Apophthegmes*, p. 17.

<sup>e</sup> *Raleigh* entered the town with the lord-admiral, lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *W. Paget*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, *Levison*, *Woodhouse*, *Mansell*, and the mariners; Sir *Edward Hobbly*, carrying the colours before them, about the time of the great skirmish in the market-place, soon after which the *Spaniards* retir'd and capitulated; agreeing to pay five hundred and twenty according to *Camden*; or, according to *Stow*, six hundred and twenty thousand duckets (which is five times more than foreign authors mention) for the ransom of their lives, and to give forty hostages for the payment. After the surrender, order was given to transport the religious men and women, merchants wives, &c. to *Port St. Mary*, that no violence might be offer'd them. They had also liberty to take as many of their cloaths or goods as they could carry with them; which produced a remarkable example in a beautiful young *Spanish* lady, who, leaving all that was precious and valuable, bore away her old and decrepit husband upon her back, whom before she had hidden from the danger of the enemy; herein imitating the piety of the *Bavarian* women, after the conquest of their country by the emperor *Comade III*. See *Sandys's* notes on *Ovid's Metam.* lib. 13. fol. 449.

<sup>f</sup> *En laquelle ils m'ont trompé*, as himself has written over-against this promise in Mr. *Brian's* copy of *Les Larmes de Nassau*, fol. 139.

<sup>g</sup> *Larmes de Nassau*.

fleet;



fleet; neither could this bring them to any resolution, so that advantage was lost.<sup>a</sup> *Raleigh* might possibly insist upon a larger composition, by saying, *They ought first to be masters of the fleet, and ransom it afterwards; for if they offer'd two millions already, they would give four when it was taken*; because he has not denied this speech where he had read it ascrib'd to him.<sup>b</sup> But it appears plain enough to me, from the same author, that *Effex* was not for having the fleet seiz'd upon, unless by *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Edward Conway*, *Sir Thomas Gerrard*, and other land-officers, which *Raleigh* would not consent to for the honour of the sailors; as it does appear from *Camden*, that the lord-admiral would not consent to any composition. *For we came, said he, to consume them, and not compound with them.* But they saved him the trouble; for the next morning, being the 23d of *June*, the duke of *Medina* caused all that fleet of merchant-men to be set on fire, because he was convinced, from their being beset so vigilantly by *Raleigh*, who had the charge of them, that they must needs fall into his hands. Thus both galleons, frigats, argosies, with the fleet of *Nueva Espana*, and all except the gallies, which it seems escaped, were consumed to ashes. Good store of the enemy's ordnance was recover'd out of their ships, and great quantities of merchandize, plate, jewels and money, out of the town: their whole loss being computed at twenty millions of ducats.<sup>c</sup> Many rich prisoners were given to the land-commanders, "so as that fort were very rich, says *Raleigh*; some "had for their prisoners sixteen or twenty thousand, some ten thousand ducats,<sup>d</sup> besides great "houses of merchandize. What the generals have gotten I know least (concludes he;) they "protest it is little: for my own part, I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed; for the "rest, either I spoke too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not been wanting in "good words, or exceeding kind and regardful usage; but have possession of nought but "poverty and pain."

Forces the  
Spaniards to  
fire their In-  
dian fleet.

Thus have we related this action chiefly from *Raleigh's* letter before-mention'd, the credit whereof is the less obnoxious to any doubt, in that it either here is, by our endeavours, or might be by those of an able pen, sufficiently corroborated out of other writers upon the same subject. But there is one letter more, written by another ocular witness of all his behaviour in this victory, at their leaving of *Cadiz*, early enough for the perfect memory thereof; to the lord *Burghley*, a man dangerous to deceive with misrepresentations; and further, written by an old land-commander, under the earl of *Effex*, who even never saw *Sir Walter Raleigh* before this voyage: therefore a testimony, that carries many marks of truth, and none of partiality in his favour. For which reason, and because it has never yet seen the publick light, I shall here transcribe all that is said, being concise, not only of one, but every commander mention'd therein, that my reader may, unbiass'd by me, distinguish what a principal share of honour is paid to the merit of *Sir Walter Raleigh's* councils and courage throughout the whole engagement: but these are my author's words. "My lord, this I must say, that never prince of *England* hath "receiv'd more true glory and reputation than our sovereign in this, wherein these two nobles "have commanded with such valour, love and good intelligence, as we, that have been under "them, received thereby singular comfort; and truly, my lord, they deserve as much honour "as may be heap'd on them. We surpriz'd the enemy, whereby this mighty and rich *Indian* "fleet of forty-five sail of good, and some of them mighty ships, have been consumed to "ashes; a ruin to this king, not to be recover'd in all his days; besides the cutting off this "year's voyage, and consequently the next. By this voyage, if no other gain, this only hath "much satisfied me, that *I have thereby seen and known the men of worth of our nation.* Of the "earl I will say nothing, but of the lord *Thomas*, the lord marshal *Vere*, and *Sir Walter Raleigh*, "I must say, that in no bickering where I have been, I ever saw men more forward and valiant

<sup>a</sup> *Par la rupture nous avons perdue deux millions, says Raleigh,* against this passage in the same copy of that *French* history.

<sup>b</sup> In the said book.

<sup>c</sup> The earl of *Effex*, in a brief narrative of the advantages accruing to *England*, and losses to the *Spaniard*, by this expedition, says, "the *English* took two galleons, "routed fifteen galleys, with an unequal number of ships; "freed many of their countrymen condemn'd to the gal- "leys, and releas'd several *Spaniards* from imprisonment; "took the best fortify'd city in all *Spain*, and stay'd thir- "teen days in their country; brought home, besides the "galleons aforesaid, a hundred brats guns, with a rich "booty; and the sailors, but especially the soldiers, "great plunder; the enemy lost thirteen of his most ser- "viceable ships, forty *Indian* merchant men, and four "others, besides vast quantities of ammunition, provi- "sions, &c. rendering it almost impossible he should in "some time appear again at sea in a formidable manner." *Iude Camden, Ann. 1596.* Tho' such was their loss, and

computed as above; yet the earl wrote a paper of objec- tions hereafter-mention'd, against his colleagues, for not doing more.

The *Triumphs of Nassau* sums up the *Spanish* loss thus: "Three and thirty great ships laden for the *Indies* were "burnt, besides five ships which came from *St. Lucar*, "three of which ran aground. It was the greatest and "wealthiest fleet that ever went to the *Indies.*" And a little further, "The wealthy town was wholly sack'd, "and the booty great, which was carried to the ships. "Twas thought the king lost at the same time 5200 "pieces of ordnance, besides armour sufficient for five "or six hundred men, which was taken out of the arse- "nal," fol. 191, 192.

<sup>d</sup> *Sir Francis Vere* says, "I got three prisoners worth "ten thousand ducats; one of which was a church-man, "and president of the contraction-house of the *Indies*; "the other two were ancient knights," whom he names. *Comment. fol. 42.*



“ in the matter of combat between our ships, and their ships and galleys, *wherein stood all the*  
 “ *success of the victory*, which my lord of *Essex* did give beginning to by anchoring in the ene-  
 “ my’s face, Sir *Walter* close by his side; and so the rest before-named; also the general of  
 “ the artillery (Sir *George Carew*) with his *Mary-Rose*, a proper gentleman, full of good things,  
 “ and, above all, of discretion. When all these aforesaid had placed themselves, and the rest,  
 “ as the channel would give us leave, the thunder of the artillery on both sides began at ten in  
 “ the morning, and lasted till two and a half in the afternoon; at which time her majesty’s ships  
 “ made the enemy give ground, and the three great ships of war, the *Philip*, *Matthew*, and  
 “ *Andrew*, ran themselves ashore; and the *Philip* they fir’d, the other two we bring you  
 “ home. Sir *Walter Raleigh* did, in my judgment, no man better; and his artillery most effect:  
 “ I never knew the gentleman until this time, and I am sorry for it, for there are in him excel-  
 “ lent things besides his valour; and the observation he hath in this voyage used with my lord  
 “ of *Essex*, hath made me love him.” A little further he says, “ In the *Due Repulse* (*Essex*’s  
 “ ship) we lost only seven men; in the *Warspite* (which was *Raleigh*’s) fourteen, and  
 “ Sir *Walter* cut in the leg with a splinter.”<sup>a</sup> Lastly, he mentions his true and faithful  
 “ friend, Sir *John Wingfield*, who lost his life in the town-house, and thereby was rid of a  
 “ mighty discontent which all the way had much afflicted him,” having one day told my au-  
 “ thor, “ that he had rather leave his life here, than carry it again into *England*.”<sup>b</sup>

It was long disputed, whether the town should be held or no, says Sir *Francis Vere*; who adds, that my lord of *Essex* seemed to affect to remain there in person; as, we may add, *Vere* did too; because, he says, he offer’d to defend it with four thousand men, till her majesty’s pleasure should be known;<sup>c</sup> when, in truth, the queen’s pleasure, in this particular, was known before they left *England*: for *Essex* himself informs us, he sent letters from *Plymouth* (before they set sail) by his secretary *Edward Reignold*, to the council at *Greenwich*; wherein he purposed “ to dwell in a port of the enemy’s, and to make a continual diversion of the  
 “ wars;” but, says he, “ My letters were neither answer’d, nor liked of.”<sup>d</sup> And much less was the same proposal now relish’d in *Cadiz*, when so many wanted to guard and secure the treasures they had got; and it was computed, they would all soon grow in want of provisions; nay, one of his own knights advis’d him to master and destroy ships rather than towns, as what would make the enemy more unable to molest them, and procure him wealth and solid honour, without riot and ruin of the innocent; besides, the riches in ships could not be so easily conceal’d and convey’d away, as in towns; also they might be brought into *England*, and would be visible monuments to his glory; but towns, tho’ soon won, could not be long enjoy’d.<sup>e</sup> For these and other reasons *Essex* was prevail’d upon, tho’ with great reluctance, to leave *Cadiz*; but they first of all caused the city to be raz’d, and, with the castles and fortifications, fired, all but the churches and religious houses; together with all the naval tackle and provision they could meet with, which they either needed not, or could not conveniently carry away. Their courtesy however to the people, especially of distinction, and all who had made no opposition, was such, that, at their departure, the *Spaniards* did the *English* the justice to say, *Tho’ they were hereticks as to religion, yet as to the rest, they had behaved themselves with generous bravery.*

The city  
and naval  
stores fired.

On the 5th of *July* the army embark’d; and in council, it was insisted on to lie out at sea for intercepting the *West-Indian* fleet; “ but the scarceness of our victuals, says *Vere*,  
 “ overthrew that purpose.” So resolution was taken to make for *England*, and visit the *Spanish* coasts in the way, to destroy their shipping. The first place they made to was *Faro*, a good large populous town, but unsenc’d, and a bishop’s see of *Portugal*. Here the *English*

<sup>a</sup> *Raleigh* afterwards made a very good remark upon ship-building (which probably the memory of this smart might induce him to) in these words: “ Men may not expect the ease of many cabbins, and safety at once in sea service. Two decks and a half are sufficient to yield shelter and lodging for men and mariners, and no more charging at all higher; but only one low cabin for the master. But our mariners will say, that a ship will bear more charging aloft for cabbins; and that is true, if none but ordinary mariners were to serve in them, who are able to endure, and are used to the tumbling and rolling of ships from side to side, when the sea is never so little grown: but men of better sort would be glad to find more steadiness and less tottering cage-work. And altho’ the mariners do covet store of cabbins, yet indeed they are but flutish dens,

“ that breed sickness, or serve to cover stealths in peace, and in fight are dangerous to tear men with their splinters.” Sir *W. Raleigh*’s observations upon the royal navy, p. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *Anthony Standen*’s letter to the lord high-treasurer of *England*, dated from *Cadiz*, 5th of *July* 1596; the original. With the use of this rarity, among many others in that ark of literature, the *HARLEIAN Library*, where something of every kind is preserved, I have been favoured by the earl of *Oxford*, whose laudable disposition to recover the unpublisch’d memorials of our renowned ancestors is only to be excelled by his noble courtesy in communicating them for the benefit of posterity.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Francis Vere*’s commentaries, fol. 42.

<sup>d</sup> The earl of *Essex*’s Apology (as before) p. 12.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *W. Monson*’s Naval Tracts.



*Faro* sacked  
and demo-  
lish'd.

A benefactor  
to the Bod-  
leian library.

landing, and marching up to the town, the inhabitants deserted it, and left them in full possession; who, after having rested and refreshed themselves five or six days, brought good store of provisions to the ships; also some pieces of artillery, and the valuable library of the late famous bishop *Oforius*.<sup>a</sup> There is an author who mentions the taking of this town, and consequently that library, among *Raleigh's* victories; describing the buildings to have been left so demolish'd, as to yield no covering for their idols.<sup>b</sup> But since that library is observ'd by *Camden* to have been thought by right *Effex's* prize, as if this earl had somehow contended to engross it to himself; it may somewhat direct us, to whose greater value for the labours of the learned, and more publick spirit in this particular, 'tis owing, that it was more commendably bestow'd; being brought into *England*, says *Monson*, and made (it seems) an exemplary foundation of the publick library which was begun by Sir *Thomas Bodley* the ensuing year at *Oxford*. What share *Raleigh* had in this disposal, towards the said renowned undertaking of that learned knight, his countryman and acquaintance, authorities are wanting, further than by surmise from these premises, to certify. But this we have expressly enough transmitted to us of him by *Bodley* himself, even in the next reign, about nine years after this time, when *Raleigh* was under great misfortunes; and therefore, when an act of munificence must shine with the greatest splendor, that he generously contributed towards the improvement of that library the sum of fifty pounds; "for which, says Sir *Thomas Bodley*, I will intreat the vice-chancellor "to move the university for their letters to him (and the other benefactors mention'd with "him) of publick thanks;"<sup>c</sup> which, doubtless, they gratefully paid: but to return.

WHEN the forces were got again on board, they sailed to the *Groyne*, and looked into the bay; but the wind being unfavourable, they thought it dangerous to enter; therefore, and because their victuals daily grew more scarce, so that in some ships there was already extreme want, says Sir *Francis Vere*, it was resolved to make homewards:<sup>d</sup> however, Sir *William Monson*, in favour of *Effex's* impatience to go on upon fresh exploits, computes they had enough provision to supply them seven weeks. *Monson* also imputes the general declension of the officers from any further invasion of the *Spaniards* at this time, to the covetousness of those who wanted to secure the treasures they had amassed.<sup>e</sup> And indeed *Vere* discovers not any concurrence now with *Effex's* new schemes of adventure, as might have been expected towards a patron who had shewn him so much favour and countenance; but visibly hastens home upon the complaint of scarcity aforesaid. And yet that which might be thought *Vere's* true motive for returning, was never imputed to the lord-admiral nor Sir *Walter Raleigh*, tho', both by speech and writing, they argued for it as much as any; for they had engross'd no booty that might be endanger'd by entering upon further engagements abroad. Yet had they other objections to these inconsiderate projects, than the want of victuals or sickness of men; for after both these inconveniences in *Raleigh's* ship were propos'd to be redress'd by *Effex*, as *Monson* tells us, *Raleigh* was as resolute against hazarding the honour, as others the riches that was got at *Cadiz*; and in this entirely agreed with the lord-admiral, who persuaded them to consider how subject they might be to great losses in little enterprizes,<sup>f</sup> which would not add much to

<sup>a</sup> This was *Hieronymus Oforius*, a native of *Lisbon*, and bishop of *Sylves* and *Algarva*; characteriz'd by foreigners to have been a man of strict virtue in his morals, and master of a florid pen in his writings; which were publish'd at *Rome* in four volumes, by his nephew, who also wrote his life. See more in *Thuanus*, Anno 1580, when he died, aged seventy-four years, and in *Anthony Telfer's* additions to that historian's *Eloges des Hommes Scavans*, &c. 8vo. vol. 1. *Utrecht* 1694. p. 502. This bishop was, for none of his writings, more noted with us, than his *Epistolary Admonition to queen Elizabeth*, and his controversy with that learned orator and civilian Dr. *Walter Haddon*; who dying in the year 1571, before he had completed his last book against *Oforius*, it was finish'd and publish'd by *John Fox* the martyrologist in 1577, and four years after translated into *English*; wherein *Fox* charges the bishop's book against the Doctor with being full of lies, calumnies and errors: and the lord *Bacon*, where he notes, among the distempers of learning, that luxuriancy of style which began to prevail in *Luther's* time, with the causes thereof; which introduced an affected study of eloquence, and grew to such excess, that authors regarded a roundness of period more than richness of invention, soundness of argument, or depth of judgment; and were charm'd rather with softness than strength, sweetness than solidity, and sublimity of words than weight of matter; he instances, among others then growing into esteem, the flowing and

watery vein of *Oforius*. *De Augment. Scientiarum* lib. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's Ghost*, 4to. *Utrecht* 1626. p. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Thomas Bodley's* letter to Dr. *Thomas James*, the first keeper of his library, in *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, publish'd (by Mr. *Hearne*) 8vo. 1703. p. 133. 'Tis dated from *London*, April 5. and written, as I compute, in 1605; because the same letter mentions the progress which king *James*, not long after, made in that year to *Oxford*; where he pronounced that brave speech, *If I was not a king, I would be a university-man*, &c. as we have it in Sir *Isaac Wake's Rex Platonius*, 4to. 1607.

<sup>d</sup> *Vere's* Commentaries, fol. 44.

<sup>e</sup> *Monson's* Naval Tracts aforesaid.

<sup>f</sup> One of the lord-admiral's objections to *Effex's* desire of making a descent upon *Lagos* in *Algarva*, is given us by Sir *William Monson* as aforesaid; and part thereof, which is to this sense, is in these words: "The winning of it, after "so eminent a place as *Cadiz*, could add no honour; and "if it should be carried, yet it would be with the loss of "his best troops and gentlemen; who would rather desire "to die, than receive the indignity of a repulse;" and the earl, tho' against his will, says that author, was forced to yield to these reasons. Yet neither *Effex*, nor *Vere*, nor *Monson*, have been so particular in *Raleigh's* reasons; tho' under his hand he deliver'd them, as well as by word of mouth: but this omission in them is not to be wonder'd at.



their praise if they succeeded; but surely would to their discredit if they fail'd. This being the sense of the greater or the wiser part, most of the fleet return'd with the lord-admiral to *Plymouth* on the eighth of *August* following; and the rest, with the earl of *Essex*, two days after; who thence took his journey to court, as *Raleigh* probably did at the same time. On the thirteenth of the same month, we find by a letter from the council of state to the lord-admiral,<sup>a</sup> then advanced with the fleet to the *Downs*, that *Raleigh* as well as *Essex* had been with them, and probably with the queen; from whom we hear of no objections made to *Raleigh's* conduct in the whole action: therefore probably he was among those principal actors therein, whom she distinguish'd with liberal praises and rewards. Yet that letter does discover her majesty's dissatisfaction towards the lord-admiral, that he did not lie in wait for the carracks or the *West-Indian* fleet, as *Essex* had intreated him to do. And whereas Sir *Francis Vere* says, that when *Essex* landed in the west, and left orders with him for dissolving not only the land-forces, but the shipping, there arose much strife between the said mariners and his *Low-Country* troops at their parting, the sailors being determin'd to share in the chests and packs wherewith the soldiers had most unproportionably enrich'd themselves in the late spoil; at which *Vere* complain'd to the lord-admiral for redress, adding, that *some other principal officers of the fleet* took the sailors part; and, as if they thought them unreasonably dealt with, who had made way by the sea-fight, for the soldiers to get those riches by land, ask'd him, "whether the mariners should have nothing?" To which he answer'd, "their hopes in the *Indian* fleet were more to be desired than that trash (as he calls it) which the land-men had got in the town; so as they had none to blame but their officers, and their bad fortune:" which answer, says he, was taken to heart, and is not forgotten to this hour, of which I feel the smart.<sup>b</sup> If *Raleigh* was one of those principal officers here pointed at, who thus stood the sailors advocate, as he might be, notwithstanding his expeditious progress to court, the indifferent manner wherewith *Vere* has treated him is very accountable to me. But *Vere* has further betray'd his partiality, in not telling us the consequence of his said application to the lord-admiral, which appears in that letter and others, from the council aforesaid, to have procur'd the disposal of the *Spanish* plunder towards the payment of the *English* navy; and that *Vere's* *Low-country* regiments should not return before they were search'd both in ships and person. As for *Essex*, he wrote a *Censure of the omissions* in this voyage,<sup>c</sup> which he imputes to the dissensions of his council and colleague. Whence the common historians have been led indiscriminately to arraign the setting forth such expeditions under commanders of equal authority, and have so much neglected giving these their distinct commendations for what they did, as to cavil at them for what they left undone; while others more gratefully observe, *That never was so much riches and renown acquir'd with the like naval success*; well justifying the honours which were paid to Sir *Walter Raleigh* both by the authors who dedicated books to him this year;<sup>d</sup> the painters

<sup>a</sup> In the *Cottonian* library, and lately printed by Mr. *Lediard*, in his *Naval Expeditions*, fol. 344.

<sup>b</sup> *Vere's Comment.* fol. 44, 45.

<sup>c</sup> An ancient and fair copy whereof I have seen in the *Cottonian* library, *Julius F.* VI. Tract. 103. printed in secretary *Burchet's Naval History*, as I remember, and in Mr. *Lediard's*, fol. 337, being here about half a sheet of paper; wherein the earl raises four objections to their conduct in this voyage: first, that they did not possess the *Indian* fleet: secondly, that they abandon'd *Cadiz*: thirdly, that they did not wait for the carracks and *Indian* ships: and lastly, that they did not assail the enemy in their other ports. To all which omissions he makes answer, laying them to the charge of the other commanders; but names Sir *Walter Raleigh* only in the two last articles. Here we may observe, Sir *H. Wotton* did either himself mistake the drift of this paper, or, having a courtly pen, would incline his readers to do so. For where he is giving a character of the earl's several employments, and has allowed this at *Cadiz* to have been the most fortunate, he is further for having it that in which the earl also shewed the greatest modesty; because, says he, there he wrote with his own hand a censure of his omissions: whereas indeed 'tis a censure of his associates, for what *Essex* imagin'd, how justly let others say, to have been their omissions. Which plainly reverses one of the characters by which that author would distinguish the earl's share in this expedition. See his Parallel of *Robert* earl of *Essex* with *George* duke of *Buckingham*.

<sup>d</sup> Besides captain *Keymis's* voyage to *Guiana* before-mention'd, in which he has spoken, to *Raleigh's* honour, of the victory at *Cadiz*; there was another piece printed

this year, which I find also dedicated to him; and at this time, before *Raleigh* was recover'd of the wound he had receiv'd there, with great propriety, in regard to the subject thereof: for it is entitled, *A hundred and fourteen Experiments and Cures* of the famous physician *Phil. Aureol. Theophrastus Paracelsus*: To which are added, some profitable works, by *B. G. a Portu Aquitano*: also the secrets of *Isaac Hollandus*; and the *Spagirie Antidotary* for Gun-shot, by *Josephus Quercetanus*: Collected by *John Hester*, printed 4to. 1596. This *Hester* was the learned chymist of *Paul's Wharf*, whose preparations were famous in other countries as well as his own for many years, as I find in others of his works. But, as I observe in some of them, he is said to have been dead two years before the printer's date of this which he dedicated to *Raleigh*; and as the title he herein uses, is only *To the worshipful Walter Raleigh Esq;* I conclude the book was dedicated by *Hester* to *Raleigh* before he was knighted, and now seasonably republish'd with a new title-page, or first publish'd from *Hester's* posthumous Remains, without altering the author's title of his patron. However it is, *Hester*, in his ingenious dedication upon the motives to the pursuit and improvement of science, tells *Raleigh*, "Tho' divinity is bounded  
" with precepts in the old law, and promises in the gospel,  
" so that obedience to one and faith in the other is fulfilling of either; yet all other faculties tending to the  
" government or ornament of life do so carry a privilege  
" of more liberty in search, and scope in practice, that  
" to rest contented with the inventions of others, is as odious  
" to the learned, as it is for frank hearts to feed at other  
" mens trenchers; or fine wits to be set to tell the clock,  
" while grosser heads are better employ'd: and not without  
" cause



painters and sculptors, who have appropriated this sea-fight to his portraits; \* and those other advancers of the like honorary arts, who, in their discourses of *medals* and *intaglias*, have thought him worthy, for this, among his many other actions and excellencies, of that metallic commemoration, which is more usually among us confined to princes and crowned heads. <sup>b</sup>

ABOUT two months after *Raleigh's* return from the conquest of *Cadiz*, we find him making a new attempt to continue the interest and correspondence he had so hopefully begun in *Guiana*. To this end, he mann'd out and stor'd, with all proper conveniences and merchandize for trade and discovery in those parts, a handsome pinnace which had been with him in the late engagement, called after his own name, the *Watt*. therefore probably one of his own ships. The command of her he committed to captain *Leonard Berrie*; but, through contrariety of winds, and other accidents, they made it the latter end of *December* following before they got out of *Weymouth*. In the beginning of *March* they discover'd the coast, and fell into the *Wiapouco*, a river almost in four degrees north of the line, and about sixteen leagues in length; but not being able to find the head of its falls, nor meeting with any of the inhabitants to supply them with provisions, they return'd, and made towards the great town called *Aramatto*, where they stored themselves to their desire. After this, several of those natives came in canoes, and traded with the *English* in their ships. Then captain *Berrie* hired some of them, with a present of knives, to go back unto the river *Cawo*, and invite the ruler of that place, named *Ritimo*, on board, who accordingly came to them in the river *Chiana*, where he and his train were feasted, and traffick'd with the *English* much to their satisfaction: and thither also flock'd, from their several towns, great numbers of a civiliz'd race of *Carribes*, who brought great plenty of victuals and tobacco, which they exchange'd for such commodities as the *English* were well instructed to carry thither. After they had declar'd their unanimous desire to have the *English* come and rout the *Spaniards*, take command of the *Orenoque*, and dwell in the bordering nations, they departed; and the *English* made away to the *Careres*, or triangular islands, and kept trading on with the people of the neighbouring towns, who familiarly resorted to them. Then they passed along through the river *Marawin*, to *Quiparia* and *Macirra*, for about forty or fifty leagues upward to the falls of that river, and to the sight of a rich country above, where the people were of an extraordinary stature, and carried bows halfed with gold; but were forced to return without compleating that discovery, for want of provision; tho' my author, one of the adventurers, thought the palmito's, and other trees in the woods, would have supported them till they could have rewarded themselves with what "might have done us good, says he, as long as we had lived." On the 15th of *April* 1597, they returned from that river, and wander'd through several others; till, about four days after, they fell into the *Coritine*. In this river they met a bark, called the *John* of *London*, commanded by captain *Leigh* (the same, I suppose, who afterwards made other voyages to *Guiana*; and took further possession of the country, not by force, the *Spaniards* title, but consent of the people; tho' for a prince indeed, who deserved no right there which he had not the spirit to maintain.) And falling down some five leagues from the mouth thereof, upon in-

"cause, for by such restraint, wit on the one side sustains too great an injury, in not ranging o'er the fields of nature; and nature too base a disgrace, in not being set forth by wit as she has been; but must be accounted old, which she refuses; or barren, which she abhors. To avoid this inconvenience, examples of antiquity have left several patterns of emulation for posterity to imitate; wherein our age cannot be condemn'd for negligent, as having exceeded the number of writers in any age past; among whom the undertakers in physics have been so numerous, that the bluntest wit cannot complain of scarcity, nor the deepest head of the want of variety." Then he says, out of these writers, he has chosen some, for their merits held in their own country, very dear, to translate for the benefit of his countrymen: and as heretofore he had sought the authority of other patrons; so now he presumes, under the comfortable shield of *Raleigh's* favour, to shadow this work; beseeching him, out of that bountiful courtesy for which he is so generally commended, to pardon his presumption, and accept of his performance.

\* Of the pictures and prints which have been drawn of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, more will be spoken a few leaves following.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. *Evelyn*, in his book of *Medals*, gives us the sculpture of a large one that was struck this year, having the arms of *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, in a three-fold

knot on one side, representing a triple league against *Spain* with this inscription, *Rumpitur haud facile*; and on the reverse a navy of great ships at sea, under the name of *Jehovah*, with this *Epigraph*, *Quid me persequeris*, 1596. Hence thought by some to have been in memory of the victory at *Cadiz*; but, as he tells us, it was struck upon the alarm menacing those three nations on the surprize of *Calais* this year. Therefore where he is speaking of those adventurous *Argonauts* in these times who deserved the honour of *Medals* for their exploits at sea, among whom, he reckons chiefly those who found out new worlds, planted colonies, and enlarged the *British* empire: he adds, I know not whether there was any medals of the earl of *Essex's* expedition to *Cadiz*, and of the heroes who accompanied him. So recommends Sir *W. Raleigh* to that distinction, as being "a person of extraordinary merit for his learning and experience: and who is he, continues my author, that deplores not his being so unhappily cut off (and our since want of such as *Raleigh* was) to gratify the crafty and malicious?" Further, where he is subsiding from arms to arts, he mentions *Raleigh* again among the foremost of those illustrious persons, of whom he says, "How should one rejoice to find in more lasting matter than painted cloth, the true effigies of such as were famous for both." *Numismata*, vol. 1697. p. 99. 160, 161.



telligence that the *Dessakebe*, with which that river meets, would lead them within a day's journey of the lake *Perima*, whereon *Manoa* was supposed to stand, they meant to discover a passage to this rich city. But, having rowed in their boats about fifty leagues from the mouth of the *Coritine* to the falls of the said river, where, having been credibly inform'd that five days journey further there was a fall impassable; and, finding withal some of the towns bordering thereon so importunate to engage them in wars against their enemies the *Waccawaes*, which would turn greatly to the disadvantage of the *English*, when Sir *Walter Raleigh* should again return thither, because he would have occasion to pass that river, which was reported to have gold in it; they therefore were constrained to return. So, clearing themselves of this coast, they took their course to the islands of the *West-Indies*. Here my author, who was a gentleman of the company, after having spoke in praise of the climate, how temperate and wholesome it is, tho' within the *Tropic*, and so near the *Equinoctial*; as also how docible the natives, and humane (especially to *Englishmen*) tho' a savage and uncultivated people; he proceeds to speak of their riches in these words. "In the upper countries they go apparel'd, being, as it seems, of a more civil disposition; having great store of gold, as we are certainly inform'd by the lower *Indians*, of whom we had some gold, which they brought and bought in the high country of *Wiana*; being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things which now we have left among them." Then, having taken a little further notice of their manners, with the plenty and variety of their provisions, he shews what course his company took homewards, and how they arriv'd safe at *Plymouth* on the 28th of *June* following.<sup>b</sup>

Thus have we abstracted, after such manner as in this place may be most pertinent to our purpose, all the voyages Sir *Walter Raleigh* set forth for discoveries, as well as the warlike expeditions in which he was engag'd, as far as they have been preserv'd in *Hakluyt's* collections. Nor was it without just reason, that his said naval enterprizes were thus carefully gather'd therein; since *Raleigh's* encouragement was such, of this extraordinary undertaking, to raise a grove of laurels, in a manner out of the seas, that should overspread the island with glory, and might be still made to shoot more spaciouly afresh, were the author and his work reviv'd in a manner suitable to their deserts,<sup>c</sup> that when even the first edition of these *English* voyages was published,

<sup>a</sup> That there are many rich mines and minerals in *Guiana*, as well as mountains and rivers impregnate with gold, is not only thus constantly intimated by the *English* travellers thither of these times, but attested by the *Spaniards* themselves, in their further discoveries many years after; as may be seen in father *D'Acuna's* relation of the river of *Amazons*, and other *Spanish* authors. But as for the rich city of *Manoa*, just before spoken of, which they had called *El Dorado*, it seems now to have been invented by these *Indians*, as a gilded bait to draw the *Spaniards* into league with them against their enemies; and propagated by the *Spaniards* themselves, to enhance the merit of their travels, and sharpen the appetite of their successors to pursue the enterprize; for no such city having been found, it has been reputed a kind of *Philosopher's Stone* in *Cosmography*: yet, like that in *Chymistry*, tho' undiscover'd it felt, it was, and may further be the means of many profitable discoveries. If such a metropolis had been distinctly ascertain'd by *Antonio de Herrera*, and in *John de Laet's* excellent accounts and maps of these parts, and had not appear'd doubtful even to father *D'Acuna* himself; I see not how Monsieur *Sanfon*, who, in 1680, grav'd a little map to explain the *French* translation of the said Jesuit's discourse, could have omitted it; and for the new edition, published in 1715, another map was grav'd by Mr. *De l'Isle*; which, tho' more copious and compleat, is not, as I can hear, more particular in this respect.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. *Thomas Nasham's* relation of the third voyage, set forth by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to *Guiana*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 692.

<sup>c</sup> For the considerable intelligence we have receiv'd from this *Collection of Voyages*, it may not be improper here, at parting with, to shew our gratitude towards the laborious author, in a short observation or two, which may somewhat amend what has been said by others of him, and recommend his most laudable work, long since out of print, to a new impression. And, first: This *Richard Hakluyt* might be of a *Horsfordshire* family; but whether born there, too doubtful for *Fuller* to settle him a native of that county. He was sent young to *Westminster-school*, and became one of the queen's scholars; when visiting his cousin *Richard Hakluyt* of *Eiton*, in the said county, at his chambers in the *Middle Temple* (but never studying the municipal law there, as *A Wood* mistakes of him, instead of his said cousin) this relation, a great proficient in cosmography, and promoter of navigation, communication, and explaining certain books and maps to him,

wrought such impressions in young *Hakluyt*, that he resolved, if ever he should go to the University, to prosecute these studies. Accordingly, being removed to *Christ-Church* in *Oxford* about 1570 (says *Wood*) he fell to searching after, and reading over, in any of seven languages, all the voyages and discoveries in print or MS. that he could meet with; and became so eminent for these studies, that he was chosen to read public lectures of navigation in the schools, wherein he was the first that shew'd the imperfections of the old, and improvements of the new maps, globes, and other instruments in this branch of science, to the great satisfaction of his auditory. By his further enquiries of this nature, he also became acquainted with the chief sea-officers, merchants and mariners of the nation. At length he travelled to *France* with Sir *Edward Stafford*, her majesty's legier ambassador, and resided there five years; during which time, he heard other nations miraculously extoll'd for their discoveries and notable enterprizes at sea; but the *English*, for their sluggish security and neglect of such attempts, through their long peace, much condemn'd; and not only in common discourse, but read them also more durably branded in the writings of their authors; particularly in *La Popliniere's* book, called *L'Admiral de France*; all which animated *Hakluyt*, at his return into *England* with the lady *Sheffield* about the year 1588 (after having published *P. Martyr*, translated the *French* discovery of *Florida*, and before them, duly celebrated Sir *W. Raleigh*) to stop the mouths of these slanderers, by collecting together the naval achievements of his countrymen; which he perform'd so expeditiously, that by the latter end of 1589, he publish'd a fair volume in *Folio* of the *English* navigations, which he dedicated to that great encourager of them, Sir *F. Walsingham*. The work was so universally approved, that the author was prevail'd on to enlarge and reprint it, which he afterwards did in three volumes; the first two commonly bound together in one book, fol. 1599, and the last fol. 1600. "A work of great honour to *England*, as *Fuller* justly observes, it being possible that many ports and islands in *America*, which are now bare and barren, and known only by a bare name at present, may prove rich places hereafter: and then these voyages will be produc'd, and pleaded as good evidence of their belonging to *England*, as first discover'd and denominated by *Englishmen*." The author was made a prebendary of *Westminster* about the year 1605, and rector of *Wetheringset* in *Suffolk*, as *Wood* tells us; who also mentions his other writings, as his edition of *Peter Martyr's* book



His encouragement of Mr. Hakluyt's Collection of English navigations.

published, and before they could receive any lustre from the *Guianian* discoveries, the said author, in his preface, acknowledges Sir *Walter Raleigh* to have been one of those benefactors, from whom he had received his chief light into the western navigations. Nor did he only oblige *Hakluyt* with communicating divers maritime adventures in which he himself and countrymen were concern'd; but procured for him, at no small expence, some very scarce voyages and discoveries of foreigners which were unprinted; and was moreover at the charge of rewarding some persons of learning and leisure to translate them into *English*, for the further enrichment of the said collections. One instance of this kind he slightly mentions himself. For in his learned enquiries into the name of the *Red sea*, he speaks of a voyage made thither by the *Portugal* viceroy of the *East-Indies*, named *Stephen Gama*, the narrative whereof was written by *Castro*, one of his principal commanders; which discourse, says he, I gave Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* to publish.<sup>a</sup> Now, tho' I remember not to have met with this discourse in *Hakluyt*; yet the author, who, after his death, recover'd some of his papers, and continued his undertaking, has given us an abridgment of it, and inform'd us, that the original manuscript had cost Sir *Walter Raleigh* threescore pounds, who also caused it to be translated out of the *Portuguese* tongue; and was at the pains of making several corrections of the phrase, and marginal notes upon it, with his own hand.<sup>b</sup> Further, we might expatiate upon this care he had for the preservation of other mens fame; but here a gallant exploit solicits our regard, by which he much increased his own.

For the earl of *Effex*, grown discontented to see his party of such little power at court, and the *Cecilians* carry all before them; that he could not advance several of his friends and followers to certain posts in the army, nor even Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the office of secretary, whom he had perhaps prejudic'd with his prodigal praises to the queen, she having prefer'd Sir *Robert Cecyl* to that place, in his absence at *Cadiz*, whom he had as intemperately traduc'd,<sup>c</sup> resolved to seek, by further services abroad, to strengthen that interest at home which he now found so weak and unserviceable; in which, if his experience and discretion had been answerable to the activity and bravery of his spirit, he might not have been disappointed, nor outshin'd in martial expeditions, as he was outwitted in court-intrigues. But he had now a fair opportunity to pursue this scheme. For the king of *Spain*, enrag'd at the late overthrow and destruction of *Cadiz*, had immediately thereupon muster'd up the naval powers from all his ports, at *Lisbon*, for a new expedition upon *England* and *Ireland*; but his old enemies the winds and the waves so speedily disabled and dispersed them, that the queen heard of their fate before she had

book *de Novo Orbe*, with notes. Wherein, as we have before observed, *Hakluyt* has so highly applauded Sir *Walter Raleigh* for his advancements of navigation: besides some other things which are chiefly versions from the *Portuguese*. But the notes of certain commodities in request in the *East-Indies*, &c. by *R. Hakluyt*, among Mr. *Selden's MSS.* at *Oxford*, I take to be written by the *Templar*, who has other such discourses, and, I think, this in his kinsman's collections. And whereas the *French* dissertation on the river of *Amazons*, prefix'd to M. *de Gomberville's* translation of father *D'Aacuna's* relation above-mention'd, has, among other errors relating to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, said, 'That the history of the second voyage he made in person to *Guiana*, was written and given us by this celebrated compiler Mr. *Hakluyt*, in his said collections; out of which history the *French* author pretends to quote some particulars: We must here observe, this assertion of *Hakluyt's* writing such a history, is notoriously false; for he died in 1616, which was before Sir *Walter Raleigh* went his said last voyage to that part of *America*. All we shall mention more in this place of him is, First, the wishes, that some other such able pen would continue his collections; which may be read in *Robert Ashley's* dedication to Sir *Maurice Abbot*, of his *Cochin-China*; a scarce tract, printed above a hundred years since, and which I have seen in a volume of such other choice pieces among the curious collections of the right honourable the lord *Coleraine*. Secondly, since to the continuation of such collections, a like term of such brave adventures as are the subject of them, would be requir'd, which may not, in any proportion, be readily produced, that other with, which may be gather'd from Mr. *Baban's* complaint above forty years ago, in his character of queen *Elizabeth*, of the scarcity of this collection, that it may, after so long a neglect, be prefer'd to a second impression; in justice to the author, in honour of the heroic examples it commemorates, and for the profit of such imitation as it may inspire.

<sup>a</sup> See *W. Raleigh's Hist. of the World*, lib. 2. c. 3. sect. 8.

<sup>b</sup> See an abridgment of *Don John of Castro's* Ruttier of a voyage made by the *Portuguese* from *India* to *Zoez*, dedicated to prince *Luys*; shewing the state of *Socatoria*, and the parts on both sides of the *Red sea*, as they were in 1540, with the harbours, islands, depths, shelves, and other particulars pertaining to the history of that sea, land and people. in *Purchas*, part 2. fol. 1122.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Thomas Bodley* informs us, that before he return'd from the united provinces in 1597, and after, the earl of *Effex* used him so kindly, that tho' he meant to settle his dependance only on the lord *Burghley*, as best able, and most willing to work his advancement with the queen; yet the earl, who sought, by all devices, to divert her liking both from the father and the son especially; did often, to withdraw his affection also from both, entertain the queen with prodigal speeches of his sufficiency for a secretary; which were accompanied with such words of disgrace against the latter, "That neither she her self took any great pleasure to prefer me the sooner, says *Bodley*; for she hated his ambition, and would give little countenance to any of his followers; and both the lord *Burghley* and his son waxed jealous of my courtes." And a little further, "when I had thoroughly bethought me, first in the earl; of the slender hold-fast he had in the queen; of an endless opposition of the chiefest of our statemen, likely still to wait upon him; of his perillous, feeble, and uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the causes of his friends; and when I had fully consider'd how untowardly these two counsellors were affected to me; how ill it became my natural disposition to become a stickler in publick faction; and how well I was able to live of my self, &c. I was resolv'd to take my farewell of state employments, and to retire from court." See the account of his life, written by himself, printed 4to, *Oxon.* 1647. reprinted in *David Lloyd's* *State Worthies*; and again, in *Richard B. Martin's*, before quoted.



any advertisement of their design: and as she then took care to fortify such castles as lay most obvious to any such invasion; so now that she heard the storm was gathering again, by the repair of the said shatter'd fleet; and recruits added to it, threatening a new descent upon *Ireland*, she resolv'd also to recollect her forces by sea. At first indeed, before she was well inform'd of the enemy's strength, she had only arm'd and victuall'd ten of her best ships, and caus'd the *Low-Countries* to provide the like number under admiral *Duvenword*. But when the lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who were pitch'd upon for the command of this fleet, declared their hopes of doing any great service with it to be weak and uncertain, and the news of the *Adelantado's* stronger preparations at *Feroll* and the *Groyne* were daily confirm'd, a new council was call'd; in which it was resolv'd, that this naval force, which the queen had appointed, was too great for a discovery, and too little for an attempt; as in the earl of *Essex's* apology is rightly observ'd.<sup>a</sup> Therefore, passing over the addition, so unaccountably deficient in the said apology,<sup>b</sup> that I cannot think him the author both of one and the other, there were added to the first prepared fleet about ten ships more of the royal navy; which, with the other men of war, victuallers, transports, and many stout vessels belonging to the nobles, knights, and gentlemen, who were adventurers in this voyage, amounted to about one hundred and twenty sail, as we are inform'd by Sir *Arthur Gorges*, an officer in this enterprize, whose most excellent history thereof we shall here principally follow. These ships then being all sufficiently mann'd with sailors, received an army also on board of five thousand soldiers, with ten pieces of artillery for the field, and five hundred volunteers most gorgeously equipp'd. The proportion of victuals was for four months at large allowance, and double apparel both for the soldiers and mariners.<sup>c</sup> The lord-admiral *Howard*, being indispos'd, declin'd the command; which therefore was granted in chief to the earl of *Essex*; but the lord *Thomas Howard* was made vice-admiral, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* rear-admiral in the expedition; and these three, with four others, made up the council of war. The purpose of this grand preparation was, to defeat and destroy the *Spanish* fleet aforesaid at *Feroll*, as well as in other ports of the enemy; also to seize upon such *Indian* fleets of treasure as they should meet with belonging to the king of *Spain*; but especially to conquer, retain, and engarrison most of the isles of the *Azores*; and above all the *Tercera*: wherefore this enterprize was called the ISLAND VOYAGE.

In the *Island Voyage*.

Sir *Francis Vere*, who was marshal again of the army, discovers himself much nettled at the queen's having made the lord *Mountjoy* lieutenant-general; and cannot forbear exposing his patron *Essex's* dissingenuity towards that lord, in retrenching him to the mere title of a superior command, rather than not let himself be known to have got the authority of it. And, notwithstanding this, further betrays so much his stomach and jealousy of *Essex's* consent to that precedence, as to desire the earl would not use him at all hereafter in any action wherein he was to go in chief; yet unreservedly confesses, the earl took these speeches of his as proceeding rather from a passionate discontentment, than a resolution fram'd in cool blood; and with so little sharpness, that when they came to *Weymouth*, the earl thinking there might remain some grudge of the last year's falling out, caus'd Sir *Walter Raleigh* and Sir *Francis Vere* to shake hands: "which we did both, says he, the more willingly, because there had nothing pass'd between us that might blemish reputation."<sup>d</sup>

ABOUT the 9th of *July* following, the whole fleet set sail from *Plymouth*, and, for two days, had a fair leading wind; in which time all the ships received their directions from the council of war, with the meeting-places from time to time in case of separation by tempest, fight, chase, or any other accident. But being now advanced about sixty leagues, there arose such an

<sup>a</sup> Reprinted under the title of the earl of *Essex's* vindication of the war with *Spain*, in an apology, &c. 8vo. 1729. p. 13.

<sup>b</sup> *Idem*, p. 14. where no more than six ships are mention'd to have been added to the former twenty; yet, three pages further, he mentions thirty sail of the same fleet.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Arthur Gorges's* relation of the *Island Voyage*, &c. in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1938.

<sup>d</sup> These islands are situate in the *Atlantick*, or western ocean, between thirty seven and forty degrees; and distant from *England* about four hundred leagues. They were so named by the *Portuguese*, from a kind of hawks, call'd by them *Afiro*, by the *Romans* *Accipitres*, and by us *Goshawks*; these islands breeding abundance of those birds: tho' *Orellana* derives the name from a *French* word, signifying to *dry* or *with*, without giving reason for his etymology. They are nine in number, and named

*St. Mary's*, which is near the coast of *Spain*; *St. Michael's*, which is the largest of them, being about twenty miles long; the *Tercera*, so called, because lying the third from *Spain*, is the strongest; *Gratiosa*, from the fertility of the soil, and pleasant temper of the air; *St. George's*, like the two first, from the saint's name on whose day it was discover'd; the *Pike*, from the wonderful sharp mountain thereon, which rises steeple-wise three miles high, is six or seven miles in circuit at the base, and reported to have *Vulcano's* in its bowels, disgorging flakes and stones of fire; *Fayall* was so call'd from *Faya*, the beech-tree, which grew in plenty there; *Flores*, from the abundance of flowers which overspread the island; and *Cueiro*, from the vast flocks of crows or ravens which were observed to breed therein. See *Gorges*, as above, also more largely in *Linschoten* and *Hakluyt*, vol. 3.

<sup>e</sup> *Vere's* Commentaries, fol. 47, 48.



exceeding high storm full in their teeth, and continued with such violence for four days together, that all the ships were driven, with great detriment to several, back into *Plymouth*; and many died of the sickness it had brought among them. While they lay here wind-bound for a month, and their provisions much damaged and consumed; *Essex*, in company, as he tells us himself, with *Sir Walter Raleigh*, rode post to court.<sup>a</sup> The earl was very forward in his proposals to set out again with the fleet as soon as it should be repair'd, or at least one half of it, being sure the Enemy should have felt the weight and charge of the journey. But her Majesty not accepting his offer, it was more advisedly resolved, to proportion their expedition to the opportunities which remain'd; the season being so far elapsed, and their provisions so much exhausted: therefore *Essex* had orders from her Majesty to discharge the land-forces, all but the thousand *Low-Country* soldiers, then thought the best and most experienc'd of this army; whereby, tho' they were disabled of disembarking at *Feroll*, and attacking the enemy there by land; yet *Essex* offer'd to send certain fire-ships into the bay, and second them with the two *Spanish* galleons last year taken, with some great flyboats and merchant-men, to destroy their shipping; and leave the queen's own *English*-built ships at the mouth of the harbour, with a principal commander, to secure their retreat; and this was allow'd of, but with some limitations, as *Essex* confesses in one place,<sup>b</sup> which in another,<sup>c</sup> we find to be an absolute bar to hazard any other of the ships, and as absolute a restraint of the earl himself from going into the harbour to put this project in practice; but that it should be done by that principal commander he would have left behind; whether through care of his person as a nobleman, or to have it attempted by one of the greatest abilities and experience for such a naval exploit, I cannot say; but *Sir Walter Raleigh* was prefer'd to the execution of this service, and, as *Sir Francis Vere* observes, the charge of firing the fleet was undertaken by him.<sup>d</sup>

DURING this absence of *Essex* and *Raleigh* at court, which was not above seven days, there fell out such exceeding tempestuous weather as very much distress'd the fleet both in *Plymouth-Road* and the *Catwater*; infomuch that one of *Raleigh's* own ships, named the *Roe-buck*, of three hundred tons burthen, ran aground, and bulged her self, so became unserviceable for that voyage; tho' much pains and care were taken by all hands, and especially the lord *Thomas Howard* himself in person, to have preserved her.<sup>e</sup> On the 17th of *August* following they all weigh'd anchor, and, with much labour, set sail again, being becalm'd; but the weather growing somewhat favourable, they held their course for the *North-Cape*. Six days afterwards they fell across the bay of *Albaster*, or *Biscay*; and at last bore full into it, much to the dislike of *Raleigh's* pilot, a skilful mariner, named *Broadbent*, who thought it very perillous for so great a fleet so wilfully to imbay there, and upon an enemy's coast; yet as it was the general's course, they comply'd. The next being *Bartholomew-day*, they were here for several hours beaten and scatter'd about by a prodigious storm, wherein one of the late taken prizes, named *St. Matthew*, falling into a head-sea, and having her sprit-sail out, broke her bolt-sprit and fore-mast overboard, close to the partners. The fall of her masts also broke two anchors, and carried the third away; and her main-mast, with her rolling and tumbling, had so loosen'd it self, that it was in danger of breaking in the step, whereby she would soon have been sunk, had not her captain, *Sir George Carew*, with great resolution and hazard, carried her into *England*, and exchange'd her for another. In the same storm the other *Spanish* prize, the *St. Andrew*, spent her main-top-mast, and lost company for some days; but all the rest of the fleet kept labouring in the bay, till first *Raleigh*, and some ships of his squadron which happen'd to carry the *Low-Country* soldiers, clear'd out, and made the best of their way to the next rendezvous, as we shall hear: and afterwards several of the earl's losing him, sail'd thither also in search of him. This gave rise to a misrepresentation by *Raleigh's* adversaries, that he had designedly withdrawn himself and that part of the fleet; while *Essex* himself incurr'd a more just censure throughout the whole fleet, by making the high land of *Portugal*, and bearing in so close to the shore, that he alarm'd all the Country to make defence against him. Afterwards as the fleet, being join'd again, was passing together towards the south, almost as far as the isles of *Bayon*, *Raleigh's* ship, the *Warspite*,<sup>f</sup> being then in the centre of them, on the 27th of

One of his ships bulg'd.

Storm-beaten in the bay of *Biscay*.

<sup>a</sup> *Essex's* Apology, as before, p. 17.

<sup>b</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>c</sup> Relation of the voyage to the *Azores* by the said earl and the other commissioners, viz. *Thomas* lord *Howard*, *Charles* lord *Mountjoy*, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, *Sir Francis Vere*, *Sir Anthony Shirley*, and *Sir Christopher Blunt*: in *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1935.

<sup>d</sup> *Vere's* Commentaries, fol. 50.

<sup>e</sup> *Sir A. Gorges*, as before, fol. 1944.

<sup>f</sup> *Id.* fol. 1946.

<sup>g</sup> Tho' the ship *Raleigh* was now in, is every-where call'd the *Warspite* in *Purchas's* edition of *Sir Arthur Gorges's*

Relation of this voyage, who should indeed well know its name, being captain thereof under *Raleigh*; yet as I meet not with any ship of the royal navy so named elsewhere, as that which *Raleigh* was in the last year, at the conquest of *Cadiz*, was call'd the *Warspite*; and, as *Sir William Monson* and others, call that also by this name, in which *Raleigh*, this year, perform'd the *Island Voyage*; I conclude the other reading to have been an error of the press.



*August* broke her *main-yard* asunder in the very midst by the *parrel*. This disaster was no Distress'd. sooner made known, than *Effex* discover'd a greater in his ship, a desperate leak being broke out in her, by which he had much-ado to escape drowning. Here it was agreed, that, till *Ralegh's* ship should be repair'd, he might keep cruising about the height of the *Rock*, where they were to unite, and pass to the *South Cape*; yet the next morning, before that reparation could be made, *Ralegh* had a message to attend *Effex* with all speed, that they might put in with the land, which it was impossible for *Ralegh* to do, being unable to work upon a wind, as having but a *fore-sail* and *mizen*, and the wind almost of the land; besides, if he could have made the land with that sail, it was thought a madness to put upon the enemies coast in that condition; when, if the wind should change to the west, he must, in want of his *main-sail*, have yielded or perished: so found himself necessitated to ply up and down for two days, till the said fraction was mended. In this distress, there was no direction given for any other of the fleet to attend upon *Ralegh*; yet Sir *William Brook* in the *Dreadnought*, out of his friendly disposition, tarried with him; also the vice-admiral himself, lord *Thomas Howard*, very affectionately offer'd all the assistance he could give; and several other of the sea-captains voluntarily did the like: but *Ralegh* would admit of no more than three or four small men of war to accompany him; and order'd the rest, even of his own squadron, to repair to the *admiral*: so far was he from projecting a division of the fleet, by entreating any to forsake *Effex* and abide with him, as it was afterwards very falsely represented, to incense *Effex* against *Ralegh*, for contriving thereby the frustration of their first resolv'd attempt; and as *Ralegh* himself, when they met at the *Azores*, so satisfactorily made evident, that the said imputation turned only to the shame of its contrivers.<sup>a</sup>

WHEN *Ralegh* had repaired the damages of the storm, he bore in with the coast, making all the enquiry he could after *Effex* and the fleet, but could hear no tidings of them; he sent into the isles of *Bayon*, and towards the *South-Cape*, well knowing the earl could not then put into *Feroll* or the *Groyne*, as was afterwards colourably pretended he would have done had they united, the wind being flat against him; and the whole fleet having over-shot that coast near twenty leagues before the main-yard of *Ralegh's* ship was broken; and besides, that they could not recover it again, both those *Spanish* prizes were wanting which only were to have been ventured in the Service. Hereupon *Ralegh* shaped his course to the *Rock*, which was appointed for the general rendezvous; expecting, not only with good reason, to meet *Effex* there, but with great desire; his own force being so small, and the enemy, as he heard, out at sea with a powerful fleet. Yet those who could suspect *Ralegh* would prefer a separation, dangerous and disadvantageous as it was now, would needs have had it thought there was much more reason for that suspicion, when there came to *Ralegh* at the *Rock* near thirty sail more, most of them his own victuallers and transports; but the truth is, that having lost *Effex* during the storm in the bay, and missed him also at the *North-Cape*, they came hither according to their instructions; where, casually meeting with *Ralegh*, he held them together, and conducted them to *Effex* at the *Islands*: otherwise they had all return'd home, after they had failed at the *South-Cape*, which was the third and last meeting-place, of some admiral to command them, and of whom they would have fail'd, since none of the fleet went so far southward.

SOON after he had determin'd, in search of the fleet, to pass on towards the *South-Cape*, he was travers'd by an *English* bark, which assur'd him they had learn'd from an *English* man of war which had lately taken an *India-man*, that the *Adelantado* was gone for the *Islands* to convoy the *Indian* fleet safe home. This seeming very probable, and no one suspecting that any of their countrymen would traiterously delude her majesty's fleet with any false informations in a pursuit of this consequence, *Ralegh* earnestly besought the captain of the said bark to hunt after *Effex*, and apprise him of this intelligence: but he answer'd, in the hearing of the whole company, that the captain, who had taken that *India* man, had already sent a letter to *Effex* thereof. *Ralegh*, doubting it might have miscarried, or that none was sent, commanded one of the small men of war attending upon himself with all diligence to seek out the fleet, and make report of what they had heard. This ship, by good chance, met with the fleet next day, and deliver'd

<sup>a</sup> *Effex* himself, in his *Apology*, imputes the Defeat of their design upon the *Spanish* navy at *Feroll*, to the losing of *Ralegh's* company by the Mischances which happened to their ships, and to the further separation of the fleet; without any ways insinuating that it was occasion'd by any malice to overthrow the scheme they had concerted. But from the most accurate historian of this voyage, Sir *Abraham* Gage, whom I now chiefly follow, it will appear,

a few lines further, there were other accidents besides, which hindered them from landing at *Feroll*; and these also are acknowledg'd by *Effex*, in that relation of this voyage which is subscribed by himself and his council of war before-named: See *Purchas*, vol. 4. fol. 1936. Sufficient, in the whole, to clear *Ralegh*, both from the censure of any wilful desertion, and, consequently, for not putting in execution the first intended assault.



the news. Two days after, *Raleigh* received two letters from *Effex*, which, somewhat taxing his absence, and not writing, requir'd that he would presently follow him to the *Islands*: "Where-  
" unto (the earl said) he was hastening to find the *Adelantado*; not doubting but to give his  
" mistress a better account of that service, than he should yield his master."

In passing to the *Islands*, *Raleigh* encounter'd many new difficulties, by which he was so much in danger of losing his *main-mast*, that he was forced to send the ships in his company before, because he thought *Effex* might be in want of them, if he should meet the enemy; and, if they had joined the fleet without *Raleigh*, who was principally depended on, in case of any engagement, it would have much strengthened the misconstructions that had been nourished against him; but *Raleigh* so speedily and effectually repaired his crazy mast, and so briskly ply'd his sails, that he overtook his comforts next day, and on the eighth of *September* they all made the island of *Tercera*; yet here could they meet with no news of the fleet, tho' they enquired of an *English* merchant who had traded about these *Islands* above six weeks, and tho' it had passed that way but two days before. By this merchant *Raleigh* wrote into *England*, to acquaint the state in what situation they were; then passed on to *St. George's* island, where they found the weather exceedingly hot, and were vexatiously becalm'd for a day or two, before they could get foward to *Gratiosa*. Here, as they coasted along, on the tenth of *September* about midnight, they saw a large and perfect rainbow by moon-light, in the shape and bigness of those formed more commonly by the sun, tho' in colours not so various, but chiefly inclining to a pale or whitish flame: this made the generality of the seamen expect some extraordinary tempestuous weather; but it fell out, on the contrary, to be very calm and hot.<sup>a</sup> The same night they also espied, by the light of the moon, then upon the border of the horizon, some sail of ships gliding towards the east of *Gratiosa*; at which *Raleigh* hung out two lights for his company to follow him in chase of them; but they not taking his course, and the moon being soon after quite shadow'd and intercepted by the earth, he was left in darkness and solitude, having lost all sight both of the new-discover'd ships, and those of his own company, till, in the space of four days more, a leisurely breeze of wind brought him, after all these impediments, to the rest of the fleet, then gather'd at the isle of *Flores*.

Joins the  
fleet.

As soon as *Raleigh* had descry'd the fleet, he took his barge, and, with our author Sir *Arthur Gorges*, as also some other of the officers and gentlemen in his company, went aboard the earl of *Effex's* ship, with whom they all din'd; and "who seem'd, says *Gorges*, to be the joyfullest  
" man living for our arrival;" protesting, that "he never believ'd we would leave him, al-  
" tho' divers perswaded him to the contrary;" and acknowledg'd, "that he was sorry for a  
" letter which he had written, by Mr. *Robert Knolles*, into *England* against us;<sup>b</sup> promising  
" presently to make a dispatch on purpose, contrary to the former." Further, when *Effex* had fully satisfied himself, that all the transports and victuallers which returned with *Raleigh*, had not been inveigled away by him; and how commendably he had thus drawn them to the *Islands*, against their inclinations, being, most of them, in great distress; he open'd himself to him in a very amicable and communicative manner. He told him, "how he had spent the  
" time of their separation wholly in ranging the seas to meet with the *Adelantado*;" he acquaint-  
ed him with "the many conjectures and surmises that had been vented of his absence, and,  
" withal, named to him some of those men who had taxed him secretly with strange reports,  
" yet pretended to love him; which he protested he never believ'd, but thereby the better ob-

<sup>a</sup> This rainbow by the light of the moon, is the rather to be observed, because *Pliny*, in his *Natural History*, speaking of *meteors*, denies any rainbow to be seen, but opposite to the *sun*, and never in the night-season; yet tells us, *Aristotle* reports, for a rarity, that in his time there was a nocturnal rainbow seen; but, withal, that it could only be at the full of the moon. Nevertheless, in these parts, they are very ordinary, as well when the moon is not at full, as otherwise: for no longer than a week after this time, *Raleigh* and his company observed another lunar rainbow, as they rode at anchor before *Flores*; and there could not be two full moons in seven days, which makes it probable these *islands* were not known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, or those *meteors* not sufficiently observed by them.

<sup>b</sup> Tho' Sir *Arthur Gorges* does a little further both repeat the sending of this message into *England*, as if it was, in very strong terms, against Sir *Walter Raleigh*; and also *Effex's* promise to him, that he would now send another of Recantation; which promise giving some satisfaction to *Raleigh*, and the message into *England* being perceptibly sent to colour over the disappointment of his promise to

the queen; "wherefore we shrove the less to publish our  
" *Apologies*, says *Gorges*, or to contest with a man of *Effex's*  
" place and credit; but left him to his best excuse and our  
" apparent innocence." Yet in the copy of that message, or instructions to Mr. *Knolles*, which my said author exhibits *verbatim*, this absence of *Raleigh's* (and consequently that omission against the enemy) is no ways laid to his charge, or mention'd as any fault or contrivance of his; all the words that express the same, being these: "If her  
" majesty ask you, why there was no attempt upon the  
" fleet at *Ferrol*? You may say, I neither had the *St. Ma-*  
" *thias*, the principal ship for that execution, nor the  
" *St. Andrew*, till my own ship was almost sunk; and I  
" not able to make sail, till Sir *Walter Raleigh* with his  
" own ship, the *Dreadnought*, and very near twenty sail,  
" were gone." So that the messenger was further instruct-  
ed, it seems, to expound this part of his message to *Ra-*  
*leigh's* disadvantage, by word of mouth; for this suppo-  
sition will render *Effex's* promise to *Raleigh* requisite, of  
sending another advertisement how they were all met again,  
and had been formerly *separ'd* by *Misfortunes* only, and not  
by any wilful default in the rear admiral, as was doubted



“ferv’d their scandalous and canker’d dispositions.” In this manner did the earl of *Essex* receive and welcome Sir *Walter Raleigh* with the greatest kindness and familiarity, as well as all the gentlemen of his company; to the great dislike and heart-burning of some, who much envied that liking, which, of his own disposition, *Essex* bore to *Raleigh*: For tho’ the earl had many doubts and jealousies buzz’d into his ears against him; yet I have often observ’d (says *Gorges*) How much esteem’d by Essex. that both in his greatest actions of service, and in the times of his chiefest recreations, he would ever accept of his counsel and company, before many others who thought themselves more in his favour.

’Tis true, the earl, of his own unperverted nature, was a man, prone to gracious and generous principles; but no less easily blown up to prejudice and indignation against his real friends, by his pretended ones; whence we may conceive, as Sir *Arthur Gorges* has well observ’d, upon giving an instance of his moderation and bounty to some of these islanders, Tho’ he was endowed with many good gifts, how it came to pass, that he at last fail’d in the use of them.

HERE, as they lay before the isle of *Flores*, they held a council of war, to conquer and possess, or lay waste some of these islands; they being the chief places of retreat and refreshment for the king of *Spain’s* Indian fleets, by the treasures whereof his boundless ambition so much disturbed and tyranniz’d over *Europe*. In this council, the admirals and commanders had their charge allotted, after the following manner. *Essex* and *Raleigh* were to undertake the island of *Fayall*; the lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Francis Vere* were to secure *Gratiosa*; the lord *Mountjoy* and Sir *Christopher Blunt* were to attempt *St. Michael’s*; and the *Netherland* squadron The enterprize allotted him and Essex. was quarter’d to *Pike*,<sup>a</sup> where grew the greatest store of wines, therefore presumed no unwelcome portion to them. And these places were the first resolved upon, that they might afterwards attack the *Tercera* it self; for *Raleigh’s* arrival, contrary to all mens expectations, and many mens hopes, gave their resolution upon this stronger island a second life; but it was first thought expedient to strengthen and supply themselves with whatsoever those weaker ones would afford: and to this end the fleet was divided into four squadrons.

BUT *Raleigh’s* mariners having obtained leave to go ashore at *Flores*, to water and furnish themselves with such other necessaries as they wanted; while he himself, attended by several other of the commanders and gentlemen, walk’d a mile or two into the island to stretch their legs and refresh themselves, where they all dined in a little village, the bare-legg’d governor having caused such fare to be brought them as the country afforded, which they very honourably paid for, without offering them the least injury; because the earl had before given them an indemnity, under his own hand, from all manner of violence: when *Essex*, impatient to be in action, all of a sudden, and before the sailors could get their casks of fresh water aboard, sent, on the 16th of *September*, captain *Arthur Champenon* to tell them, “That the general was borne up for *Fayall*, meaning presently to take it in; therefore required them to follow him instantly; and tho’ they should not overtake him, yet to find him there as soon as they could, and there they might supply their wants.” Hereupon they hasten’d away, with all the sail they could make, after him; but no general could they overtake. The next morning they got sight of *Fayall*, and miss’d of *Essex* also there, to their great dissatisfaction, he being six leagues nearer that island when he sent for them, and set sail thither six or eight hours before them. Loses the earl’s company.

BEING enter’d the road, they beheld before them a very fine town, pleasantly seated along the shore; from whence the people, upon sight of their ships, began to pack away both bag and baggage: their friars, nuns, other women and children, they also sent away in carts and carriages: so continued transporting all up into the country for two days together. There was besides a strong fort at one end of the town, and another on the top of a very high mountain near adjoining, by nature very inaccessible, and artificially fenced with flankers, rampiers, and a ditch; also six pieces of artillery, and two hundred *Spaniards* in garrison; not reckoning others quarter’d about the island. They fir’d upon *Raleigh’s* ships as he anchor’d in the road, tho’ without much damage, and set a great red standard up in defiance before his eyes. They sent moreover six companies with their colours to entrench upon the shore, in order to oppose his landing. However *Raleigh*, in his barge, accompanied with Sir *Arthur Gorges* and captain *William Morgan*, rowed close along the shore-side, and by the high fort towards the town, to Arrives at Fayall.

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Francis Vere*, and *Camden*, misled by the MS. of his *Commentaries*, inform us, “The general only, with his squadron, was to go to *Fayal*; and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with him, either to the *Pike* or *St. George’s* island.” But it seems not likely, that *Raleigh* should have a command in chief, which he might execute, with approbation

of the council, in one place; yet incur all their displeasure, by usurping that of the general in another. But the disadvantageous representation which *Vere* has given of *Raleigh*, in the sequel of this action, may pretty well direct us how we should credit his introduction to it.



acquaint himself with the most proper place for making a descent when *Effex* should arrive; from whence they were saluted with divers musket-shot, which they very fortunately escap'd, having with them neither targets nor armour for their safeguard.

Calls a council of war.

UPON these provocations, and the want they grew in of those necessities, wherewith they were both lately hurried from accommodating themselves, and promis'd they should be supplied here; *Raleigh* called a council of the captains and officers to consult about taking of the town, if *Effex* arriv'd not; thinking it a shame to forbear so fair a prize, so near at hand, till they had carried all off; especially since the enemy had begun the war upon them, and so proudly dared them to their own defence. Further, these bravadoes, with the hopes of wealth in this goodly town, and the ransom of houses and prisoners, made all the mariners and soldiers not only ready to mutiny that they were so long restrain'd; but reflect on their commanders, as if this forbearance was the effect only of their fear. And what made them the more eager was, that they saw no likelihood of other benefit by this voyage, than what was thus to be gotten ashore. Notwithstanding these murmurs, and that they heard no news of *Effex* in two days, the council was divided; and some of the captains who were his most flattering and servile dependants, as Sir *Guilly Merrick*,<sup>a</sup> Sir *Nicholas Parker*, and others, were by no means for landing without his knowledge; but *Raleigh*, with Sir *W. Brook*, Sir *A. Gorges*, Sir *W. Harvey*, and many other commanders and gentlemen of his own squadron, were of a contrary opinion; judging the general would repute them idlers and cowards to lie so long before so good a town with so many ships and men, and do nothing, but let them convey away their effects. This was the general voice both of the land and sea-forces; yet the violent persuasions of *Merrick* did so prevail, that they agreed to delay the enterprize one day longer; when, if the earl did not come, they all agreed to land together.

Now, the wind tacking about, somewhat unfit for the road they lay in, *Raleigh*, and divers of his squadron, with many other of the ships after him, weigh'd, and coasted about the point to the north-west side of the island, some four miles further from the town than they were before, and there let fall their anchors, being a better road than the first, as the wind sat. But *Merrick*, with some five or six ships of his comforts, would not advance with them. They were now in the fourth day of their arrival before *Fayall*, and no general appear'd; but the prospect of a most inviting country, full of little villages and fruitful fields, which sharpen'd the general desire of landing, to supply their want of victuals, and especially of water, wherewith they had not been recruited since their first setting out from *Plymouth*; therefore, by agreement, they mann'd out a barge, a long-boat and pinnace, with threescore muskets and forty pikes, rather to guard themselves in watering, than in expectation of any encounter from the town or forts on the other side of the island. But they were no sooner ready to put off from the ships, than they discover'd six ensigns of foot, and some dozen horse-men, marching down speedily from the town and forts to meet them; and made such haste, that they soon possess'd the trenches towards the shore where the *English* lay, and where, with brandishing swords, and waving colours, they stood daring them to a rencounter. Hereupon, *Raleigh* found it necessary to augment his force, which *Brook*, *Harvey*, and other sea-officers, readily supply'd, to the number of one hundred and sixty men more. Then said *Raleigh* to them, "seeing these *Spaniards* and " *Portuguese* are so gallant to seek or follow, and keep us from watering, we will try our fortunes with them, and either win our landing, or gain a beating." As *Raleigh* then rowed along by his ships, he was greeted by *Bret*, *Sidney*, *White*, *Berry*, and other captains of the *Low-Country* soldiers, who call'd out and advis'd him, "to take them and some of their companies with him; for, if he ventur'd to make the shore only with mariners and his own attendants, without their land-soldiers, he might receive a discreditable repulse." But *Raleigh* excus'd himself, saying, "he did not know for what service the earl might design them; therefore was resolv'd, with his own company, to make the descent, and then should send for their recruits; by which he would undertake to lodge them that night in the town, and the next in the forts: besides, he was willing to make the attempt with those of his own squadron, that neither the general nor his train should have cause to be ashamed of them for undertaking that in the face of their enemies, which they durst not of themselves follow and perform."

<sup>a</sup> This *Guilly Merrick* of *Hanfcard* in *Pembrokeshire*, the son of *Roveland Merrick*, Bishop of *Bangor*, who died 1566; was knighted by *Effex* at the sack of *Cadiz*, and one of his creatures and evil counsellors, as *Camden* has observed. Inasmuch, as having been a busy pro-

motor and partaker of the said earl's treasons, he receiv'd the reward which is richly due to all such-like sowers of great mens pride, passions and prejudices, between three and four years after this time, at *Ybourn*.



THEN *Raleigh*, having thus a party of two hundred and threescore men, not half the number of the enemy, made forward; and while some ordnance, he had judiciously placed before him in pinnaces, as close along the shore as they could lie, were beating upon their trenches, he rushed through or under them as fast as his oars could ply to the landing-place; which was guarded first with a mighty ledge of rocks, some forty paces long into the sea, and afterwards trench'd and flank'd with earth and stone, having only a narrow lane between two walls left for their entrance. But now, as they approached still nearer to the shore, the enemies shot flew down so thick among them, that not only several of the common men, but of those who would before have passed for very forward and valiant leaders, were much dismay'd; insomuch that *Raleigh*, who most gloriously approv'd himself no less their chief in courage, than he was in command, did not spare openly to rebuke them aloud with many reproachful words. At last, when he saw them still linger, through consternation, as much to their danger as their disgrace, he commanded, with a loud voice, his watermen to row his own barge full upon the rocks, and bad as many as were not afraid, to follow him. Hereat some boats ran in with us (says my author) and out of them were landed Mr. *Garrett*, then a pensioner, afterwards earl of *Kildare*, Sir *W. Brook*, Sir *W. Harvey*, Sir *John Scott*, Captain *Henry Thynne*, Captain *White*, Captain *Arthur Radford*, Captain *W. Morgan*, Mr. *Duke Brook*, Mr. *Thomas Rudgeway*, Mr. *Walter Chute*, Mr. *Henry Allen*, Mr. *Charles Mackart*, and divers other gentlemen. So, clambering over the rocks, and wading through the water, he made his way pell-mell, through all their fire, with shot, pike and sword, up to the narrow entrance; where he so resolutely pursued his assault, that the enemy, after a short resistance, gave ground; and, when they saw his forces press faster and thicker upon them, suddenly retiring, they cast away their weapons, and betook themselves to the hills and woods. The like also did those who were intrench'd higher: and thus did he win this difficult and dangerous landing, together with the trenches of the enemy. A few of his men indeed were drowned and slain, more hurt, and a couple of long-boats sunk; yet was not his loss so considerable as to detract from the justice of those congratulations which were paid him by the officers of the *Low-Country* forces, when, with some of their companies, they arrived upon the island, and found the footing he had won so strongly fortify'd and guarded.

His dangerous descent.

And superior courage.

Climbs the rocks.

Wins a landing and the trenches.

RALEGH, thus recruited, being now near five hundred strong, thought best to go through with the matter, and prepare the town in readiness for *Essex*. Therefore, he appointed *Bret* to the office of serjeant-major, directed the other captains to advance their colours, marshal the companies, and so, in order, marched to the town, about four miles distant from the landing-place. In their passage divers of the enemy, who had before braved them with the greatest insolence, came with white napkins at the end of staves, and voluntarily abased themselves to offices of the greatest servility. There was indeed a way, two miles about, by which they might have passed to the town, and avoided the high fort where the *Spaniards* lay in garrison. But *Raleigh*, considering the trouble of their march, the sultry heat of the weather, the hazards of delay, and, above all, the necessity they were under of immediate supplies, took the shortest course; resolving to bring fort and town all into one day's work. Thus, at the head of about forty gentlemen of the best rank, *Raleigh* led on the companies in a gentle regular manner, full in the face of the fort, having only his leading-staff in his hand, and no other armour on but his collar, for which he was somewhat censur'd by his friends; for, when they came within reach of the fort, they were shrewdly encounter'd with several fierce storms of great and small shot, which came thundering down upon them from all parts of it, wounding several, killing some, and putting most of his men into disorder: insomuch that *Raleigh* himself, with his little vanguard, was no sooner pass'd, and enter'd under the covert of their trenches and barricadoes at the declivity of a little hill, but the rest, composing the main body of his forces, which, till now that they found themselves under the mercy of the enemies fire, advanced in good order, begun to break their ranks, and, from marching, fell to running on in a straggling and confus'd manner till they were under the walls and trenches almost as soon as their leader,

Marches to the high fort.

<sup>a</sup> Among the rest, there was one captain *William Morgan*, a brave old soldier, in this march; who, being reproved by our author, Sir *A. Gorges*, for coming to the field only in his doublet and hose, without either armour or target, answer'd, *That his flesh was of musket-proof*. Immediately after a musket-ball struck him point-blank upon his belly, and, with the force of its own blow, fell flat at his feet, leaving only a black spot or bruise upon his

skin;—thanks to the buckle that join'd his girdle; deserving to be repositied among those trophies in the temple of *Mars*, which witness he wants not one brother-soldier's impenetrable suit of mail, nor the seven-fold shield of another, who can encounter his enemy behind the curtains only of a pair of proverbs, attesting *How little armour will suffice, that is well-plac'd*; and, *How much fortune favours the bold*.



who came some twelve-score yards before them in a steady and deliberate march. *Raleigh* was somewhat moved to see this tumultuous and timorous course; and more, to think that the enemy saw themselves were the occasion of it; therefore he cry'd out to *Bret*, *Berry*, and other captains, demanding, "If these were the men that should have done him such service in landing, and saved him from dishonour? or this the manner of their *Low-Country* troops, to shew such base cowardice at the first sight of an enemy, and at the musket-shot so far off from a fort?" The captains, who were themselves brave enough, knowing the truth would be the best apology, answer'd, "That these companies who had behaved themselves with such irresolution, were indeed men taken out of *Flushing* and *Brill*, the cautionary towns; so were raw soldiers, who had ever lived in a safe garrison, and seldom or never seen an enemy, or encounter'd with shot in the field."

BEING thus got under covert of the trenches and walls which the *Spaniards* had abandon'd, and retired to their fortifications on the top of the hill, *Raleigh* commanded captain *Bret* to appoint a serjeant or two, with a few shot, to go view and discover the way to the town, which, in many places, lay open, as well to the *high-fort* here in the way towards it, as to the other fort at the end thereof: and where the ways were fenced, they were still more dangerous; it being with low-piled walls of loose ragged stones, which *Raleigh* justly suspected would increase, rather than obstruct the mischiefs of their enemies artillery. *Bret* brought word of a general unwillingness in the lieutenants and serjeants to undertake this discovery, so much under the command of the fort and hill; and that the troops were rather desirous of slipping by, in the most hasty, dispersed and unobserved manner they could; which *Raleigh* would by no means suffer, through consideration of their safety, without urging the regard he had to their credit in this enterprize; for being by this time well inform'd, the island could raise a thousand armed men, and, reasonably believing they would gather their greatest strength for the defence of their best town, towards which he was now marching, he concluded they would have it more in their power to defeat him, advancing in little disorderly and scatter'd parties, than in a regular united body. *Bret* did make some offer himself to go and survey these passages, if he should be expressly commanded; but indeed it was found he could not be wanted, or spared among his own raw and unexperienc'd troops.

His singular  
valour.

WHEN *Raleigh*, therefore, saw all men so scrupulous of this undertaking, and especially those garrison-soldiers, he told them, "That he would not offer that to any man which he would himself refuse: that tho' it were not the duty and office of a chief commander to undertake so ordinary a service, but what duly appertained to the inferior officers and soldiers; and, notwithstanding (said he) that I could therefore enforce others to do it, they shall well perceive that I myself will do that which they dare not attempt; wherein I am ashamed on their behalf, that our general and we are all thus abused in our opinion of these *Low-Country* soldiers." Then he called for his cuirass and his cask, and said, "he would both go view the way for them, which they made so nice of, as also the passages and ascents to the hill-top; and, as well as he could, observe the strength and fortifications thereof, for their better direction the next morning." Hereupon, captain *Berry* was very ready to go, "and earnestly desired me (says our author) to divert our rear-admiral from undertaking it; and I thereupon (continues he) did openly dissuade him, who commanded in chief, from putting his own person to these inferior offices of hazard, fitter for a lieutenant or serjeant, than himself, to perform; knowing that all the direction, as well of those troops, as also of a whole squadron of the navy, did, at that time, only rest upon him, in the absence of the admiral and vice-admiral. Notwithstanding he was obstinate therein; as well in scorn of those who had refused, as also, indeed, out of a desire to be better inform'd of the strength and fortifications of the high fort. When I saw him resolved, I told him that I would, out of the love of a kinsman in particular, and also out of an honest regard, take such part as he did, from whom I had received many kind favours, and accompany him; but not out of any great desire I had to go about a piece of work, which consisted of much danger, and little honour in the performance. He thanked me for my offer, but yet wished me not to go, if it were against my will; notwithstanding I accompanied him, and so did some eight or ten more of our servants and followers. But I say truly, and so afterwards it was much spoken of, that there was not any one more of quality that did accompany him in that business."

His desperate  
discovery.

In this manner, and with this number, did *Raleigh* in person go; the only one, it seems, who despaired not of success, to discover the ascents to the hill; the cannon-shot of the enemy, and thereby the stones of the batter'd walls, flying on every side thick about him all the while. He still proceeded, with an undaunted pace, to compass this knowledge of the safest way by which he



he was to lead the rest, tho' he perceived wounds and death dealt on either hand, and his own danger at every step, more unavoidable. Some of his company, in the march, were hurt, and two had their heads taken from their shoulders; Sir *Arthur Gorges* had his left leg shot through with a musket-ball, who, without remembering any pain it gave him, observes the bullet burnt both his silk stocking and buskin, as if they had been singed with a hot iron. "I was then hard by the *rear-admiral* (continues he) who also was shot through the breeches and doublet-sleeves in two or three places. And still they ply'd us so fast with small-shot, that, as I well remember, *he wished me to put off a large red scarf* which I then wore; *being, as he said, a very fair mark for them.* But I, not willing to do the *Spaniards* so much honour at that time, tho' I could have wished it had not been on, answer'd the *rear-admiral* again, *That his white scarf was as eminent as my red*; and therefore I would now follow his example."

And narrow escape.

HAVING, by this time, made a sufficient discovery, both of the way for his troops to pass, as also of the avenues to the high fort on the mountain, which he intended to attempt, after he had secur'd the town; captain *Berry*, with *Allen*, and some others, advanced to him. Hereupon he sent some guides to captain *Bret*, with orders for him also to march up with the companies, that they might unite before they came to the town, because he there expected an engagement; or, at least, some salley out of the fort at the end thereof, which they must needs pass before they could get at the town; and which seem'd to threaten resistance, being a very fine fortification, all of stone-work, with curtain, flankers, and ditch, very artificially cast. But immediately, upon *Raleigh's* approach with the body of his men, the *Spaniards*, it seems, abandon'd it; for when he enter'd it, he found they were newly departed. In like manner, as he marched on, he found the inhabitants had also forsaken the town, and left him in possession of it, with such wares and stores as could not suddenly be remov'd. Thus, tho' with much danger indeed, and some loss of about half a score men, with the hurt of little above double that number, *Raleigh* made himself master, in effect, of the whole island; which supply'd him, from his own experience, with an example to confirm the assertion, he afterwards took occasion to maintain, and which we have, in part, touch'd upon before; alledging, *That a Country cannot prevent an enemy's fleet from landing its army, without as good a fleet to oppose it.*<sup>a</sup> And this example, in his own summary account, we have here subjoin'd, as what may give the reader a double satisfaction, both in confirming the veracity of that which has been here extracted thereof from Sir *Arthur Gorges*, and adding to the many other instances of *Raleigh's* modesty and restriction, who could, in the recital of this action, be so much less particular in the brave steps he took to this victory, with the dangers and difficulties he surmounted by sea and land, than that honourable historian has been, who was a witness of them.

Enters the town.

"<sup>a</sup> The difficult landing of our *English*, says *Raleigh*, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597, is alledg'd against this: which example moves me no way to think, *That a large Coast may be defended against a strong fleet.* I landed those *English* in *Fayal* myself; and therefore ought to take notice of this instance—There were, indeed, some in that voyage, who advis'd me not to undertake it, and I hearken'd to them somewhat longer than was requisite; especially whilst they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit, though it were not great, for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty, I gave them to understand the same which I now maintain, *That it were more difficult to defend a Coast than to invade it.* The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea, without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea, even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say, I had more regard of reputation in that business than safety: for, I thought it belonging to the honour of our prince and nation, that a few islanders should not think any advantage great enough against a fleet set forth by *Q. ELIZABETH*. And further, I was unwilling that some *Low-Country* captains, and others, not of my own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (tho' it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) *That, for want of their help, I was driven to turn tail.* Therefore, I took with me none but men assured, commanders of my own squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other gentlemen volunteers, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *W. Brook*, Sir *W. Harvey*, Sir *A. Gorges*, Sir *John Scott*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henry Thynne*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Wat. Chute*, *Marcellus Throgmorton*, captain *Laurance Keymis*, captain *William Morgan*, and others;

such as well understood themselves and the enemy, by whose help, with *God's* favour, I made good the enterprise I undertook. As for the working of the sea, the steepness of the cliffs, and other troubles, that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or six companies of the enemy, who sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall where their musketeers lay on the rest for us, and won the place of them without any great loss. This I could have done with less danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule that failed even in this example. But the reasons before alledged, together with other reasons well known to the gentlemen above-named, tho' more private than to be here laid down, made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shortest course; having it still in my own power to fall off when I should think it meet. 'Tis easily said, the enemy was more than a coward, which was more than we knew; neither will I magnify such a small piece of service, by seeking to prove him better; whom, had I thought equal to my own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But, for so much as concerns the proposition in hand, he that beheld this, may well remember, that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom, Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such as, thinking all danger was past when we had won good footing, would needs follow us to the town, were driven by him to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to a hasty trot." So he ends the curious digression which introduced this example, with advice to employ, against those that should assail us, our good ships on the sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore. *History of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 9.



THIS town, of which *Raleigh* was thus possess'd, was called *Villa Dorta*, as I find in *Lin. schoten*; who also informs us, the people were mostly of the *Dutch* offspring, yet using the *Portuguese* language. Others, who likewise describe it, reckon that it contain'd, even some years before this time, at least five hundred houses, built all of stone, with tiled roofs, and disposed into fine streets; besides a handsome church, nunnery, and friery; interspers'd with many pleasant gardens of delicate fruits, and wells of fresh water: insomuch that, for bigness, it has been compar'd to *Plymouth* or *Yarmouth*; but, in situation, to *Dover*; and might probably now have been of as good advantage to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as it was, eight years before, to the earl of *Cumberland*,<sup>a</sup> had he not, in compliment to the earl of *Essex*, oblig'd himself to so disadvantageous a delay in the conquest of it. However, because the town was unwall'd, and he was to expect, if he lay there open and carelessly refreshing himself, while his soldiers were scatter'd about in quest of provisions, he might easily be surpriz'd, without some good orders and directions given before they fell to rest and repast, he issued forth, at his entrance, a proclamation, that none should straggle twenty-score yards from the town, without leave of an officer, and then go upon their guard, with fit weapon and company. He then made some strong barricadoes; planted a good watch in proper stations, and a strong *corps de garde* in the market-place, that others might, in safety, bring together such booty as the inhabitants had left behind.

THUS, having refreshed and repos'd themselves all night, the next morning, being the twenty-second of *September*, even before break of day, they discover'd, bearing in with full sail towards the road of *Fayal*, the earl of *Essex* and his fleet; he having been, all this while, making a kind of wild-goose chase after *Indian* fleets, and the *Adelantado*, who, it seems, never stirr'd out to sea this year; with other-like uncertain adventures. Now, Sir *Guilly Merrick*, Sir *Christopher Blount*, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, and some other fatal friends and cherishers of the earl's infirmities, soon interrupted, by their aggravating and distorted representations, all *Raleigh's* further intentions to secure the island. They presently possess'd his lordship's head, that *Raleigh* had taken this opportunity to play over his parts, and shew the world how well he could act the conqueror, only to steal honour and reputation from the general; and they knew the earl's temper was as ready, as tinder, to catch fire at the least spark of any such suggestion: for, as no man alive was a more passionate courtier of fame, or more desirous to be reputed matchless for magnanimity and enterprize; so none was more jealous of rivals than *Essex*, or could less endure that any man should obscure his glory, how highly soever he might otherwise be in his favour.<sup>b</sup> But in divers other disagreeable colours, this gallant action was further disfigur'd to the earl, as the contempt and violation of authority; from whence they infus'd, that the presumption of landing such forces without his lordship's leave, was not to be pass'd over without severe punishment; and that it was fit a court-marshal should be call'd, to censure the offence and breach of order and discipline. In short, the unpardonable crime was, that *Raleigh* dar'd to render himself more conspicuous than any body else. And he had been less culpable, had he been less successful; they seeming rather willing to have endur'd blame for any ill success which might have occur'd to him by their absence and restraint of aid, than allow of any praise for his being victorious without them. Nay, there were not wanting some, among *Essex's* commanders, who would needs shew the violence of their zeal for his lordship in such extreams, as to throw out, that *Raleigh* was well worthy of losing his head for his labour. All which might well inspire those solid and durable exposures which he has, in several places, made of such envious and insolent usage.<sup>c</sup>

ESSEX,

<sup>a</sup> In a brief relation of the several voyages undertaken in person by, or at the charge of *George Clifford*, earl of *Cumberland*; gather'd by *Purchas* into his fourth volume: we have it affirm'd, page 143, that in 1589 the earl took this town; that he shipped, from the platform, 58 pieces of iron ordnance; and that he had a ransom paid him of 2000 ducats, mostly in church-plate: but the fortification, which he raz'd, was now new-built, and more strongly fortify'd, being the high fort on the hill, by which *Raleigh* made his dangerous passage, as is above related.

<sup>b</sup> "And that this is true (continues Sir *A. Gorges*) those who understood his humour best, cannot justly deny; which, I protest, I do not speak either out of any neglect of one that is dead, or to pick thanks of any that lives; but simply out of a resolution to write an impartial truth, or else be silent. For those spirits that base flattery or servile fear doth transport, in fashioning their histories, are, of all others, to be reputed the unworthiest and most pernicious in a well pollicy'd commonwealth; for we see that those heathens who have written the Stories of *Cyrus*, *Pyrrhus*, *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, *Cesar*, and all other great kings and renowned heroes, do as well tax them for their

vices, as glorify them for their virtues: for who lives without fault? And so sincerely and boldly do they follow the truth in their writings, that they are thereby freed from malice or revenge, because they are free from all partiality; or, if any spleen arise, yet it is secret; for the prosecution of such sincerity, is reputed mere impiety in all sorts, and flat tyranny in princes. And, to conclude; this impotent humour of enduring rivalry, and other mens praises, is very incident to men in high places; especially, if they are of great courage, or tickled with ambition."

<sup>c</sup> "There are multitudes of men (says *Raleigh*) especially of those that follow the war, who both envy and malign others, if they perform any praise-worthy actions for the honour and safety of their own country, tho' themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success; and such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their prince and country should suffer hazard and want, than that such men as they dislike should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either." *Hist. of the World*, lib. 2. cap. 13. sect. 5. And in another place he has this reflexion — "In actions which promise either publick glory or private honour,



Essex, thus exasperated, spent all the forenoon in reprehending, displacing and confining all the land-captains and officers who accompanied *Raleigh*; whilst he, expecting rather thanks, than such a perverse interpretation of his services, made ready his barge to go on board the general and guide him to the land. But, being entered his ship, he found all mens countenances estranged as he passed through them; and when he came to his cabin, the earl, after a faint welcome, began to accuse him with "the breach of order and articles." *Raleigh* answer'd, Accused.  
 "he knew not wherein he had been guilty of such breach." *Essex* replied, "there was an article  
 "that none should land any of the troops without the general's presence, or his order." *Raleigh*  
 desired leave to defend himself by those laws which himself as well as others had made, and  
 his lordship, with the council of war, had authoriz'd; then he should find that no misdemeanor  
 had been committed. "For, said he, there is an article indeed, that no *captain* of any ship,  
 "or of any company, if he be separated from the fleet, shall land any-where without direc-  
 "tion from the general, or some other principal commander, upon pain of death. But I take His justifica-  
 "my self, said *Raleigh*, to be a *principal commander* under your lordship, and therefore not sub-  
 "ject to that article, nor under the power of the marshal-law; because a successive commander  
 "of the whole fleet, in her majesty's letters patents, your lordship and my lord *Thomas Howard*  
 "failing. Besides, you agreed I should land at this island with your lordship, whom I have  
 "attended these four days; and, finding that you came not, tho' you were half a dozen leagues  
 "before me in your way thither, I weighed anchor, and could not but conclude, both that you  
 "thought me strong enough to take this island, and were gone your self to take in some others.  
 "Yet I refrained so long from landing, at Sir *Guilly Merrick's* entreaty, that I heard my  
 "own company, even at my back, murmur; and say that I durst not attempt it. And, to  
 "tell you the plain truth, my intent, at first, was only to water, till I saw them follow me in  
 "that braving manner; which, with our reputations, we could not then shun and giver over,  
 "being already in our boats for that purpose: for, if I had intended the taking of the town,  
 "I would never have removed so far from our first road, which lay right before it." As for  
 those officers and gentlemen who had been committed, *Raleigh* desired "they might receive no  
 "hard measure in his cause; whatsoever his lordship conceived to be misdome, he must take it  
 "wholly on himself to answer, being, at that time, commander in chief."

With these and other arguments *Essex* was so well pacified, that he went ashore into the town, and rested himself in *Raleigh's* lodging. There *Raleigh* invited him to supper, and offered, if he meant to call the matter further in question, to claim no privilege or favour; but would answer for himself more amply in the morning. Sir *Christopher Blount*, taking the earl's answer from him, said, "he thought my lord would not sup at all." To which *Raleigh* reply'd, "That, for his own appetite, he might, when he was invited, disable it at his own pleasure; but if the earl would stay, he should be glad of his company." In the mean time, the lord *Thomas Howard*, very nobly taking care that no disrespectful treatment should be offer'd to *Raleigh*, by the practice of his enemies, dealt with *Essex* to find how he stood resolved; and, the next morning, assured *Raleigh*, that his lordship sought only some acknowledgment; because the rest would think him a weak and tame commander, if he had not satisfaction. *Raleigh*, considering he had done nothing unjustifiable, and very certain that he was successively in the commission for the whole command of the fleet, therefore not subject to any corporal danger, as also of the lord *Thomas Howard's* sincere and honourable dealing, came again in the morning to visit *Essex*: otherwise, remembering the little trust that men ought to repose in such reconciliations, and the strong malice borne him by others in greatest favour with his lordship, had design'd to betake him to his own squadron; and so to have defended himself, or forsaken the earl. But the lord *Thomas*, after having given his honour with great kindness and resolution, that he would make himself a party if any wrong or violence were offered,\* contrary to his lordship's pro-

\* honour, men may be reasonably persuaded to adventure life and living, because great hope there is to die with reputation, or live to recover that peace which war hath continu'd: but, where men are no less oppress'd by insolency of commanders, than by insolency of foes, there is the calamity double; and, of two evils, the danger of war seems least; for that has end, the other "is infinite." Sir *W. Raleigh's Acts of Empire*, and *Myseries of State disabinated*, 8vo. 1692. p. 182.

\* Sir *Francis Vere* says, that every one being to deliver

his opinion of *Raleigh's* crime, it was grievously aggravated by the most: And adds: "for my part, no man shew'd less spleen against him than my self." Which last expression may imply a truth in relation to himself, by granting, that he shewed *Raleigh* some spleen; yet a falsehood, in regard to others; because, as here we see, the lord *Thomas Howard* was so far from bearing *Raleigh* any spleen, that he resolv'd to take his part against any injury that should be offer'd upon this occasion.



mise, persuading him to go and satisfy the earl, *Raleigh* took his counsel; and all things, after a little debate, came to a calm and quiet conclusion.<sup>a</sup>

THE promoters of this disturbance, however thus disappointed of their end, scrupled not to share in the benefits of this reprov'd victory, by lodging and refreshing themselves not only that night, but three or four days after, in the goodly town aforesaid; yet were they justly punish'd for their envy and ingratitude. For, had that time which they spent in carping and cavilling at *Raleigh's* conduct, throughout this brave action, been employ'd, according to his measures, in pursuing it; the birds, which thereby they suffer'd to fly out of their cage, had well rewarded their unanimity in taking them; and they would not have lost, as now they had, the ransom of so many *Spanish* prisoners out of the high fort; nor the spoil which they had convey'd out of the town for safety to that place: so that instead of assistance to advance the profit of this conquest, *Essex's* arrival brought only means, as far as in them lay, to destroy the honour of it.

The town  
fir'd

Three *Span-*  
*ish* prizes  
taken.

AFTER the army had plentifully regaled themselves with the best provisions the island would afford, and the disgrac'd captains were receiv'd again into favour and command, they hoisted sail; having first, in honour of their lost men, made the town it self their funeral pile, and carried all the artillery, and other stores they found therein, or in the forts, to their ships. On the 26th of *September*, they cast anchor at *Graciosa*, where the chiefs of the island coming on board the general, submitted themselves with very acceptable humiliation, and willingly brought such provisions as were requir'd for their composition. This homage of those people banish'd all thoughts in the earl of further repairing, in that place, the great charges he principally had created by this voyage: for, whether it was through a generous valour, or the captivation of some inferior quality, I pretend not to decide; but he seem'd so charm'd with submission, as to have disregarded the advantages it might have yielded; and fonder of having a power over his enemies, than of making any effectual use of it. When they came to *St. Michael's*, they heard tidings of the *Indian* fleet; at which, most joyful acclamations rung through all their ships: within few hours after, they encounter'd and took three *Spanish* prizes, bound from the *Havanna*. The greatest of them, being about four hundred tons burden, was a very rich ship, as well for the lading, as the passengers in her; and this, if not the other two, was taken by *Raleigh*; who, being nearest, gave chase, caus'd her to strike and to yield. These three ships, especially the last, were laden with cocheneal, and other profitable merchandize, besides the silver, gold, pearl, civit, musk, ambergrease, found among the passengers, and acknowledg'd, by the merchants in them, to be richly worth above four hundred thousand ducats. When *Raleigh* had enquir'd, from the gallery of his own ship, of those who had computed the value of these commodities, and been satisfy'd it would at least amount to that sum, he privately said to our author; "Altho' we shall be little the better for these rich prizes, yet I am heartily glad, for our general's sake; because they will, in great measure, give content to her majesty; so that there may be no repining against this poor lord for the expence of the voyage." These ships made a discovery of forty sail of *Spanish Indian* men, whereof some were freighted with the king of *Spain's* treasure; and it was reported, that while three or four of the *English* fleet, which were fallen among them, were rising one that founder'd, the rest escap'd, and recover'd the *Tercera*. *Essex*, upon this mischance, call'd a council of war; and some of the colonels, with other land-officers, made liberal professions of the daring feats they would attempt, if boats, pinnaces and men were allow'd, how vain and impracticable soever they seem'd to the sea-commanders. For they offer'd, with fifteen hundred men, to take both that island and the forts; but these, knowing the difficulty of landing them, with their artillery, on so dangerous a place, in so bad a season; besides the strength of the fortifications, so well furnish'd by this new arrival, could not, cordially and seriously, give their consent, but urg'd many reasons to the contrary;<sup>b</sup> yet, when the lord *Thomas Howard* perceived this incomppliance would be used as a handle at home for their losing the *Spanish* fleet

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Henry Wotton*, having given us one example of *Essex's* severity in this voyage, where he threw a soldier, with his own hand, out of a ship; produces another of his frailty, as he calls it, in conniving at this bold trespass of *Raleigh's*: At which time he let fall (continues he) a noble word, being press'd by one (whose name he needs not remember) that he would put *Raleigh*, at least, upon a marshal-court *That I would do*, answer'd *Essex*, *if he were not my friend*; for so we have it in the first editions of *Sir Henry's Parallel*, both in 4to and 12mo; but in the succeeding editions 8vo, we read, as I remember, *Essex's*

answer to be, *That I would do, if he were my friend*; which last, if the right reading, being still perhaps capable of more constructions than my author has made of it, according to the disposition of the readers towards the persons concern'd, I therefore leave to their paraphrase.

<sup>b</sup> Tho' our author *Gorges*, for brevity, omits these reasons; yet they may be partly gather'd from the observations *Raleigh* himself afterwards made on the strength of the *Tercera*, badness of the harbour, number of the fort, and especially the situation of that at *Ayuga*; in his *Hist. of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 9 and 10.



and treasure, he told *Effex*, that if he was so forward to have it attempted, both himself and Sir *Walter Ralegh* were ready to venture as far as any of them; and that they would undertake to spare three thousand able men out of the fleet for the service: but this second offer, thus absolutely and solemnly made, tho' of double the number, cool'd their courage, upon a little deliberation, who had made even the first; and so the vapour was dispell'd.

HENCE they return'd again to *St. Michael's island*, which they had left upon the intelligence aforefaid; and in this road *Effex*, with a great number of his officers, coming on board *Ralegh's* ship, hung out the flag of council; wherein they consider'd about landing, and taking of the fair town which lay so temptingly before their eyes, being unwall'd, and having but a slight fort for its defence by the sea-side. *Effex* was for landing all the companies immediately; but *Ralegh* desired that himself might first go and survey the place; because [the billows were here, in some parts, no less dangerous than where he had made the experiment at *Fayal*: the earl, at first, consented; but, as *Ralegh* was putting off, *Effex* standing in his gallery with Sir *Christopher Blount*, called him back in great haste, and said he would go himself. As he was descending into his barge, *Ralegh*, seeing him altogether unarm'd, except with his collar and sword, called aloud to him, and "desired him to take his cask and target of proof with him, if he designed to approach the shore; seeing so many muskets (above four hundred) lying there on the rest to oppose him." But *Effex* answer'd, "That he would have none, because he didn't dain'd to take any advantage of the watermen who rowed him;" for which our author censures him,<sup>a</sup> as he had before done Sir *Walter Ralegh*. However, in viewing of those landing-places, *Effex* and his officers kept cautiously enough beyond the reach even of culverin-shot; therefore, no such temerity in leaving the armour behind. Thus, after many offers and surveys, made aloof (says *Gorges*) the conveniencies of that place for landing were excepted against. "Albeit, adds he, in truth it was a fair and sandy beach (as all the fleet might well perceive) was some four or five miles from the town or fort, and much more easy than that of *Fayal*, where we before won our landing: and that this was true, many now living that were present, and saw both, can justly affirm." Yet our author proceeds to distinguish, that the earl was resolute enough of himself, and ready to undertake any good occasion of service; but "was then so led and accompanied with such politick land-captains, that, of all the services which fell under deliberation, those commonly, which were most unfeasible; were offer'd to be undertaken, and those most practicable rejected; whereby our affairs (says he) sped accordingly.

THIS descent being thus disliked, it was presently, in another consultation, resolv'd, that *Ralegh* should, with all the great ships, lie as near before the town of *St. Michael* as he could to keep them in continual alarm; while *Effex*, in a pinnace of *Ralegh's*, call'd the *Guiana*, with about two thousand men in boats, should, by night, convey themselves about six miles further than their first determin'd landing, to the town called *Villa Franca*. Accordingly, they all landed the next morning at this town, without any manner of resistance, while the fleet kept the other in such constant dread and confusion, that they could not regard their neighbours; to the end that the *English* army, having secured those, might the better fall on the back of these. But in vain did the fleet look over the hills and plains, in expectation of them; for that other pleasant town of *Villa Franca*, had so enchanted the army, being full of fruits, wines, and fresh victuals, that the commanders, as well as their soldiers, were content there to take up their quarters, without further thoughts of *St. Michael's* town; and, for six days together, lay feasting, and carrying on board the wheat, salt, woad, and other merchandize, into certain private mens ships that followed the fleet for such purposes. While *Ralegh* lay thus at anchor, there came into the road a ship of *Brasil* laden with the woods of that name, and of *Pernambuc*, with sugars as well as other merchandize; and anchor'd full in the midst of the *English* fleet. This ship, as Sir *Francis Vere* also informs us, was taken by Sir *Walter Ralegh*;<sup>b</sup> and her cargo, when brought into *England*, was very faithfully dispos'd of by our au-

Takes another prize.

<sup>a</sup> "In my opinion (says *Gorges*) tho' that answer much shewed his valour; yet became it not the place that my lord held: for, in truth, a general ought not to be so adventurous and careless of himself upon every slight occasion, nor to go unarm'd to places of imminent peril. *Homer* describes the valiant heroes and brave leaders of the *Greeks*, to be best arm'd; as *Achilles*, *Ajax*, &c. — Inasmuch that their very arms

"are famous to these days, the use whereof we make now scornful. But they are no beaten soldiers in the wars who hold these opinions; for it is truly said, *that a great and wise general should die old*; and I have read, that *Epaminondas* was fin'd by his countrymen the *Thebans*, for being too forward and serving in a battle unarm'd, tho' he won the victory."

<sup>b</sup> *Vere's Commentaries*, fol. 60.



west, came bearing in with all her sails, also among them; whom she mistook for the *Spanish Armada*; “For the king of *Spain*’s men of war, when he made fleets, were “compounded of shipping of divers nations (as this author continues) and therefore more “difficultly distinguish’d from ours,” which at that time consisted of *English*, and *Holland* “bottoms, besides a great galleon (before-nam’d) and other *Spanish* vessels they had taken.” At sight of this carrack, *Raleigh* gave orders throughout his fleet to take in all their flags; also that none should weigh anchor, fire a gun, or put off a boat without leave. But, as she was bearing in, one of the *Holland* squadron, contrary to direction and to all discretion, suddenly weighed anchor, hoisted top-sail, and, as she approach’d, made two or three shot at her; whereupon, perceiving her mistake, she nimbly changed her course; at which instant, the wind changing also, so that she could not escape outwards; “she, with the help thereof, and the “fear of falling into our hands, says *Gorges*, run herself a-ground close under the town and “fort.” Here, finding *Raleigh* follow her, and her danger inevitable, she discharg’d her men in the boats that flock’d about her, with some of her wares, and was then instantly set on fire in many places at once. *Raleigh* and his men still pursued to board her, and prevent her loss; tho’ not without great danger in his *row-barge* as he was, the surge being very outrageous; but by then he could get up to her, she was all over thunder and lightning; her ordnance discharging from every port, and her whole hulk, masts, cordage, and furniture, over-run with such a thorough, yet distinct and unconfus’d blaze, as represented the figure of a ship more perfectly in fire, than could be done by any painter with all his art and colours: and, when she was consumed even to the surface of the water, she exhal’d, as her last breath, such clouds from her spicy entrails, as, for a great way, and for many hours, perfum’d the air and coast around. Had the army then been at *St. Michael*’s town, as was expected, it might have secured this ship before she could have disembark’d her men, or, if it had terrify’d her back to sea, she must have been taken by the fleet; and then the treasures she contain’d, with those in this town, might probably have reimbursed the charges of their voyage; since our author, laying this loss upon the said land-forces, thought it so much to be lamented, that they were not to be excused.<sup>b</sup>

A rich carrack fir’d.

NEITHER *Essex* nor his army being heard of in all this time, *Raleigh* was in a consultation about drawing up the fleet towards him, when he perceiv’d the earl’s ship, by her flag, turning out from the point of *Villa Franca*. Then *Raleigh*, taking captain *Morgan* in his barge, rowed to him, and, the same night, sent the captain back with directions, in the general’s name, to command all the fleet to weigh and come to that town. It much grieved the mariners, to see the unprofitable measures which were thus taken, and that they must relinquish the advantages they might have made of the town before which they lay. When the fleet was got up to the army at *Villa Franca*, a general command was given that all the companies should repair to their respective ships, for the time of year was approached that the winds and waves began to rise too high for them to ride on those coasts any longer: so they left this town also entire, upon what considerations our author knew not, but thought the woad-mongers and corn-merchants might be most likely to resolve the question.

His dangers and distress in returning home.

ON the ninth of *October* they set sail for *England*, and, after three or four days, were violently toss’d about and dispers’d in a most tempestuous sea. *Raleigh*’s ship was near being stemm’d by the shock she received from another that was driven against her, whereby she became so leaky, that he had much ado to keep her above water. He was further in such great

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his *discourse touching a war with Spain, and our protection of the Netherlands*, has discover’d many other disadvantages in the *Spanish* fleets of these times, through this medley of shipping whereof they were compos’d; as the diversity of conduct and swiftness in them, whereby they could not either assail or defend in profit as the *English* or *Dutch* could. Also the confusion among their mariners, of so many different countries, and consequently languages; so as not to understand directions, and take them in general, or even mistake them, to the loss of their ship: besides, being of such strange nations, unconcern’d in the quarrels they were forced into, they fought with their hands, but not their hearts; and desir’d liberty rather than victory. See *Raleigh’s Three discourses*, Svo. 1702. p. 13, 14.

<sup>b</sup> “For (as Sir *A. Gorges* continues) no good reason could “be yielded, as was thought, nor durst be demanded, “why so gallant a company, so easily landed, for so good “a purpose, should so long linger in a little town, suffering themselves and the whole army upon fruits and

“wine, to the neglect of the service determin’d? But it “was manifest, that, besides their pleasure and good cheer, “the great store of woad, corn and salt, did entice some “land-men of good credit, who had ships there of their “own, rather to take the peaceable and private benefit “thereof, than to undergo some pain and peril for the “winning of *St. Michael*’s town for the publick good. “This was a piece of service very unfortunately neglect- “ed, but upon what good reason I could never learn; “and I am persuaded, that if his lordship had built less “upon some mens violent counsels and vain conceits, he “might have done many things better, and long have “lived in great prosperity: but all his care was to content “and win unto him certain politicians and martial men, “whom, notwithstanding, he found many times ungrate- “fully to deal with him, to serve their own turn; draw- “ing him, withal, into ambitious humours and affecta- “tions of popularity; which, with our great men, rarely “succeed well.



distress for want of drink, that Sir *Arthur Gorges* proffer'd one of the victuallers six chests of sugar for six hogsheads of fresh water, but could not obtain it: insomuch that they were forced to set their great stills on work to furnish themselves in the best manner they could. During this storm, 'tis also observed, many sorts of birds flew into his ship; and the dove, that came among them, was look'd upon to presage the calm that ensued two days after. When they began to meet again, they descry'd, at a great distance, the earl of *Essex*, accompanied with only two little barks; who, about a week before, was attended with fourscore sail of good ships. "A true type, says *Gorges*, of this world's inconstant pomp, which the wind and seas did faithfully teach us not to build too much upon! And I wish our noble general, adds he, for his own sake and better fortune, had made that good observation thereof."

AFTER hailing and saluting one another, they consulted with their masters and pilots about the best course homewards, wherein they of *Raleigh's* ship varied much from those who guided the earl's: and tho' *Essex* had the directions of *John Davis*, a navigator of much experience and repute, who could have carried them, without error, to many distant parts of the world; yet, in conducting the ships home to their own coast, did he strangely fail in his pilotage and conjecture for the *sleeve*. However, all follow'd the admiral, and when he thought he was not far from the entrance of the *Channel*, all hands fell to sounding for ground; and, at last, found it; tho' indeed "I saw few the wiser thereby, says our author, or the more assured of the coast," except the skilful master of *Raleigh's* ship, old *Broadbent*, who knew it to be the banks of *Scilly*." But there was no convincing of *Essex*; so all followed his erroneous light; yet *Raleigh* kept at some distance behind all night-long. At break of day, tho' it was close and foggy, he perceived how providentially he had escaped destruction in the dark and dangerous passage he had made close by those fatal rocks call'd the *Bishop* and his *Clerks*. Soon after he also discerned *Essex*, and many with him, about three leagues before, bearing in with all their sail north-east, instead of east and by north, full upon the sands of the *Welsh* coast; on which, in that gloomy weather, he had certainly struck and perish'd, had he held on a little longer; and had not Sir *A. Gorges*, who was then upon the latter watch (*Raleigh* being retired to rest) forced the master-gunner of his ship to discharge a warning-piece three or four times, much against his will, and that of the master himself, who, contrary to all duty and humanity, "said they deserv'd to taste the peril of their own wilfulness, having brought themselves and all the fleet clearly our of their way into such danger."

UPON this admonition *Essex*, with all his train, soon tack'd about, and, afterwards, confess'd their error. With much ado, they beat up to double the cape of *Scilly*, and enter'd the *Sleeve*. *Raleigh*, by this time, was shot along the north-side of *Cornwall*; for his ship was so crazy, and his provisions so scanty, he durst not put again to sea, but stood along the coast; and that night anchor'd before *St. Ives*, where he found the *Cornish* people all in alarm, several *Spanish* caravals and fly-boats, which lay there, having made some descents by stealth, and put them into great fright and confusion. For *Essex*, because he met not with the *Adelantado*, had both believed and reported into *England*, that he never stirr'd out to sea this year; whereas, indeed, while the strength of the *English* navy lay before the *Islands*, he had set out with a puissant fleet for the invasion of *England*; and these lesser vessels, which were sent before, did here attend his coming. But that storm aforesaid, which so roughly scatter'd the *English*, was more favourable to their country, than, when they felt it, they imagin'd; by dispersing, and driving back at the same time, this *Spanish Armada* utterly disabled for the intended enterprise. *Raleigh* arriving at this juncture, gave great joy to this part of the kingdom; and, being landed, he immediately took such order for the safeguard of the county, whereof he was her majesty's lieutenant, as soon dispell'd the fears of its inhabitants. Then, having supply'd his ship with proper necessaries, he sent her round to the fleet, and she was paid off at *Bristol*, with the profits that arose from one of the prizes he had taken before-named. Had as good an account been given of the other prizes, this expedition, for all the casualties and oversights

\* This sounding of ours, so much in practice, continues Sir *Arthur Gorges*, and yet, many times, bringing no great certainty, makes me call to mind an odd conceit and speech of a *Spanish* prisoner, which the general gave me in this journey. He was a gentleman, a soldier, and, of late years, traded to the *West Indies*: with whom I one day talking and discoursing of their voyages (wherein he was very well experienc'd) he told me that, in their navigation from the *Indies*, they sought out *Spain* in a more certain and gallant manner than we did *England*. For, said he, *We seek out our coast aloft with our eyes by the heavens, by the sun or stars, and with the use of art and instruments, which seldom or never fails. But you, said he, that seek for*

*England, when you are forced to run into narrow seas, are forced, for your surest directions, like men blindfold, to search under the water, and scrape with lead and tallow to the bottom for banks, sands, and shelves, as if you wou'd rake hell for instructions, to find out the channel, which you call the sleeve; and yet, for all your soundings, are oftentimes mistaken.* I answer'd him; *Indeed it was true, that our humility taught us to go by the ground; whereas their pride led them to gaze above the clouds, and thereby so dazzled their eyes, that they often stumbled upon those men of war which now used as well to sound the Spanish pocket, as the English sleeve.*



which happen'd in it, would have return'd her majesty double the charge she had been at in setting it forth. " But it was strange to see what careless courses were held in those actions set out by the state, says our author; and what poor returns they made into the *Exchequer*. " Thus, for the merchandize in the prizes now brought home, a composition was made with the queen, which was not a third part of the real worth; because the full freight and value thereof never came to publick light, not being faithfully certify'd under the hands of sufficient officers when first taken; nor any part sold, but to the buyer's advantage." He concludes, " That they, who had so play'd the wise stewards, in thus providing for themselves and their followers, reaped all the grace, as well as gain, from those who had more carefully and justly intended the publick service: and that *this general neglect of truth and merit throughout the world, is the cause why so few apply themselves to those sincere and unprofitable courses; especially, seeing how many do daily, by fraud and flattery, find shorter and smoother ways to honour, wealth and preferment, even beyond all measure and expectation.*"<sup>a</sup>

RALEGH took his journey to *Plymouth*, where a commission came down from the state to lord *Thomas Howard*, lord *Mountjoy*, himself, and Sir *F. Vere*, with monies for repairing, victualling, and sending about the fleet to *Chatham*; and for maintaining the thousand *Low-Country* soldiers which were now quarter'd along the coast of *Cornwall*, and afterwards sent into *Ireland*. *Essex*, in the mean while, posted away to *London*; but, whatever advantage he might have in first shaping out the story of their adventures to the queen, it little avail'd him; for Sir *Francis Vere* soon after arriving also at court, understood his lordship was retir'd to his house at *Wansted* in great discontentment: for the queen was so incens'd against the earl, that she laid the whole blame of their evil success on his lordship, both for not burning and spoiling the *Spanish* fleet at *Ferroll*, and missing that which came from *India*. *Vere* says, he justify'd his lordship, and laid the blame upon those who deserv'd it, with such earnestness, that the standers-by (her majesty then walking in the garden at *Whitehall*) might hear him: insomuch, that he quieted the queen, as he tells us; who then discoursed with him of the earl's humours and ambition, and, at last, construed all so graciously, that she fell into commendation of him; so that he soon after came to court.<sup>b</sup> But he staid not long there, nor with any ease or content; so insupportable was it to find *Cecil* made master of the wards, the lord-admiral *Howard*

<sup>a</sup> Thus ends Sir *Arthur Gorges's* accurate relation of the *Island-Voyage*; concerning whom, as some small return of commemoration, it may not be ungrateful here to join a few dispersed particulars, as follows. He was the son of Sir *William Gorges*, who, about the year 1580, was vice-admiral in a fleet set out by the queen to guard the *Irish* coast from the *Spanish* forces then coming to aid the *Desmonds*: In his return, he took that famous *English* pirate *Derwall*; who, tho' he saved the admiral, Sir *John Perrot's* life, his ship, with all her crew, when in a storm she was cast upon a sand; by directing all her sails to be hoisted, contrary to all other judgments; and had the admiral's promise, on his faith and honour, to get his pardon, who did intercede for it; yet were his deserts over-look'd, and his offences punished with death. As to that vice-admiral's son *Arthur*, he was both a valiant and a learned gentleman; was one of the volunteers against the *Spanish* Invasion, as we have before observed, and afterwards in several other engagements. He married *Douglas Howard*, daughter and heir of *Henry* lord *Howard*, viscount *Byndon*; which lady dying young in 1591, the famous *Spenser* wrote a fine pastoral elegy upon her, which is printed among his works, by the name of *Daphnaida*; and the poet, in his dedication thereof to the lady *Helena*, marchioness of *Northampton*, tells her, " The occasion why I wrote the same was, as well the great good fame I heard of her deceas'd, as the particular good-will I bear unto her husband, maller *Arthur Gorges*, a lover of learning and virtue; whose house as your ladyship, by marriage, hath honoured; so do I find the name of them, by many notable records, to be of great antiquity, and such as have ever borne themselves with honourable reputation to the world, and unspotted loyalty to their prince and country. Besides, so lineally descended from the *Howards*, that the lady *Anne Howard*, eldest daughter of *John* duke of *Norfolk*, was wife to Sir *Edmund*, mother to Sir *Edward*, and grandmother to Sir *William* and Sir *Thomas Gorges*, knights." Now, as to the relation of this voyage to the *Isles of Azores*, in which Sir *A. Gorges* was captain of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* ship, tho' we are not expressly enough told by *Purchas*, it was printed before he gave it us in his *collections*; yet he says it was written by Sir *Arthur* in 1607, and dedicated to that great hope of *Great-Britain*, prince *Henry*. He has omit-

ted the epistle to him, and the preface; but not defalked any of the author's narrative, which fills near eight sheets of paper in his fourth volume of *voyages*. It is adorn'd with many good military and marine reflections; tho', with some other passages, of too general import to be interwoven in any particular account of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. *Purchas* further informs us, that *Gorges* also added to this treatise, *Notes touching the navy royal*, " which are worth the noting," says he; but perhaps not to be permitted to every vulgar and noteless eye: because, as he goes on, *veritas odium parit*; Pains may cause pains, and busy-labour reap the reward of a busy-body." From hence it should seem that *Purchas* followed a copy less common than any thing which had then passed the press. But, tho' Sir *W. Raleigh* might have read it in MS. I cannot think it is this he points at; where, introducing his own account of the conquest of *Fayal*, which we have given in a note before; he says, " Whereas I find an action of mine cited with omission of my name, I may, by a civil interpretation, think that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion that the enterprize was such, or so ill manag'd, as that no honour could be due unto it." Because, as Mr. *Lediard* has very justly observed, " Sir *A. Gorges*, in the circumstantial account he has given us of this action, displays the conduct and courage of Sir *W. Raleigh* in several particulars, very much to his honour and advantage." *Naval Exped.* fol. 356. Then, as to his name, *Gorges* mentions it more than once, and at the beginning, with his title of command to it: so that tho' he may use this only all the way after, it is, in effect, as much as if he used his name; for it is then obvious enough who is meant by the rear-admiral. Nor need we suppose *Gorges* was herein tender or cautious of making *Raleigh's* name appear too glaring, when his person was under a cloud; for *Essex* and the lord *Thomas Howard* are spoken of in the like manner, and scarcely mention'd but by their titles of general and vice-admiral. Besides *Raleigh's* own word, that the action was only and must refer to some other shorter account than this original and copious history of it. All I shall observe more of Sir *A. Gorges* is, that he translated into *English* Sir *Francis Bacon's* learned and ingenious book, *De Sapientia Veterum* *Vere's* Commentaries, fol. 65, 66, 67.



created earl of *Nottingham*, for his services against the *Spanish Invasion*, and at *Cadiz*; and now *Raleigh's* actions at the *Islands*, esteem'd also more considerable than his own; tho' indeed by the fewer number; for the populace were easily led to believe the late disappointment of *Essex's* great expectations, was owing to *Raleigh's* regard of his own glory more than that of his country; whereby *Raleigh* lost their opinion, even tho' victorious against their enemies, while *Essex* was sure to return with triumph, however he miscarried in his attempts; and was always received by them with such joy, as if his great fleets and armies came laden with sufficient spoil and conquest, if they only brought him safe home again. Still both enjoy'd a liberal share in the queen's favour, but it only ratify'd the veneration of the multitude to one, and their disaffection to the other;<sup>a</sup> yet was their esteem more fatal to *Essex*, at least more speedily so, than their prejudice to *Raleigh*. However, the queen was little influenc'd with their partiality to either; till *Essex* too zealously cultivated that which so unreasonably increas'd in his favour; for she loved her people without jealousy, nor was offended at his being the darling of their eyes, till she found him inclin'd to be the darling of their hearts.<sup>b</sup> And, as for the blame which *Camden* says they now laid on each other of the late misadventures, and which, he informs us, grew to a more open rupture, it seems to have fallen most upon *Essex*, and that *Raleigh's* conduct was approv'd; because *Essex* was never after trusted with the command of any naval expedition, but *Raleigh* was. Yet whatever misconduct in others *Raleigh* might be now driven to object, in his own defence; his generosity to *Essex*, and some of his followers, whom he might have laid it upon, many years after their death, when there was little fear of being controverted, is so much above most of theirs to him while they were alive, that, having then occasion to mention this voyage, he does not drop the least *inuendo* against any of them; but ascribes their disappointments in it to the most unblamable cause.<sup>c</sup>

How received  
by the popu-  
lace.

BEFORE *Raleigh* could well arrive, I think, at *London*, to give an account of this expedition, the parliament was met at *Westminster*; for we read, that the queen went thither in an open chariot, all cover'd over-head canopy-wise with silver tissue, and begun the session on the twenty-fourth of *October* this year. *Raleigh*, making but a short stay in town, went to his seat at *Sherbourn*; of which he must have had but little enjoyment for two or three years past. Towards the latter end of *November* following, we find Mr. *Adrian Gilbert*, now a burges for *Bridport* in *Dorsetshire*, obtain'd licence of the speaker that he might retire to his brother Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in that county, for the benefit of his health. About a month afterwards, that is, on the twentieth of *December*, we meet with *Raleigh* in the house; for what place return'd, I find not; and that day the parliament was adjourn'd till the eleventh of *January*. When they met again, *Raleigh* appears frequently in committees, upon several bills of the greatest consequence that were then read; as that against lewd and wandering persons pretending to be soldiers or mariners; another for an act to increase people for the service and strength of the realm; one to explain an act for the maintenance of the navy; one for paying the queen's debts; one for erecting houses of correction and punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars; besides many others, whose titles are more proper to be sought in the *parliamentary-journals* of this reign, than here barely to be recited: for the clerk of this house, whose inaccuracy we have before observ'd, seeming to have melted down most of the speeches in this session, for brevity, into a narrative of its proceedings, little or nothing of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* arguments is to be particularly extracted. Nor only in the speeches, but other circumstances, has that clerk been deficient, particularly one, in which *Raleigh* was concern'd, relating to some nice distinction of form or ceremony wherewith the lords are wont to receive the commons on certain occasions; which therefore we must take, as from the journals of the upper house it has been represented; and there it appears, that some condescension in the lord-keeper *Egerton* had rais'd an objection in the commons on its being now omitted. For, on the fourteenth day of *January*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with divers other knights and burgeses, being sent to desire a conference with the lords, upon some amendments of the bill for erecting houses of correction before-mention'd; and signification being given, that they might come in to receive their answer, it was thought proper that the lord-keeper should now deliver it sitting in his place (the lords also sitting) and not by going down to the bar, as the form is when the lords receive bills or mes-

In parlia-  
ment.

<sup>a</sup> *Camden's Ann.* 1597.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *Henry Hutton's Parallel* of the earl of *Essex* and duke of *Buckingham*.

<sup>c</sup> "That the dislevering of fleets hath been the overthrow of many actions, I could give many examples" (says *Raleigh*) were it not in every man's knowledge. "In the last enterprise of worth, undertaken by our Eng-  
lish nation with three squadrons of ships, commanded

"by the earl of *Essex*, the earl of *Suffolk* (who was lord  
"Thomas *Howard*) and myself, where was also present  
"the earl of *Southampton*; if we, being storm-beaten in  
"the bay of *Alcazar*, or *Biscay*, had a port under our  
"lee, that we might have kept our transporting-ships  
"with our men of war, we had, in all likelihood taken  
"the *Indian* fleet and the *Azores*." See Sir *Walter Ra-  
leigh's Apology* for his voyage to *Guiana*, p. 11, 12.



sages from them ; and as the lord-keeper had sometimes before done, it seems, in delivering answers. This reception being represented to the house of commons, they sent some other members to desire satisfaction, as for an innovation derogatory to their liberty. Here Sir *Walter Raleigh's* part in this difference ending, we shall refer our readers to an abstract of its consequence at the foot of the page,<sup>a</sup> that too much interruption may not appear in the thread of his story ; and only observe, as to the remainder of this session, that it was clos'd with a grant to the queen of three subsidies, and six fifteenths and tenths.<sup>b</sup>

THE parliament being dissolv'd on the ninth of *February*, *Raleigh* seems not to have resided long in town ; for, soon after, some regulations being made for the publick good of those people over whom he presided, by his offices of power, in the *West of England*, we find him celebrated, for his exercise thereof among them, as a very worthy patriot in several instances. The lord *Burghley* is mention'd in one of them, who died about six months after the said parliament broke up, that is to say, in *August* 1598 ; therefore we must here relate it, as occurring before this time. It concern'd the restoration of certain manors to their ancient tenure in *Cornwall* ; for there are seventeen appertaining to that dutchy, which took or renew'd their *Holdings*, as they call it, every seven years of certain commissioners, for near three centuries past ; whereby the tenants reckon'd a kind of inheritable estate, accruing to them. But, notwithstanding this long prescription, a bold and busy person in these times, getting an *Exchequer*-lease of one or two such tenements, called the whole right in question ; but, failing of success, another, soon after, resumed the broken title, and prosecuted it even to a *Nisi prius*. Hereupon, the tenants deputed certain gentlemen, among whom was the author of this passage, *Richard Carew* of *Anthony* Esq; one of the deputy-lieutenants of the county, to repair to *London* with a petition to the said lord-treasurer *Burghley* ; who, calling to him the chancellor and barons of the *Exchequer*, found (besides this long continuance, and the importance thereof, as touching the ruin of above a thousand inhabitants) that her majesty possessed no lands which yielded her so fair a benefit as these, in rents, fines, heriots, and other perquisites. These reasons found favourable allowance, but did not procure an effectual remedy, till the said gentlemen became supplicants to her majesty in person ; who then, having been prepared, it seems, by *Raleigh's* applications and interest, testify'd her dislike of the attempter ; and expressly order'd the cessation of his attempt. For, says this author, herein we were beholden to Sir *Walter Raleigh's earnest writing*, who was then in the country ; also to the advice of Sir *Henry*, and the solicitations of Mr. *W. Killegrew*.<sup>c</sup> Another example of his zealous affection for the ease and advantage of these people under his jurisdiction, appears in his lightning them of a certain burdensome tax, which carried many other inconveniences with it. For, as the products and commodities in those *western* parts had been anciently very much oppress'd with tributes to the earls of *Cornwall*, whereby the condition of a *Cornish* inhabitant and a *French* peasant differ'd very little ; so latterly, while *Raleigh* was lieutenant of that county, there wanted not some, who, through favour at court, and plausible representations to her majesty, did, in part, revive the same ; and, under pretext of restoring a rent decay'd ever since the ninth of king *Henry II*, to the pretended detriment of the crown, procured letters patent, that none should salt, dry, or pack any fish in *Devonshire* or *Cornwall*, without their licence or warrant ; the ill consequences

Restores the dutchy manors in Cornwall to their ancient tenure.

<sup>a</sup> Upon this message, the lords consulted touching the usage of their house, as it had been observed by those of longest continuance therein ; and it was resolv'd, that their custom was and is, " When any bills or messages be brought from the house of commons to the upper house, the lord keeper and the rest of the lords are to rise and go down to the bar to meet those who come from the commons, and there receive their said messages or bills : but, contrariwise, when any answer is to be deliver'd by the lord-keeper, in the name and behalf of the house, to such as come from the commons, these members are to receive the same standing towards the lower end of the said upper house, without the bar ; and the lord-keeper is to deliver it sitting in his place, with his head cover'd, the other lords also keeping their places ; and that whenever it had been otherwise done, it was by error or mistake, and therefore not to be drawn into precedent." Then the attorney-general and Serjeant *Draue* being sent to the lower house, signify'd, that if they would send for an answer to their demands, it should be given. The commons accordingly sent the same persons who had before demanded satisfaction. But, being come to the house, and having placed themselves at the lower end of the outward room, as at other times, except the lord-keeper and other lords came and met them at the bar to deliver their answer, the said keeper moved them to approach and re-

ceive it : then they, not perceiving the lords advance to the bar, protested, by Sir *W. Knolls*, that they had not commission to receive any answer in that form ; so departed. Hereupon, a motion was sent from the lords to the commons for a conference in the outward great chamber, to reconcile this matter ; where the aforesaid members, meeting the archbishop of *Canterbury*, lord-treasurer *Burghley*, and others of the most ancient peers, were assured by them, that the true and right form of receiving bills or messages, and delivering answers by the lord-keeper, was as is above related ; and that some late inadvertency in the regard thereof, was the occasion of their present misconstruction. Hereupon, the house of commons was satisfied ; and the same form was afterwards kept accordingly. Sir *Simon Dave's* journal of queen *Elizabeth's* parliaments, fol. 1708. p. 539, 540.

<sup>b</sup> Of these taxes, *Camden* gives us this explanation. A *fifteenth* and a *tenth*, is a certain tax on every city, borough and town, not upon every man in particular ; but a general sum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the respective places : a *subsidy*, we call that which is impos'd on every single person, as they are assess'd by poll, according to the value of their goods and lands. *Eliz. anno* 1563.

<sup>c</sup> *Carew's Survey of Cornwall*, 4to. 1602. p. 36. b. 37.

whereof



whereof grew so apparent, as being what would have made that patentee an absolute disposer of all the *western* shipping and traffick, with their sea and land-dependants; that the *Cornish* justices, whereof Mr. *Carew* afore said was one, made suit to the privy-council for redress; and, *through the never-failing forwardness and backing of Sir Walter Raleigh*, says the same author, obtain'd a revocation thereof.<sup>a</sup> Here, not to divide from this head, what properly falls under it, we may also add *Raleigh's* good offices, the two following years, for freeing the inhabitants of these parts from those heavy impositions, with which the trade and manufacture also of their tin-works were very much embarrass'd. These impositions were occasion'd by the merchants and usurers who advanced money to the tinnery, upon whom their encroachments were now grown so exorbitant, that *Raleigh* was importun'd to revive the privilege of *pre-emption*, founded on that clause in the charter of king *Edward I.* allowing them to vend their tin to their best behoof, *nisi nos ipsi emere voluerimus*. It had been attempted by others before him, who alledg'd many reasons how it might prove advantageous, not only to her majesty, but the country, and prejudicial to none but those extortioners, who practis'd a far worse kind of *pre-emption*.<sup>b</sup> But tho' this means of redress was by those persons hotly begun, and a reasonable price offer'd, it soon cool'd again, till it receiv'd a new life in *Michaelmas* term 1599; for then the *Cornish* men, being in *London*, were call'd before the principal lords of her majesty's council, and the matter was there debated by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in behalf of the country, against those advocates deputed for the merchants who had promoted this suit; and he brought it to such a conclusion that articles were sign'd. Indeed it did not immediately take effect: yet, it seems, the privilege was afterwards invested in *Raleigh*, and that he put his power in execution. In *November*, the following year, he held a court at *Lostwithiel*, the usual place for *Stannary* causes; where having signified her majesty's pleasure for a new tax of six pounds on every thousand weight of tin that should be transported, besides two pounds and sixteen shillings already payable, he told them also, that her majesty had been prevail'd on so far to disengage them from dealing with the merchants and usurers, that she would disburse four thousand pounds in loan to the tinnery for a year's space, and was contented to be repaid in tin:<sup>c</sup> and lastly what appears totally to have excluded those merchants from the exercise of their impositions is, that, by the time of the ensuing parliament, *Raleigh* appears to have had the power of *pre-emption* granted him; because, in a speech of his, which we shall take notice of, having justly maintain'd his title thereto, from the charter before-mention'd, he yet no less generously offers to resign it, as indeed he not long after voluntarily did,<sup>d</sup> if those, who had privileges of far less ancient establishment, would follow his example. But, as these and his other eminent services to those people, are best to be judg'd of by such as beheld and tasted the benefits that flow'd from them: so we shall here only add the publick acknowledgment thereof which Mr. *Carew* made, a few months after that parliament rose, in the following dedication to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, of his excellent *Survey of Cornwall*. "This my ill-husbanded survey, long since begun, a great while discontinu'd, lately review'd, and now hastily finish'd; appeals to your lordship's direction, whether it should pass; to your correction, if it do pass; and to your protection, when it is pass'd. Neither unduely: for the same intreats of the province and persons over whose bodies and estates you carry a large, both martial and civil, command by your authority; but in whose hearts and loves you possess a far greater interest by your kindness. Your ears and mouth have ever been open to hear and deliver our grievances; and your feet and hands ready to go and work their redress; and that, not only always as a magistrate of yourself,

Procures the revocation of a tax on the curing of fish.

Revives the pre-emption of tin.

<sup>a</sup> *Carew's Survey of Cornwall*, p. 79, b. 80.

<sup>b</sup> "When any western gentleman (says Mr. *Carew*) wants money to defray his expences at *London*, he resorts to one of the tin merchants to borrow some; but shall as soon wrest the club out of *Hercules's* fist, as one penny out of their fingers, unless they give bond for every twenty pounds so taken in loan, to deliver 1000 pound weight of tin at the next coinage, which shall be within two or three months, or half a year at farthest. At which time the price of every thousand will not fail to be at least 23, perhaps 25 pounds; yea, and after promise made, must be driven with some indignity to make three or four errands to his house, before he shall get the money deliver'd. Thus some one merchant will have 500 pounds out before-hand, reaping thereby a double commodity, both of excessive gain for his loan, and of assurance of being serv'd with tin for his money. This they say is no *usury* forsooth, because the price of tin is not commonly known before-

hand (for once only, within these twelve years, on purpose to escape the penalty of the law, they brought it a little under 20 pounds the thousand) but, if to take above fifty in the hundred be extremity, whatsoever name you list to give it, this, in truth, can be no other than cut-throat and abominable dealing." *Survey of Cornwall*, p. 14, b. 16.

<sup>c</sup> *Idem*, p. 17, b.

<sup>d</sup> Then it was recommended to king *James*; however, he had just before made a proclamation against all monopolies; for in 1604. there were several schemes and estimates drawn up on this project of *pre-emption*; one whereof sets forth the profits of it, and disadvantages of putting it down. In another we find this particular; "There are two coinages of tin every year, and about eleven or twelve hundred-run coin'd at each time; and if the king farms the *pre-emption* for 10000 *l.* then there will remain to the farmers 9500 *l.*" *Cotton library Titus B. V.* towards the end of the volume.



“ but also very often, as a fuitor and follicitor to others of the highest place. Wherefore I,  
 “ as one of the common beholden, present this token of my private gratitude. It is duty,  
 “ and not presumption, that hath drawn me to the offering; and it must be favour, and  
 “ not desert, that shall move your lordship to acceptance: and so I take humble leave, rest-  
 “ ing no less willing to serve you, than under you.”

THIS author (Mr. Carew) subscribes himself, to that dedication, Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s kinsman; but was no less innobled and honour'd for his accomplishments than his family, as *Camden* has observ'd; who further acknowledges the great assistance he receiv'd in his description of *Cornwall* from this author's curious *Survey* of its antiquities and natural history.<sup>a</sup> For his abilities in these studies he was admitted (as upon a very modest occasion he mentions himself) an associate of the *Antiquary College*.<sup>b</sup> A fragment of the speech he made at his introduction to the said society, among other materials relating to him, I communicated, about a dozen years since, to the learned and ingenious writer of his life before the new impression of his works.<sup>c</sup> And now that he was in *London*, soliciting one of the aforesaid causes (for the *Cornish* tinnors) I find his name mention'd in a list of near twenty other antiquaries, who were summon'd to a meeting at the house of a Garter King of Arms (which, I suppose, was Sir *William Dethicke*, at the *Heralds Office*) in order, probably, to receive some questions, or bring his opinion in writing to others which had been propounded, as the manner then was.<sup>d</sup> Now, perceiving Sir *Walter Ralegh* to have patroniz'd the antiquities of *Cornwall*, written by one member of that society, and that Mr. *John Hooker*, another gentleman learned in the antiquities of this realm, and perhaps a member also of the same body (for their names are not all yet known) address'd his *Historical Record* of *Devonshire* to a person of honourable place in the commonwealth, who is conceived by one that had seen it, to have been also Sir *Walter Ralegh*;<sup>e</sup> to which honourable person the said work being deliver'd at its author's death, he committed it to Mr. *Dodderidge*, another member of the said society (who had leisure to fit it for, and did recommend it to the press, tho' it never was printed:<sup>f</sup>) finding also that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was acquainted with, and honourably spoken of by others of this assembly, as Sir *Henry Spelman*, also Sir *Robert Cotton*, from whose library we find *Ralegh* afterwards borrowing some manuscripts, and that Mr. *John Selden* was oblig'd to *Ralegh*'s library for others; I could not but think him somehow related to the said society, and at last have found, that he likewise was a member thereof. This intelligence I receive from another list of these associates, in a manuscript address'd soon after *Ralegh*'s death to king *James*; which also further contains this observation upon that society. “ There was a time, most excellent king, when  
 “ as well under queen *Elizabeth*, as under your majesty, certain choice gentlemen, men of  
 “ known proof, were knit together, *statis temporibus*, by the love of these studies, upon  
 “ contribution among themselves: which company consisted of an elective *President* and of  
 “ *Clarissimi*; of other *Antiquaries* and a *Register*. But this their meeting, whose profession  
 “ reached only to the matter of our antiquities, deserved to have an incorporative connection,  
 “ by way of authority royal; for want whereof, they being depriv'd of the benefit of suf-  
 “ fection and substitution, a few of their friends and persons dying, the thing itself is abso-  
 “ lutely vanish'd: succession performing that in civil bodies, which generation does in na-  
 “ tural.<sup>g</sup>

A member of  
 the society of  
 Antiquaries.

BUT,

<sup>a</sup> *Camden's Britannia* in *Cornwall*.

<sup>b</sup> *Carew's Survey* of *Cornwall*, p. 61. b.

<sup>c</sup> In quarto, 1723.

<sup>d</sup> This summons dated anno domini Eliz. XLI. is published from a MS. in the *Asmolean Museum* at *Oxford*, by Mr. *Thomas Hearne*: See his *Preface* to a *Collection of Curious Discourses* by eminent Antiquaries, 8vo. Oxon. 1720. p. 41. These discourses were written between the year 1590 and 1605; therefore do, I think, somewhat disprove Sir *Henry Spelman*'s computation (at least that summons does) that this society of Antiquaries was discontinued for twenty years and then reviv'd in 1614. King *James* was about this year, or soon after, so hot upon his college of controversial divinity at *Chelsea*, that I wonder not at his discouragement of the said society, thro' I know not what suspicion or pretence of their troubling matters of state or religion, whereby their meeting was wholly broke of; tho', as *Spelman* affirms, they had resolved to forbear all arguments on those subjects. See Sir *Henry Spelman*'s *Pref.* to his *last terms*, as printed from a MS. in the *Bodleian* library, by Dr. *Gibson* the present bishop of *London*, in his life of Mr. *Camden*.

<sup>e</sup> *J. Prince's Worthies of Devon* in the *Life* of *J. Hooker*, fol. 388.

<sup>f</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>g</sup> Their names, however, deserving to live with honour, the said author sets them down, as they arose to his mind, promiscuously, in the following manner—*Thomas* earl of *Dorset*, *Henry* earl of *Northampton*, *Fitzalan* the last earl of *Arundel*, *William* lord *Burghley*, the *Herberts* earls of *Pembroke*, the learned lord *Lumley*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Henry Billingsley*, Sir *Gilbert* and Sir *William Dethicke*, Sir *Henry Fanshawe*, Dr. *Bartholomew Clark*, and dean *Cousins*; Sir *Daniel Donne*, Sir *Walter Cope* and *Ralegh*; Mr. *Benedict Barnham*, Dr. *Cowel*, *Francis Thynne* Esq; *Lancaster*; Mr. *Glover*, *Somerset*; *Hencage*, keeper of the records; *Bensfield*, *Erdswick*, *Lambert*, *Valence*, &c. Esqs. Mr. *Talbot*, and Mr. *John Stow*, &c. Then telling the king how justly the dissolution of so well an intended exercise was lamented by all those worthy patriots, who knew his majesty's realms afforded living persons of prime worth, fit to keep up and celebrate that *Round Table*, he cites some of their names; as, lord *William Howard*, lord *Carew*, Sir *Fulk Greville*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *P.*

*Man-wood*,



BUT, to return a little into the more open and publick current of action, we must here observe, that king *Henry* the fourth of *France* having, about the end of the last parliament, informed the queen of *England*, by an ambassador, that he had held some conferences with the *Spanish* ministers about a peace, but would come to no conclusion without her consent, and that of the united states; her majesty sent some commissioners over: and, while they were negotiating this business in *France*, she had the argument very closely debated in her council at home. Here *Effex* was one of those, who would by no means listen to any manner of accommodation; and, while the matter was upon the carpet, was so expeditious as to produce a formal apology, in writing, for his reasons; it being dated in 1598, and written before the king of *Spain's* death in the beginning of *September* the same year. Yet, upon this topic, there ensued a warm dispute, says *Camden*, betwixt the queen and *Effex*; as also upon her chusing some able minister to superintend the affairs of *Ireland*. She look'd upon the earl's uncle, Sir *William Knolles*, as a proper person for that charge. *Effex* prefer'd Sir *George Carew*, perhaps on purpose, says *Camden*, to get rid of him: and, when the queen would not be persuaded to approve his choice, he, quite forgetting all duty, turn'd his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. The queen, unable to bear his insolence, dismiss'd him her presence with a box on the ear. The fury this threw the earl into, is better conceiv'd than express'd; but having, with his hand on his sword, told the queen, "He would not have taken such a blow from her father," he retired from court. The lord-keeper *Egerton* sent him a prudent and pacifying letter; in which, among other wholesome motives to submission and complacency, he says, "In this course you hold, if you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves; while your friends you leave to scorn and contempt." The earl return'd a long and passionate answer, as *Camden* calls it; in which it appears, he had also suffer'd some imprisonment; and wherein he makes this reply to those objections: "In this course do I any thing for my enemies? When I was present, I found them absolute; and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I could sell them no fruit of my love; and now I am a hermit, they shall bear no envy for their love to me." But the lord-keeper soon brought him out of his hermitage; and he was, in a little time, re-admitted into the queen's favour. However, his friends, according to *Camden*, were apt to date his ruin from this unlucky circumstance: and indeed, it hence appears, he had no enemies so great, or who so much conspired to his fall, as his own passions, his unreasonable expectations of an absolute conformity to his own will, and impatience to behold any body aspire to distinction, who did it not thro' his patronage and protection. Of this he gave a most notorious example about this time; in which he made *Raleigh* a publick object of his opposition, tho' it ended in his own disgrace, and his relapse into the queen's displeasure; which he might have prevented, had he

*Manwood*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Henry Savile*, Mr. *Camden*, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Dr. *John Hayward*, *Tate*, *Whitlock*, *Selden* and *Bolton*. Thus in a MS. entitled, an *Address for a Corporation Royal, to be founded under the title of king James his ACADEM, or College of Honour*. Fol. eleven sheets, p. 6, 7, 8, 9. My reasons that it was written in 1619, and conjectures by whom, I have given in the book itself; which is in the possession of Mr. *George Vertue*, whose readiness to impart from his own curious collections, and procure from those of his learned and worthy friends, whatever might be useful to my present undertaking, deserves more frequent acknowledgments, as having in several other places conduced to the illustration thereof. This list of our primitive antiquaries, and that in the learned Dr. *Smith's* life of Sir *Robert Cotton*, together with those in Mr. *Hearn's* Preface, p. 41. aforesaid, and p. 112, may perhaps somewhat alleviate this last author's "despair of getting a perfect catalogue of those eminent and excellent men, tho' several of their names were industriously conceal'd since the dissolution of the society." And this remark will lead us to observe, how obscurely even Sir *Walter Raleigh* is huddled over in the list here above exhibited. It was surely intended as a courtly compliment, thus to lop off all distinction or title of honour, by saddling him behind another Sir *Walter*, and shewing his very name headless, to that person who had newly made his body so. Another observation which occurs to me from this list is, that it seems to carry the antiquity of this society higher than is commonly apprehended: for if *Robert Glover*, who was made *Somerſet* herald in 1571 (as I find in a MS. written by the late *Peter Le Neve*, Esq; Norroy, upon the succession of the heralds from queen *Mary's* reign) died in 1583, as I think the same MS. demonstrates, or at least as Dr. *Fuller* in-

forms us; the said society must have been existent in this year, how much more early soever it was before. As to its interrupted progress down to our time, it would demand, as it does deserve, an ample history to display it. This general view we may here spare room for: That in the former part of king *Charles's* reign it bloom'd out afresh; but droop'd in the civil wars. It seems to have shone forth again after *Oliver Cromwell's* death; for then Mr. *Ashmole*, in the *Diary* of his own Life, mentions the ANTIQUARIES Feast; but, during the factions in the close of king *Charles II's* reign, to have been under a cloud. It was revived in the reign of his late majesty, anno 1717, and has continued to this day. Having gather'd in this space to a body of fifty or sixty members, nobility as well as gentry, and clergy as well as laity; some of whom are well known in the *Republick of Letters* for their own labours, and many highly deserving from it, for contributing to the improvement of other mens; among which, gratitude cannot omit the Life of Sir W. RALEGH.

\* These quotations I have made from the ancient and fair copies in a volume of *State Letters*, written between the years 1533 and 1629, among the valuable collections of the right honourable the lord *Coleraine*, fol. 345, 351; where *Effex's* letter to the lord-keeper concludes with these words: "Let Solomon's foot laugh when he is stricken; let those who mean to make their profit of princes shew to have no sense of princes injuries; let them acknowledge an infinite abluteness on Earth who do not believe an absolute infiniteness in Heaven, &c." But hereby discover'd himself an ill imitator of his old tutor in court-conduct, *Leicester*, who had attained to the art not only of pocketing all affronts, but of converting them into favours, and even converting them into benefits.



kept his word to the lord-keeper, and suffer'd *Raleigh* to have *triumph'd alone*: for, during this reconciliation, or last blaze *Effex* made with any credit at court, this memorable contest seems to have been promoted by him, at the martial exercises perform'd on the queen's birth-day, which was the 17th of *November*: At least, I think it could not happen later than the year above-cited in this reign; because *Effex's* violent courses throughout the remainder of it, allow of no opportunity or countenance for his farther appearance at those entertainments: and, as for the preceding birth-days, *Effex* seems not have been spirited up by his incendiaries enough for raising such a division or party, as appeared upon this occasion, till the last year, when they return'd from the *island* voyage; and then it must have happen'd during the sitting of the parliament, which may not be so probable. Therefore, I shall here recite the scatter'd circumstances I have met with, relating to this event, till I am better inform'd in what year more certainly to fix it.

THESE martial exercises were the *justs* or *turnaments* wherewith the most active nobles and cavaliers of those times celebrated the queen's birth-day every year, in the *Tilt-yard*, near her palace at *Whitehall*. Here her majesty was commonly herself a spectator of them, with her attendants of both sexes; as likewise all the foreign ambassadors, and a numerous concourse besides both of the court and city. History has not been very particular of *Raleigh's* appearance at those assemblies; as by what colour or impresses he distinguish'd himself, with what success he ran the careers, or what favours he bore away: but, as upon all other publick occasions, he made a most rich and splendid figure; so we find, upon these days of triumph, none surpass'd him in military bravery. I have somewhere read of his curious *fine* armory; and, as I remember, that part of it is, or was preserv'd in the *Tower of London*; but it is more apparent that, probably for some of these grand entertainments, he either made himself, or was presented by his royal mistress with, a suit of armour all of solid silver: for there are still in being, not only ancient paintings, representing him about this part of her reign in that glittering and war-like habiliment, as hereafter will be farther described; but mention is also made in some writings of his being thus arm'd at all points, and shining in those polish'd plates of silver<sup>a</sup>. Yet who were his competitors, and what his success in these robust exercises, there is little, I fear, remaining to satisfy us, more than those dark and dispersed hints of that extraordinary opposition or contention which *Effex* rais'd against him about this time, as was observed: and this being the original or copy of a like contrivance, practis'd not long before or after it in *France* (by marshal *Biron*, as I remember to have read) may, from thence, and the corresponding testimony of an author, whose credit and intelligence are not to be doubted, be presumed to have happen'd in the following manner.

ABOUT the time that *Effex*, by other like instances of his incurable humour to monopolize the multitude, fell into, or confirmed, the queen's displeasure, he had by some of his followers learnt, that Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with a very gallant train, gorgeously accoutred, was to make his appearance the next tilting-day in orange-colour plumes. Hereupon *Effex* provided a much more numerous *cavalcade*, and deck'd them out exactly in *Raleigh's* colours: then the earl himself appearing at the head of all, arm'd *cap-a-pee* in a compleat suit of orange-colour, not only pass'd for the sole knight or champion of that distinction, by drowning all distinction in Sir *Walter Raleigh*, but thereby incorporated him and his train only as so many more of his own esquires, pages, and other retinue or servants, who made up the parade upon these occasions. The earl of *Clarendon* certainly points at this malignant stratagem, where, speaking of those dangerous indiscretions which were the harbingers of *Effex's* ruin, he mentions among them "His glorious *feather-triumph*; when he caus'd two thousand orange-tawney feathers, in despite of " Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to be worne in the *Tilt-yard*, even before her majesty's own face<sup>b</sup>." But it must have been somewhat surprizing to see them enter the lists, and orange-tawney running against itself. Yet the earl's success, which is also come to light, seems not to have been much regretted, being so agreeable to the merit of usurpers; insomuch that it proved *Raleigh's* feather *triumph* in the conclusion. For, tho' the lord *Bacon* might have reason not to mention the earl's name, where he tells us a gentleman, who came to the tilt all in *orange-tawney*, and ran very ill, came again the next day all in *green*, and ran worse;<sup>c</sup> yet another author, instead of this gentleman, names *Effex*;<sup>d</sup> and goes on, as the lord *Bacon* does, with observing, that " One of the spectators hereupon asking, *Why this tilter* (who seem'd to be known in both

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Ghost, 4to. *Utrecht* 1626. p. 10.

<sup>b</sup> The *Disparity* between the estates and conditions of *George* duke of *Buckingham*, and *Robert* earl of *Effex*, written by the earl of *Clarendon* in his younger years, and

printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*. 4th edit. 1685. p. 190.

<sup>c</sup> Lord *Bacon's* apophthegms, new and old, p. 206.

<sup>d</sup> Apophthegms of the *English* nation, MS. 4to. p. 11.



“ habits) changed his colours; another answer’d, Surely because it may be reported, that there was one in green who ran worse than he in orange-colour.”

SUCH like disturbances and ill blood as these contests must have bred, might well make the queen weary of having *Essex* any longer about the court, and desirous of removing him to some employment where he might more commendably exercise his martial qualities. A good occasion offer’d itself in *Ireland*, where *Tir-Oen*’s rebellion had now overspread almost the whole kingdom. A consultation was therefore held for sending over the fittest person to suppress it. The lord *Mountjoy* was first propos’d: but *Essex* himself made exceptions against his want of experience and activity; alledging, *Ireland* requir’d a person of the first rank, who was an old general, and considerable for honour, interest and estate, to gain him respect and influence there; by which *Camden* thinks he would have recommended himself, and adds, that when the queen therefore resolv’d on *Essex*, he slightly refus’d it, advising her to some abler person; tho’, continues that historian, he had an objection ready against any person she should have named. Notwithstanding this authority, and that *Essex*’s smooth-tongu’d adventures were for lending spurs to the ambition that wanted a bridle,<sup>a</sup> he seems to me, by a letter of his own genuine style, in prose and verse, to the queen, at his going over in the end of *March* 1599, to have look’d upon the government of that kingdom as the most irksome kind of banishment, and to have enter’d upon it with the utmost aversion.<sup>b</sup> His conduct in it was answerable to the expectations of judicious men; and one of his own servants, who attended him thither, says, it was his blackest employment, that *Ireland* was ordain’d to be the sepulchre of his father, and the gulph of his own fortunes.<sup>c</sup>

ABOUT four months after *Essex* was thus disposed of, there were great apprehensions in *England* of an invasion; but from what quarter is not well distinguish’d: six thousand soldiers were suddenly rais’d to guard the city and queen’s person. Chains were drawn across the streets of *London*, watches set, and lights hung out at every man’s door for above a fortnight.<sup>a</sup> By sea sixteen or eighteen ships of the royal navy were fitted out with wonderful speed, under the command of the lord *Thomas Howard*, as admiral, in the *Elizabeth Jonas*, and Sir *Walter*, Vice-Admiral, in the *Ark-Royal*. Whether occasion’d by any mistrust the *English* and *Spaniards* had of one another, or a policy held on both sides to make peace with sword in hand, my author does not resolve; but is sure the preparation on both sides was very great, as if one expected an invasion from the other: and yet it was generally conceiv’d not to be intended by either; but that our fleet had only relation to the earl of *Essex*, then in *Ireland*, as if he had some desperate design to try his friends in *England*, and to be revenged of those he thought his enemies. However it was, the care and cost was not so great as necessary; for it was known, that the *Adelantado* had drawn, both his ships and galleys, to the *Groyne*; which was not usual, but upon some action intended for *England* or *Ireland*: and, seeing we were not to be surpriz’d, he diverted them afterwards to a different use. Another benefit that arose to the nation, by putting it into this sudden posture of defence, was the great dexterity and expedition wherewith it was taught to spring into arms: for the incredible speed and order of the commanders, in raising such a land army, and fitting out such a royal navy, was so admired, both by *Spain*, *France* and *Holland*, that all foreigners confess’d, *Her majesty’s deeds in war were not heretofore more dreadful to her enemies than, now only her preparations for it*. Inasmuch that, it is said, an envoy was sent by the *Archduke* from *Brussels* with overtures of peace, tho’ they did not then succeed. Whether a design’d invasion from *Spain* was hereby blown over, or her majesty was better satisfied about the earl of *Essex*, we find not; but she commanded her fleet home, after it had been about a month at sea.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Camden’s Eliz.* Anno 1599.

<sup>b</sup> *To the Queen.* “ From a mind delighting in sorrow,  
“ from spirits walled with passion, from a heart torne  
“ in pieces with care, grief and travel, from a man that  
“ hateth himself and all things else that keep him alive;  
“ what service can your majesty expect, since any service  
“ past deserves no more than banishment and proscription  
“ into the curfedit of all islands? It is your rebels pride  
“ and succession must give me leave to ransom myself out  
“ of this hateful prison, out of my loath’d body; which,  
“ if it happen so, your majesty shall have no cause to mis-  
“ like the fashion of my death, since the course of my  
“ life could never please you.

Happy he, could finish forth his fate,  
In some un haunted desert most obscure  
From all society, from love and hate  
Or worldly folk, then should he sleep secure;

Then wake again, and yield God ever praise:  
Content with *Haps* and *Hawks* and *Brambleberry*,  
In contemplation passing out his days,  
And change of holy thoughts to make him merry.  
Who, when he dies, his tomb may be a bush,  
Where harmless *Robbins* dwell with gentle *Thrush*.

Your majesty’s exiled servant,

ROBERT ESSEX.

This from the *Harleian* library, B. H. 90. C. 70. fol. 517.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Henry Wotton*, in his parallel.

<sup>d</sup> *Stowe’s Annals*, edit. 1615. fol. 788.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *William Monson*’s naval tracts in *Churchill’s* collection of voyages, Vol. III. 1732. fol. 170.



NEAR a month after this, *Effex* returned privately out of *Ireland*, with some of his choice friends ; one whereof, named *Sir Christopher St. Lawrence*, offer'd to murder the lord *Gray*, whom they met upon the road, and to dispatch secretary *Cecyll* when they came to court ; but *Effex* would not encourage so base an act. The queen was now at *Nonfuch* : hither *Effex* hasten'd to present himself on his knees before her, in her privy-chamber early in the morning, and when her majesty least dreamt of him, says *Camden* ; who adds, that she entertain'd him with some marks of her grace and favour, tho' not with that freedom he used to find. But nothing of that unseasonable surprise and fatal discovery upon this visit is mentioned either by him, or any of our other historians, which a foreigner, with the air of romance, natural to his country, reports to have then happen'd, and which I shall therefore refer to his own words. The queen indeed order'd *Effex* to his apartment, and there to continue, as *Camden* goes on ; for the earl had not only disobligh'd her before, but now given fresh provocation by leaving *Ireland* without her permission, and for shuffling up a truce there, which might be broke at a fortnight's warning ; whereas he might have made an effectual composition with the rebels, and was impower'd to give them a general act of indemnity. The excuses he offer'd before the council, were so unsatisfactory, and his behaviour so contemptuous, that the queen thought proper to commit him to custody ; but appointed it to be in the lord-keeper's house rather than a common prison, chiefly to obstruct the insuasions of his pernicious adherents, to whom he was so infatuated, that he could not relinquish them, tho' one of the objections, which would be raised against him, was by his own hand pre-supposed to be, the leaving of that kingdom in such an unsettled posture, and returning into this, with such a pack of swordsmen at his heels. Thus much was thought necessary here to relate of him, that it may appear, his own passions, with the counsels of his pretended friends, and not those, who were vulgarly thought his enemies, prov'd his overthrow.

His embassy  
to *Flanders*.

WHILE *Effex* was thus in restraint, commissioners were sent over to *Bulloigne* to negotiate the peace with *Spain*. This was in *May* 1600. And about the same time we find *Sir Walter Raleigh* was also sent, with the lord *Cobham*, upon an embassy concerning the same, into *Flanders*. Their business was kept very secret ; yet, *Albert* arch-duke of *Austria*, and governor of the *Netherlands*, having charged the queen of *England*, it seems, with relieving the *Hollanders*, and being likely to take some umbrage at so many persons of considerable rank going over volunteers to prince *Maurice*, as the lord of *Northumberland*, lord *Rutland*, and others ; secretary *Cecyll* wrote to the said commissioners at *Bulloigne*, that if the arch-duke should object in the like manner to *Cobham* and *Raleigh*, they were to return answer, “ That these had no charge, nor carried either horse or men, except some half a dozen of their own attendants ; and finding the queen so resolved to have a peace (if good conditions could be had) they obtained leave, with importunity, to see that one action (then expected) before they might despair of seeing any more of the like kind in her majesty's time.” Thus much of this matter we have in a letter of secretary *Cecyll*'s to those commissioners. In another written by *Sir Henry Neville*, who was one of those commissioners, to Mr. *Winwood*, he mentions it as a report, that *Cobham* and *Raleigh* were gone over upon pretext to see the camp and siege of the fort *Isabella* near *Ostend*, before which prince *Maurice* lay ; but thinks they had some other end ; and that in *England* there was some alarm taken at these matters, altho' he was not worthy to know it. The said *Sir Henry*, in another letter to Mr. *Winwood*, says, that the journey of *Cobham* and *Raleigh* was not upon curiosity only ; but that they carried some message (to prince *Maurice* it seems) which did no harm, and that he would reveal the particulars when he was better informed of them. These three letters were written in *July* this year, and in the first of them we perceive *Raleigh* was returned into *England* by the fourteenth day of the said month. <sup>c</sup>

Governor of  
the Isle of  
*Jersey*.

WHEN he arrived at court, the government of *Jersey* was, it seems, vacant by the death of *Sir Anthony*, son of *Sir Amias Paulet*. The queen had many addressors for this preferment ; but she thought none so worthy of it as *Sir Walter Raleigh*. About six weeks after, that is, in

<sup>a</sup> La Roynie estoit encore lors en sa coiffure, il entre dans sa chambre : mais il luy en prit comme d'Acleon à Diane : il vit la Roynie en sa nudité de teste, & en son Alopecie : les Dames ont dict depuis, que s'il eust attendu encore un peu, il avoit gagné sa cause. La Roynie le voyant, elle se leva, estonnée, & s'escrie : luy se prosterne à ses pieds : elle s'escrie encores d'avantage, luy disant, Quoy, voulez-vous prendre ma couronne ? Il s'humilie encore plus, traînant le ventre par terre. Elle s'aigrit encore d'avantage, si bien que les dames qui l'avoient suiet entrer, prosternées de vœux pour demander sa grace, n'y peurent rien gagner :

ainsi es lunes en furent tanches, & les autres chassées du front de la Roynie : Tellement que le comte fut contrainct de se retirer sans estre oüy. *Chronologies Septenaire de l'Histoire de la Paix entre les Roys de France & d'Espagne.* Par P. Victor Caset. 8vo. Paris 1605. p. 214

<sup>b</sup> *Camden's Eliza.* Anno 1599

<sup>c</sup> See *Memoirs of Affairs of State* in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James, collected from the original papers of Sir Ralph Winwood, by E. Sayer of Lincoln Inn, Esq; 1725 Vol. I. fol. 215, 220, 231



the latter end of *August*, his patent was passed, with grant of the manor or lordship of *Sz. Germain* in the said island, and all the lands and tenements therein. <sup>a</sup> There is a learned inhabitant of this island, who in his curious and exact history of it, giving us a succession of the governors, says, “*Sir Walter Raleigh* came in after the *Paulets*, the year only before his royal mistress queen *Elizabeth* died; and was attainted the first year of king *James*: so that we were soon bereaved of the happiness we promised ourselves under so excellent a person. His bare name in the list of our governors does honour to the island.” <sup>e</sup> Yet, as the same author further observes out of the said patent, “When *Sir Walter Raleigh* himself had this government given him by queen *Elizabeth*, she struck off three hundred pounds a year from it, which she took into her own disposal; and made that great man, so renowned for his eminent services to her and to the whole nation, be contented with the remainder.” <sup>a</sup>

*Essex* had now been called before the council at the lord-keeper's, where, for the matters laid to his charge, he was suspended from some of his offices. But the course of penitence and resignation, which he held for a while, gave great hopes, after he had obtained his liberty, that he would recover himself also at court; till his creatures blew him up again with their poisonous counsels, and led him to expect not only a restoration to favour, but with unreasonable interest; inasmuch, that he neglected the queen's pardon, because it came not accompanied with a new grant of his lease for the farming of sweet wines, <sup>b</sup> as a noble author observes: <sup>b</sup> Who adds, “if ever that uncouth speech fell from him of the queen, which is deliver'd to us by one who was then much conversant in the secrets of the court, <sup>c</sup> that she was as crooked in her disposition, as in her carcase; all my wonder at his destruction is taken from me.” After this speech, the queen did as good as deny him the wine-licences aforesaid, as *Camden* relates. Then *Essex* threw himself open to all ill impressions, renewing the project he had begun in *Ireland* of removing by force his enemies at court. He curried favour with king *James* in *Scotland*, by several respectful letters; wherein he labour'd to prejudice the king against those who had any influence in the *English* court, and was very particular in acquainting him with the interest of his adversaries; as one of whom he failed not to set forth *Sir Walter Raleigh*, with the formidable power he had in the west of *England*, and now again in the isle of *Jersey*; that *Cobham* was warden of the *Cinque-Ports*; lord *Burghley*, president of the north, and *Sir George Carew*, president of *Munster*, in the south of *Ireland*: That those were places commodious for the *Spaniards* to land; and these, persons well-affected to the king of *Spain*, and altogether, with the lord-treasurer, admiral and secretary, steer'd the helm of government. Then he practis'd with the said king to send ambassadors into *England*, to press a publick declaration of his title to the succession, prepares instructions for that purpose, still instancing the exorbitant power of his enemies, their disaffection to the king of *Scots*, and great veneration for the infant. These proceedings were outwardly varnish'd over, all this while, with the gloss of conscience and religion; he won over the puritans and their preachers to his party, commiserated the afflicted condition of the papists, retained a crew of *Desperado's* to guard his house, and left none uncountenanc'd, who had nothing to hope for, but changes and revolutions.

Thus these ill humours kept gathering till *Sunday* the 8th of *February* following, and then broke out, as may be seen at large in our histories of these times. At court the guard was

Prejudic'd in  
k. *James's*  
opinion by  
*Essex*.

<sup>a</sup> *Concessio pro Waltero Raleigh Milite, Officii Gubernatoris & Capitanei Insulae de Jersey. Dat. vicesimo sexto die Augusti, anno 1600. Apud Rym. Ford. Tom. XVI. fol. 398.*

<sup>e</sup> See an account of the isle of *Jersey*, by *Philip Falle*, M. A. 2d Edit. 8vo. 1733. p. 190.

<sup>a</sup> This reservation is thus expressed in the patent—  
“*Volumus nihilominus, & per presentes reservamus nobis, heredibus, & successoribus nostris, durante tota vita ipsius Walteri, pro & ex custumis dictae insulae, reventionibus, proficuis, & emolumentis, ceterisque omnibus & singulis praemissis praerogativis, annualem redditum trecentarum librarum legalis monetae Angliae, solvendum annuatim per praefatum Walterum Raleigh, nobis, heredibus & successoribus nostris, ad duos anni terminos usualis; videlicet, ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & annunciationis Beatae Mariae Virginis, per aequales portiones, ad receptam scaccarii nostri, heredum & successorum nostrorum: proviso semper, quod si praedictus annualem redditus, aut aliqua inde parcella, nobis, heredibus & successoribus nostris, per praesentes reservatum, a retro fuerit & insolutum, in parte vel in toto, per spatium quatuordecim dierum post aliquod festum festorum*

*praedictorum in quo solvi debeat, tunc quascunque Thesaurarius noster Angliae, vel Subthesaurarius scaccarii nostri praedicti, pro tempore existentes, aut eorum aliquis, notitiam inde dederint vel dederit dicto Waltero aut suo deputato praedicta, si praedictus annualem redditus, aut aliqua inde parcella, nobis, heredibus, & successoribus nostris, a retro fuerit & insolutus per spatium triginta dierum post aliquam notitiam sic ut praefatur datam, ex tunc haec litterae nostrae patentes, & omnes auctoritates, jurisdictiones, res & concessiones in eisdem contentae, vacuae erunt, & nullius in lege vigoris, aliquo in praesentibus non obstante, &c. See Falle's Jersey, p. 315. from Rymor as above.*

<sup>b</sup> The earl of *Clarendon's* disparity before cited.

<sup>c</sup> This was *Sir Walter Raleigh*, who mentions this passage in the following manner. “Undutiful words of a subject do often take deeper root than the memory of evil deeds. The duke of *Biron* found it, when the king had him at advantage. Yea, the late earl of *Essex* told queen *Elizabeth*, That her conditions were as crooked as her carcase; but it cost him his head, which his insurrection had not done, but for that speech.” *Sir Walter Raleigh's* *Prerogative of Parliament*.



doubled, being appris'd of this eruption; and the morning it happened, Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent, out of particular kindness, to Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, one of *Effex's* adherents, and governor of *Plymouth* fort, to come in all haste to him at *Durham-house* to speak with him, and, as the more private way, that he would come by water. *Gorges*, in the *Manuscript* he writes to vindicate himself from the imputation of betraying *Effex* by this meeting, avers, that he advertised his lordship of this message, and that upon council the earl was willing he should go; but directed him to appoint his meeting with *Raleigh* upon the *Thames*, and not to land at *Durham-house*; also to take with him a guard for securing his return. The conference that passed between them, as *Gorges* relates it, was only this: "When Sir *Walter Raleigh's* boat came to me, he being all alone, and I having two gentlemen, he told me, that he had sent for me to admonish me to make all haste out of the town down to my charge; there being a warrant out for the sending me to the fleet. For his kind advertisement I gave him thanks; but told him withal, because I knew the present occasion would soon discover itself, that it came too late; for I had engaged myself in another matter. He further inquiring of me, what it was? I told him, there were two thousand gentlemen who had resolved that day to live or die free-men. He protested unto me he heard not of it until that morning, but did not see what they were able to do against the queen's authority. My answer was, it was the abuse of that by him and others, which made so many honest men resolve to seek a reformation thereof. His reply was, that no man is without a colour for his intent; and advised me to look to myself, and to remember my duty and allegiance. I answer'd, that I knew not any man who did not more respect his allegiance than his life, as the end would make apparent; and thus we parted; he to the court, and I to *Effex-house*." <sup>d</sup> In the confession made by this *Gorges*, eight days after that of their insurrection above-named, before some of the privy-council, it appears, Sir *Christopher Blount* had persuaded him to murder or seize Sir *Walter Raleigh* at this meeting upon the water. <sup>e</sup> For not doing either, *Gorges* apologizes in the *Manuscript* aforesaid after this manner. "If it be demanded of me why I did not then take Sir *Walter Raleigh*. First, it was not a matter I ever propos'd; tho' many persuaded me so to do. Secondly, I never held it an act fitting among men to betray any that repose trust in us; and he putting himself into my hands, with what honesty could I have avowed so barbarous a deed, unless he had given me the first occasion by violent deeds or unkind words; for either of which, I was both resolved and prepared. And at my return, I deliver'd unto my lord what had passed between Sir *Walter Raleigh* and myself, which he received with applause, as may be testified by those who were present, and yet alive." <sup>f</sup> Lastly, in another part of the said *Manuscript*, *Gorges* says, "The reason why I acknowledge I had means to have taken or killed Sir *Walter Raleigh* was, the better to make it appear, that there was neither malicious or butcherous course intended to him or any; and also to give him cause to acknowledge himself in that respect beholden unto me; whereby to take from him occasion to exercise his power (which I knew to be great at that juncture) to my ruin. For I did believe, he could not in reason be so void of human respect, as not to requite one courtesy with another; as also it was no matter of treason against her majesty, but rather a manifestation of the contrary, approving this intent to be particular against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others." <sup>g</sup> This is the conference which passed between them a few hours before the insurrection, as *Gorges* has represented it.

AFTER *Effex*, with his party, had made several excursions, and some persons had been slain both on his side and the queen's. After he had been proclaimed a traitor by the king of arms in several parts of the city; and was driven, by water, to seek garrison in his own house; we find *Raleigh* mentioned among the several nobles and knights who invested it; tho' he appears in no particular action against the said earl or his company. But, when the earl soon after surrender'd himself, and was brought to examination, he profess'd that he was to have been assaulted or assassinated by his private enemies; of this we have the following account publish'd by authority. "As in all former contentments, he had gone the beaten path of traitors, turning their imputation upon counsellors and persons of

His conference with Sir *Ferd. Gorges*, an accomplice in *Effex's* insurrection.

<sup>d</sup> A brief answer to certain false, slanderous, and idle objections made against Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Knight, as if he had been a man on purpose employed to practise the ruin of the late earl of *Effex*, &c. written by himself in the Gate-house, June 14. 1601. Containing 4 Sheets: In the Cotton library, under the Flisy of *Julius F. VII.* fol. 128. cap. 5.

<sup>e</sup> See a declaration of the practices and treasons, attempted and committed by *Robert*, late earl of *Effex*, and his accomplices, against her majesty and her kingdoms, and imprinted by *Robert Barker*, the queen's printer. 4to. 1601.

<sup>f</sup> Sir *Ferdinando Gorges's* brief answer (at before)

<sup>g</sup> Idem, cap. 5



“ credit with their sovereign : so now he was forced to descend to the pretext of a private  
 “ quarrel ; giving out, how that evening, when he should have been called before the lords of  
 “ the council, there was an ambuscade of musketeers placed upon the water, by the device of  
 “ my lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to have murder’d him in the way as he pass’d. <sup>A Slander’d by</sup>  
 “ matter of no probability (continues my author) those persons having no such desperate estates <sup>Effex.</sup>  
 “ or minds as to ruin themselves and their posterity by committing so odious a crime. On the  
 “ contrary, it was certain, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* accused *Blount* of persuading him to kill, or  
 “ at least apprehend Sir *Walter Raleigh* ; and that *Gorges* rejecting this advice, *Blount* sent four  
 “ shot after him in a boat, which *Blount* deny’d not ; and asked *Raleigh* forgiveness for it at  
 “ the time of his death.” <sup>a</sup> But there were other improbabilities to discredit this slander (as  
 we may safely call it, since the state call’d it by a grosser name) besides that the persons so  
 accused had reputations and estates better establish’d, than to overthrow them by such a detesta-  
 ble deed ; “ as *Effex*’s declining to produce or name any author of such an information : be-  
 “ sides his varying from himself (like the judges, in the story of *Susannah*, from one another)  
 “ in the place ; as one while he was to have been murder’d in his bed ; and another, on the  
 “ water : also in the time and persons ; as that it was to have been done by *Jesuits*, and some  
 “ days before : so that in the end, this accusation by *Effex* was resembled to the action of *Pi-*  
 “ *sistratus*, who proceeded so far in this kind of fiction and dissimulation, that he lanced his  
 “ own body, and came wounded before the people, as tho’ he had been assaulted by his  
 “ private enemies ; thus obtained a guard about his own person, whereby he afterwards usurped  
 “ upon the state.” <sup>b</sup> Further, what may perfectly clear up the innocence of *Cobham* and *Ra-* <sup>Cleared.</sup>  
*leigh* from this unworthy calumny, is the acknowledgment which *Blount* made at his own trial ;  
 when, being asked by secretary *Cecyll*, “ Whether he thought my lord *Cobham* and Sir *Wal-*  
 “ *ter Raleigh* intended any such assassination of the earl ? he answer’d, that he did not believe  
 “ they ever meant any such thing, nor that the earl himself feared it ; only, *it was a word cast*  
 “ *out to colour other matters.*” <sup>c</sup> And lastly, what may tend to prove, that *Raleigh* did rather  
 compassionate and incline to befriend the earl, than harbour any enmity that was implacable  
 against him, is, that one of the earl’s own faction, captain *Thomas Lee*, should have such hopes,  
 that *Raleigh* might be persuaded into the danger of disobliging the queen by importunity, or  
 other violent means, for retrieving both *Effex* and *Southampton* from the jaws of death, as, by way  
 of proposition, to tell Sir *Robert Crofts*, who had been an old officer under *Raleigh* in sever-  
 al engagements at sea, “ That Sir *Walter Raleigh* might get himself eternal honour and love,  
 “ more than ever he can otherwise, if he would procure her majesty’s warrant to free the lords ;  
 “ which he might compass, by undertaking her person :” <sup>d</sup> for this does not only shew the  
 opinion that was held of *Raleigh*’s power with the queen, but the probability that he might be  
 induced to exert it for the rescue of those noblemen. We find he did use his interest for some <sup>Procures a</sup>  
 who were drawn in unawares, and got a pardon for Sir *Edmund Bainham* ; also for *John Little-* <sup>pardon for</sup>  
*ton*, and *Orell* a brave old foldier : the two former were men of fortune, and their purses might <sup>some of the</sup>  
 bleed, or be threaten’d upon this occasion. But, as *Camden* observes, few paid the fines laid <sup>confederates.</sup>  
 on them.

ON the 19th of *February*, *Effex* was arraign’d at *Westminster* ; and we find, in his trial,  
 that Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with forty of the queen’s guard, was, as captain thereof, there present  
 upon duty. <sup>e</sup> *Raleigh* was here examin’d about the conference before-mention’d ; and all he said  
 was, “ That *Gorges* told him on the water, *Effex* had put himself into a strong guard at his  
 “ house ; and this would be the bloodiest day’s work that ever was ; wishing he would speed  
 “ to court for the prevention of it ; and that he himself wished *Gorges* to refuse their company,  
 “ else he would be undone.” This is all *Raleigh* said of that conference ; which *Gorges*, here  
 also in court, confirm’d. But *Effex* seems to charge *Gorges* with prevarication, where he re-  
 plies, “ Whatsoever Sir *Walter Raleigh* hath said, differeth altogether from that which Sir *Fer-*  
 “ *dinando* told us at *Effex*’s house, upon his return from the water.” And indeed it is not likely  
 he should tell *Effex* he advised *Raleigh* to go to court and prevent the insurrection. Six days  
 after, *Effex* was beheaded in the Court-yard of *London Tower*. Among the many persons of

<sup>a</sup> See the first confession of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* in the declaration of *Effex*’s treasons, as before, in the last leaf of the letter E.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, in the 2d leaf of H. See also Mr. *Fra. Bacon*’s speech at the earl of *Effex*’s trial, in the first vol. of *Trials*, 2d edit. 1730, fol. 197.

<sup>c</sup> The trial of Sir *Christopher Blount*, &c. from a very MS. of *Peter Le Neve*, Esq; *Nerrey*, in the additional

collection of *State-Trials*, vol. VII. now at the press, fol. 50.

<sup>d</sup> The arraignment and judgment of captain *Thomas Lee*, &c. in the same volume, fol. 45.

<sup>e</sup> The earl of *Effex*’s trial in the first vol. of *Trials* as before, fol. 190.

<sup>f</sup> Idem, fol. 194.



distinction, there present was Sir *Walter Raleigh*, probably in his charge again as captain of the guard. He stood near the scaffold, according to his own assertion; that he might better answer, if *Effex* should be desirous of speaking to him. But his enemies expounded his presence there in such a barbarous sense, says *Camden*, as if he had pressed near the place of execution, only to feast his eyes with the tragedy of the earl's sufferings; and the greatest or most notorious of *Raleigh's* enemies (who is known to us) he who betrayed him to his own untimely end, as will be observ'd, did after *Raleigh's* death, when he could not answer for himself, insinuate, that he not only insulted upon *Effex* being dead, but even plotted his downfall, as that "he had called the earl's faintship in question," had writ in some letters, "that the great boy died like a calf, and like a craven;" and that, soon after the execution, a gentleman, returning from *Spain*, touched at *Sherborne*, who, being asked by *Raleigh*, "what they said in *Spain* of *Effex's* death?" answered, "They had not heard of it; but he was sorry to hear, that in the *Island* voyage the earl had brought him to his mercy;" to which, that *Raleigh* answer'd, "but I trust I am now quit with him;" and, as a more evident demonstration, says, that the night before the earl's suffering, "*Raleigh* gave instructions to the lieutenant of the *Tower* for the execution of the warrant:" which surely he did not do without authority. But these particulars, it must be observed, come from the person stigmatiz'd with having ensnared *Raleigh* to his destruction, and to the person who destroyed him, with endeavour to palliate the conduct of both to the world.<sup>a</sup> And as we find those obloquies gave not satisfaction to their author's contemporaries: so we have produced them, that they may not escape the reception they deserve of posterity. As for *Raleigh's* comportment to *Effex*, we may guess what it was while the earl was alive, since he made no exceptions to it at his death, when he had free liberty of speech; and when *Raleigh* came to the same end, it appears by his last words, that he had relented more at the earl's fate, than any thing we hear of in his pretended friends; and that he retir'd from the sight of the earl at the time of his death, in compliance with the misconstruction of the populace, tho' he afterwards repented it; since the earl had a desire to see and speak with him before he took his farewell of the world.

*Blount* asks  
him forgive-  
ness.

THIS desire was, in all probability, to ask *Raleigh* forgiveness, for having so dishonourably treated and traduced him, to countenance his own rash purposes. For just such a desire had Sir *Christopher Blount*, when his own execution approached on the 18th of *March* following at *Tower-hill*; where, understanding that *Raleigh*, as captain of the guard, was near the scaffold, he said, "Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I thank God that you are present: I had an infinite desire to speak with you, to ask you forgiveness e're I died; both for the wrong done you, and for my particular ill intent towards you: I beseech you forgive me." *Raleigh* answer'd, "that he most willingly forgave him, and besought God to forgive him, and to give him his divine comfort; protesting before the Lord, that whatever Sir *Christopher Blount* meant towards him, for his part, he never bore him any ill intent:" and further said to him, "I pray you, without offence, let me put you in mind, that you have been esteemed not only a principal provoker and persuader of the earl of *Effex* in all his undutiful courses, but especially an adviser in that which has been confess'd, of his purpose to transport a great part of her majesty's army out of *Ireland* into *England*, to land at *Milford*, and thence to turn it against her sacred person: you will do well to tell the truth herein, and to satisfy the world." *Blount* reply'd, "When I was brought from *Reban* to *Dublin*, and lodg'd in the castle; his lordship and the earl of *Southampton* came to visit me; and he began thus plainly with me: That he intended to transport a choice part of the army of *Ireland* into *England*, and land them in *Wales*, at *Milford*, or thereabouts: and so securing his descent, would gather such other forces, as would enable him to march to *London*." I answer'd, "I would that night consider of it." Next day the earls came again; I told them, "Such an enterprize, as it was most dangerous, would cost much blood; so as I could not like it. But I rather advised him to go over himself, with a good train, and make sure of the court, than make his own conditions; and tho' we never resolved to hurt her majesty's person, yet I know, and must confess, *If we had failed of our ends, we should, rather than have been disappointed, even have drawn blood from herself.*" Then giving a few farther hints of their progress in general, he leaves the rest to his confessions made before the privy-counsellors, whom he names, and to whom he beseeches Sir *Walter Raleigh* to commend him for their favourable and charitable dealing. Lastly, having also declared he died in the Catholic faith, and bid farewell to the

<sup>a</sup> The humble petition and information of Sir *Lewis Stueley*, Kt. &c. touching his behaviour, in bringing up Sir *Walter Raleigh*, &c. To the king's most excellent majesty, 4to. 1618, p. 9, 10.



lords *Gray*, *Compton*, and the rest, he made a decent end.<sup>a</sup> Thus have we connected all the passages of *Essex's* insurrection, wherein we have found *Raleigh* any ways mention'd or concern'd; which, with several other remarkable parts of his story, those authors, who had read many of the tracts, letters, records, and other manuscripts whence it is here drawn out, have visibly curtail'd and suppress'd in their annals and chronicles of this reign, which were publish'd in the next.

THE following summer, in the year 1601, it appears, that *Raleigh* attended upon the queen in her progress; and, when the king of *France* came to *Calais*, on the alarm of the archduke's besieging of *Ostend*, her majesty was at *Dover*. Ambassadors were sent over to each other on this occasion; and, in that private dispatch of the marquis of *Rosney*, afterwards duke of *Sully*, related only by himself, we find, that upon his landing at *Dover*, he was received by *Raleigh*, in company with the lords *Cobham*, *Sidney*, and others.<sup>b</sup> The interview, then expected between these two princes, was not brought to pass; nor seem the proposals, made to her majesty about the war with *Spain*, to have had the full effect that was hoped for; because, not long after, on the 5th of *September*, there arrived at *London* another ambassador from *France*, named the duke of *Biron*, with a very noble, numerous and stately equipage, to the number of three or four hundred persons. The queen was then in *Hantsbire*; and, during the thirteen days she was entertained at *Basing*, the marquis of *Winchester's* seat, the duke of *Biron*, with his retinue, was brought to the *Vine*, a fair house in the said county of the lord *Sandys*, which was furnish'd with seven score beds by the neighbouring gentry, and with all other accommodations from the queen's palaces, for the reception of the said ambassador. I leave this entertainment to the description of the *French* and *English* historians, who observe it was one discontinued festival, and that the like was never made by any of our princes in a progress. 'Tis more particularly to be expected, that *Raleigh* did here attend upon the court, because he was commonly appointed to entertain the foreign ministers, especially of *France* or the *States*, being so well acquainted with those people and their policies: and when the queen left the country, we find, among the ten persons she there knighted (a greater number than ever she had confer'd that honour upon at one time) that one of them was *Carew*,<sup>c</sup> the brother of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. But as for that passage, in a *French* historian lately quoted, between the queen and the ambassador when they were in *London*, of her shewing him, among the heads of those rebels which were stuck upon the *Tower*, that of the earl of *Essex*;<sup>d</sup> it has been proved fabulous by *Camden*,<sup>e</sup> who would doubtless have detected other such falsities in the said *French* author, relating to our *English History*, and in particular to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, had his *Annals* extended to the year, in which we shall be obliged to take notice thereof.

Soon after the queen's return from this progress, her last parliament met at *Westminster*, and that was on the 27th day of *October*. This was a session full of important business, and *Raleigh* appears frequently engaged in it. The first or most ancient list of the members of the house of commons, at least extant, is, as I have been told by an eminent antiquary, that which we have of this parliament;<sup>f</sup> and herein it appears, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was one of the knights of the shire for the county of *Cornwall*, *John Arundell*, Esq; being the other; and that Sir *Carew Raleigh* was one of the burgesses for *Foway* in the same county. The first speech we have of Sir *Walter's*, upon record in this parliament, was on *November* the 4th; and in opposition to the act for sowing of hemp, "For my part, said he, I do not like this constraining

Receives the  
French am-  
bassador at  
Dover.

In parlia-  
ment.

Opposes the  
act for sowing  
of hemp.

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Christopher Blount's* dying speech, in the declaration of the treasons of *Essex* and his complices, as before, fol. penult.

<sup>b</sup> *Memoires, ou Oeconomies Royales d'Etat de Henri le Grand*, par Maximilien de Bethune Duc de *Sully*, in 12 volumes 12°. *Amst.* 1725, vol. 5, p. 60.

<sup>c</sup> *John Stow's Annals*, edit. 1615, fol. 797. This is that Sir *Carew Raleigh*, who appears, in the court-rolls of *Gillingham* in *Gloucestershire*, to have been one of the Rewards, his brother Sir *Walter* being the other of that manor, in these times belonging to the crown; as I have it from a letter of some obliging remarks upon the family of the *Raleghs*, written by *William Nicholas*, Esq; of *West-horsey* in *Suffex*. This must be also the same Sir *Carew Raleigh*, who had, in 1616, for what consideration is not mention'd, a hundred pounds paid him from the government, as I find in an *Abstract of the State of his Majesty's Revenue*, reprinted 8vo. 1692, p. 30. Likewise the same who sold *Widdicombe Raleigh* to one of the *Maryns*, as is before observed; and the ancient patrimony of *Fardel* to *Walter Heale*, Esq; of *Briston*, as *John Prince* informs us in the *Worthies of Devon*, fol. 402. Lastly, the same Sir

*Carew Raleigh*, who married *Dorothy*, daughter of Sir *William Wroughton*, and relict of Sir *John Thynne*, by whom he had *Gilbert*, heir of *Downton*; and he, by *Lucy*, daughter of Sir *Gilly Wroughton*, of *Broad-hinton* in *Wilt*, had several children, as *Gilbert*, *George*, *Walter*, *Katharine*, *Anne*, &c. This I gather from a pedigree of the *Raleghs*, in the possession of *Brown Willis*, Esq; mention'd at the beginning of this work; wherein it farther appears, the said Sir *Carew*, his son and grand-children, were all alive in 1623. And hence the *Wiltshire Raleghs* have flourish'd to these latter times.

<sup>d</sup> *Chronologie Septenaire de l'Histoire de la Paix entre les Roys de France, & d'Espagne*, par *P. Victor Cayet*, 8vo. 1605, p. 233, b.

<sup>e</sup> "Whereas certain *French* writers have mention'd, says *Camden*, that the queen shewed to *Biron* the earl of *Essex's* skull in her closet, or according to others fixed upon a pole; it must needs be a story as ridiculous as false; since that was inter'd with his body." *Annal Eliz.* 1601.

<sup>f</sup> At the end of *Heywood Townshend's Historical Collections* of q. *Elizabeth's* four last parliaments.



distinction, there present was Sir *Walter Raleigh*, probably in his charge again as captain of the guard. He stood near the scaffold, according to his own assertion; that he might better answer, if *Effex* should be desirous of speaking to him. But his enemies expounded his presence there in such a barbarous sense, says *Camden*, as if he had pressed near the place of execution, only to feast his eyes with the tragedy of the earl's sufferings; and the greatest or most notorious of *Raleigh's* enemies (who is known to us) he who betrayed him to his own untimely end, as will be observ'd, did after *Raleigh's* death, when he could not answer for himself, insinuate, that he not only insulted upon *Effex* being dead, but even plotted his downfall, as that "he had called the earl's faintship in question," had writ in some letters, "that the great boy died like a calf, and like a craven;" and that, soon after the execution, a gentleman, returning from *Spain*, touched at *Sherborne*, who, being asked by *Raleigh*, "what they said in *Spain* of *Effex's* death?" answered, "They had not heard of it; but he was sorry to hear, that in the *Island* voyage the earl had brought him to his mercy;" to which, that *Raleigh* answer'd, "but I trust I am now quit with him;" and, as a more evident demonstration, says, that the night before the earl's suffering, "*Raleigh* gave instructions to the lieutenant of the *Tower* for the execution of the warrant:" which surely he did not do without authority. But these particulars, it must be observed, come from the person stigmatiz'd with having ensnared *Raleigh* to his destruction, and to the person who destroyed him, with endeavour to palliate the conduct of both to the world.<sup>a</sup> And as we find those obloquies gave not satisfaction to their author's contemporaries: so we have produced them, that they may not escape the reception they deserve of posterity. As for *Raleigh's* comportment to *Effex*, we may guess what it was while the earl was alive, since he made no exceptions to it at his death, when he had free liberty of speech; and when *Raleigh* came to the same end, it appears by his last words, that he had relented more at the earl's fate, than any thing we hear of in his pretended friends; and that he retir'd from the sight of the earl at the time of his death, in compliance with the misconstruction of the populace, tho' he afterwards repented it; since the earl had a desire to see and speak with him before he took his farewell of the world.

*Blount* asks him forgiveness.

THIS desire was, in all probability, to ask *Raleigh's* forgiveness, for having so dishonourably treated and traduced him, to countenance his own rash purposes. For just such a desire had Sir *Christopher Blount*, when his own execution approached on the 18th of *March* following at *Tower-hill*; where, understanding that *Raleigh*, as captain of the guard, was near the scaffold, he said, "Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I thank God that you are present: I had an infinite desire "to speak with you, to ask you forgiveness e're I died; both for the wrong done you, and "for my particular ill intent towards you: I beseech you forgive me." *Raleigh* answer'd, "that he most willingly forgave him, and besought God to forgive him, and to give him his "divine comfort; protesting before the Lord, that whatever Sir *Christopher Blount* meant "towards him, for his part, he never bore him any ill intent:" and further said to him, "I "pray you, without offence, let me put you in mind, that you have been esteemed not only a "principal provoker and persuader of the earl of *Effex* in all his undutiful courses, but especially an adviser in that which has been confess'd, of his purpose to transport a great part of "her majesty's army out of *Ireland* into *England*, to land at *Milford*, and thence to turn it "against her sacred person: you will do well to tell the truth herein, and to satisfy the world." *Blount* reply'd, "When I was brought from *Reban* to *Dublin*, and lodg'd in the castle; his "lordship and the earl of *Southampton* came to visit me; and he began thus plainly with me: "That he intended to transport a choice part of the army of *Ireland* into *England*, and land them "in *Wales*, at *Milford*, or thereabouts: and so securing his descent, would gather such other "forces, as would enable him to march to *London*." I answer'd, "I would that night consider of it." Next day the earls came again; I told them, "Such an enterprize, as it was "most dangerous, would cost much blood; so as I could not like it. But I rather advis'd "him to go over himself, with a good train, and make sure of the court, than make his own "conditions; and tho' we never resolv'd to hurt her majesty's person, yet I know, and must "confess, *If we had failed of our ends, we should, rather than have been disappointed, even have "drawn blood from herself.*" Then giving a few farther hints of their progress in general, he leaves the rest to his *confessions* made before the privy-counsellors, whom he names, and to whom he beseeches Sir *Walter Raleigh* to commend him for their favourable and charitable dealing. Lastly, having also declared he died in the Catholic faith, and bid farewell to the

<sup>a</sup> The humble petition and information of Sir *Leves Stueley*, Kt. &c. touching his behaviour, in bringing up Sir *Walter Raleigh*, &c. To the king's most excellent majesty, 4to. 1618, p. 9, 10.



lords *Gray*, *Compton*, and the rest, he made a decent end.<sup>a</sup> Thus have we connected all the passages of *Essex's* insurrection, wherein we have found *Raleigh* any ways mention'd or concern'd; which, with several other remarkable parts of his story, those authors, who had read many of the tracts, letters, records, and other manuscripts whence it is here drawn out, have visibly curtail'd and suppress'd in their annals and chronicles of this reign, which were publish'd in the next.

THE following summer, in the year 1601, it appears, that *Raleigh* attended upon the queen in her progress; and, when the king of *France* came to *Calais*, on the alarm of the archduke's besieging of *Ostend*, her majesty was at *Dover*. Ambassadors were sent over to each other on this occasion; and, in that private dispatch of the marquis of *Rosney*, afterwards duke of *Sully*, related only by himself, we find, that upon his landing at *Dover*, he was received by *Raleigh*, Receives the  
French am-  
bassador at  
Dover. in company with the lords *Cobham*, *Sidney*, and others.<sup>b</sup> The interview, then expected between these two princes, was not brought to pass; nor seem the proposals, made to her majesty about the war with *Spain*, to have had the full effect that was hoped for; because, not long after, on the 5th of *September*, there arrived at *London* another ambassador from *France*, named the duke of *Biron*, with a very noble, numerous and stately equipage, to the number of three or four hundred persons. The queen was then in *Hants*; and, during the thirteen days she was entertained at *Basing*, the marquis of *Winchester's* seat, the duke of *Biron*, with his retinue, was brought to the *Vine*, a fair house in the said county of the lord *Sandys*, which was furnish'd with seven score beds by the neighbouring gentry, and with all other accommodations from the queen's palaces, for the reception of the said ambassador. I leave this entertainment to the description of the *French* and *English* historians, who observe it was one discontinued festival, and that the like was never made by any of our princes in a progress. 'Tis more particularly to be expected, that *Raleigh* did here attend upon the court, because he was commonly appointed to entertain the foreign ministers, especially of *France* or the *States*, being so well acquainted with those people and their policies: and when the queen left the country, we find, among the ten persons she there knighted (a greater number than ever she had confer'd that honour upon at one time) that one of them was *Carew*,<sup>c</sup> the brother of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. But as for that passage, in a *French* historian lately quoted, between the queen and the ambassador when they were in *London*, of her shewing him, among the heads of those rebels which were stuck upon the *Tower*, that of the earl of *Essex*;<sup>d</sup> it has been proved fabulous by *Camden*,<sup>e</sup> who would doubtless have detected other such falsities in the said *French* author, relating to our *English History*, and in particular to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, had his *Annals* extended to the year, in which we shall be obliged to take notice thereof.

Soon after the queen's return from this progress, her last parliament met at *Westminster*, and that was on the 27th day of *October*. This was a session full of important business, and *Raleigh* appears frequently engaged in it. The first or most ancient list of the members of the house of commons, at least extant, is, as I have been told by an eminent antiquary, that which we have of this parliament;<sup>f</sup> and herein it appears, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was one of the In parlia-  
ment. knights of the shire for the county of *Cornwall*, *John Arundell*, Esq; being the other; and that Sir *Carew Raleigh* was one of the burgesses for *Foway* in the same county. The first speech we have of Sir *Walter's*, upon record in this parliament, was on *November* the 4th; and in Opposes the  
act for sowing  
of hemp. opposition to the act for sowing of hemp, "For my part, said he, I do not like this constraining

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Christopher Blount's* dying speech, in the declaration of the treasons of *Essex* and his complices, as before, fol. penult.

<sup>b</sup> *Memoires, ou Oeconomies Royales d'Etat de Henri le Grand*, par Maximilien de Bethune Duc de *Sully*, in 12 volumes 12°. *Amsterdam*. 1725, vol. 5, p. 60.

<sup>c</sup> *John Stow's Annals*, edit. 1615, fol. 797. This is that Sir *Carew Raleigh*, who appears, in the court-rolls of *Gillingham* in *Gloucestershire*, to have been one of the rewards, his brother Sir *Walter* being the other of that manor, in these times belonging to the crown; as I have it from a letter of some obliging remarks upon the family of the *Raleghs*, written by *William Nicholas*, Esq; of *West-horsey* in *Suffex*. This must be also the same Sir *Carew Raleigh*, who had, in 1616, for what consideration is not mention'd, a hundred pounds paid him from the government, as I find in an *Abstract of the State of his Majesty's Revenue*, reprinted 8vo. 1692, p. 30. Likewise the same who sold *Widdicombe Raleigh* to one of the *Martyns*, as is before observed; and the ancient patrimony of *Fardel* to *Walter Heale*, Esq; of *Brixton*, as *John Prince* informs us in the *Worthies of Devon*, fol. 402. Lastly, the same Sir

*Carew Raleigh*, who married *Dorothy*, daughter of Sir *William Wroughton*, and relict of Sir *John Thynne*, by whom he had *Gilbert*, heir of *Downton*; and he, by *Lucy*, daughter of Sir *Gilly Wroughton*, of *Broad-hinton* in *Wilt*, had several children, as *Gilbert*, *George*, *Walter*, *Katharine*, *Anne*, &c. This I gather from a pedigree of the *Raleghs*, in the possession of *Brown Willis*, Esq; mention'd at the beginning of this work; wherein it farther appears, the said Sir *Carew*, his son and grand-children, were all alive in 1623. And hence the *Wiltshire Raleghs* have flourish'd to these latter times.

<sup>d</sup> *Chronologie Septenaire de l'Histoire de la Paix entre les Roys de France, & d'Espagne*, par P. Victor Cayet, 8vo. 1605, p. 233, b.

<sup>e</sup> "Whereas certain *French* writers have mention'd, says *Camden*, that the queen shewed to *Biron* the earl of *Essex's* skull in her closet, or according to others fixed upon a pole; it must needs be a story as ridiculous as false; since that was inter'd with his body." *Annals Eliz.* 1601.

<sup>f</sup> At the end of *Heywood Townshend's Historical Collections* of q. *Elizabeth's* four last parliaments.



“ of men to manure or use their ground at our wills ; but rather let every man use his  
 “ ground to that which it is most fit for, and therein use his own discretion. For halsters,  
 “ cables, cordage, and the like, we have plentifully enough from foreign nations ; and we  
 “ have countries here in *England* that make use thereof in abundance : and the bill of *Tillage*  
 “ may be a sufficient motive to us in this case, not to take the course that this bill intends. For  
 “ where the law provides, that every man must plough the third part of his land ; I know  
 “ divers poor people have done so, to avoid the penalty of the statute, when their abilities have  
 “ been so poor, that they have not been able to buy feed-corn to sow it withal ; nay, they  
 “ have been fain to hire others to plough it ; which, if it had been unplough’d, would have  
 “ been good pasture for beasts, or might have been converted to other good uses.”<sup>a</sup> Upon  
 this motion, all the house bid away with the bill : but it was put to the question, whether it  
 should be committed or no ? Some doubt arising, the house was divided ; and the *Yea’s* were  
 103, the *Noes* 162 : so the bill was not committed. It was afterwards put to the question for  
 ingrossing ; and, notwithstanding Mr. *Comptroller’s* speech for the weight of it (which is not  
 preserved) it was deny’d, and so absolutely rejected. Three days after, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was  
 at the committee in the house, touching the subsidy. Here he moved them to consider for what  
 intent they came thither, and now in their coming, what was to be consider’d. “ For the  
 “ subsidy, said he, the manner and quality thereof, I will now only intimate thus much to you ;  
 “ that the last parliament, only three subsidies were granted, upon fear that the *Spaniards* were  
 “ coming ; but now we see they are come, and have set foot even in the queen’s territories  
 “ already ; therefore, are the more of us to be respected and regarded. And seeing the sale  
 “ of her majesty’s own jewels ; the great loans her subjects have lent her, yet unpaid ; the continual  
 “ selling of her lands, and decaying of her revenues ; the sparing even out of her own purse  
 “ and apparel for our own sakes, will not serve ; but she must yet be fain to call her court of  
 “ parliament for our advice and aid in this case ; I wish, for my part, as a particular member  
 “ of the common-wealth, that we may not do less than we did before ; and that we may also  
 “ bountifully, according to our estates, contribute to her majesty’s necessities, as they now stand.”  
 This speech was confirm’d by many other members, and met with no opposition that we read  
 of. But the manner of raising this subsidy created some short debate ; in which Sir *Francis*  
*Hastings* moved, that the *three pound* men might be exempted ; and all others, above that rate,  
 to pay according to the *rate*, to make up a full subsidy. To this Sir *Walter Ralegh* answer’d,  
 “ If all pay, none will be aggrieved ; if any be exempted, doubtless it will breed much grief ;  
 “ the feeling will be great to those *three pound* men that will feel any thing, but it will be no  
 “ thing to them that know any thing.” Sir *Edward Hobby*, who, it seems, sat near the door,  
 not hearing well this speech, said, “ You should speak standing, that the house might hear  
 “ you.” *Ralegh* answer’d, “ That being in a committee, he might speak sitting or stand-  
 “ ing :” so (without rising) repeated his former words. In the end this proposal was agreed  
 to, and secretary *Cecyll* reported to the whole house, “ that most voices concluded, there should  
 “ be no exception of the *three pound* men, because, according to their rate, some were assess’d  
 “ under value ; besides, separation might breed emulation, suspicion of partiality and confu-  
 “ sion.” Yet when *Cecyll*, among those who lanced out,<sup>b</sup> carried the matter so high, as to  
 say, “ that neither pots or pans, nor dish nor spoon, should be spared, when danger is at our  
 “ elbows ; nor would by any means have the *three pound* men excluded, because he’d have the  
 “ king of *Spain* know, how willing we are to sell all in defence of God’s religion, our prince  
 “ and our country ;” and when Mr. *Francis Bacon*, in his speech, concluded it was “ *Dulcis*  
 “ *tractus pari jugo* ; therefore the poor, as well as the rich, not to be exempted :” *Ralegh* did  
 answer ; “ I like it not, that the *Spaniards*, our enemies, should know of our selling our pots  
 “ and pans to pay subsidies ; well may you call it policy, as an honourable person alledg’d ;  
 “ but I am sure it argues poverty in the state. And for the motion that was last made, *Dulcis*  
 “ *tractus pari jugo* : call you this *par jugum*, when a poor man pays as much as a rich ? and  
 “ peradventure his estate is no better than it is set at, or but little better ; while our estates are  
 “ *three or four pounds*<sup>c</sup> in the queen’s books, and it is not the hundredth part of our wealth ;

His speech  
for the sub-  
sidy.

<sup>a</sup> *Tower/land’s Hist. Coll.* fol. 188. Sir *Simon Devereux* owns this speech by Sir *Walter Ralegh* upon that bill, and makes some errors in his account of its commitment. See *his Journal*, fol. 1703, p. 626.

<sup>b</sup> Of whom, none more remarkable than serjeant *Heale* ; who marvelled much the house should demur upon granting the subsidy, or in the time of payment ; “ When all  
 “ we have, said he, is her majesty’s ; and she may law-  
 “ fully, at pleasure, take it from us : yea, she has as  
 “ much right to all our lands and goods, as to any re-

venue of her crown.” At which the house humm’d  
 and laugh’d. “ Well, all your humming, said the serjeant,  
 “ shan’t put me out of countenance.” So to mend the  
 matter, he told them, “ he could prove his former position  
 “ in the time of king *Henry III.* k. *John*, k. *Stephen*,  
 “ &c.” At this, the house was louder than before, till  
 they humm’d the serjeant into his seat ; but he was after-  
 wards more particularly expos’d for these slavish principles.

<sup>c</sup> So *Heswood’s Tower/land*, fol. 204. But, *that year* *three*  
*pounds*, in Sir *Simon Devereux*, fol. 633.



“ therefore it is neither *dulcis* nor *par*.” This might flow as well from the natural source of his own benignity, as from any compliance with the queen’s inclination to favour the poorer sort, for whom *Raleigh* seems, by her command, to have before indeed been a chosen advocate :<sup>a</sup> but he knowing, as well as the rest of the members, by former experience, that such a supply, as her majesty now wanted, being no less than *three hundred thousand pounds*, according to *Cecyll*’s representation, could not be raised, if such an exemption were admitted of; the former proposition prevail’d, and the *three pound* men were necessarily included.

WHEN the complaint against monopolies was made on the 20th of *November*, and Dr. *Bennet* mention’d that of cards, I can’t perceive how it could be justly observed in the journals, to make any change in the countenance of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; since in the same journals it is also observed, that the patent for cards was now granted to *Edward Darcy*.<sup>b</sup> But, when Mr. *Martin* spoke of a “ country that groaned under the burthen of monstrous and unconscionable “ substitutes to *monopolitans* of starch, tin, fish, cloth, oil, vinegar, salt, and what not.” Sir *Walter Raleigh* reply’d, “ I am urged to speak in two respects; the one, because I find myself “ touched upon in particular; the other, in that I take some imputation and slander to be “ offered unto her majesty: I mean by the gentleman who first mention’d *tin*. For that being “ one of the principal commodities of this kingdom, and being in *Cornwall*, it has ever (so “ long as there were any) belonged to the *dukes* of *Cornwall*; and they had special patents of “ privilege. It has pleased her majesty freely to bestow on me that *privilege*, and that *patent*; “ being word for word the very same the *duke*’s is. And because, by reason of my office of “ *Lord-warden* of the *Stannaries*, I can sufficiently inform this house of the state thereof, I will “ make bold to deliver it unto you. When the *tin* is taken out of the mine, and molten and “ refin’d, then is every piece, containing a *hundred* weight, sealed with the *duke*’s seal. And <sup>In right of his patent for the pre-emption of tin.</sup> “ by reason of this privilege (which I now have) he ever had the refusal in buying thereof; “ for the words of the patent are, *Nisi nos emere volumus*. Now I will tell you, that before “ the granting of my patent, whether *tin* were but at *seventeen shillings*, and so upward to *fifty “ shillings* a hundred; yet the poor workman never had but *two shillings* a week, finding him- “ self: but since my patent, whosoever will work, be tin at what price soever, they have four “ shillings a week truly paid: there is no poor that will work there, but may, and have that “ wages.” But, notwithstanding his merit, as well as right, *Raleigh* concluded, saying, “ Yet if “ all others may be repeal’d, I will give my consent as freely to the cancelling of this, as any “ member of this house.” It is noted, that a great and uncommon silence followed this speech. At last Sir *Francis Hastings* said, in respect thereto: “ I joy to see so great a reformation, that “ we may speak quietly, and be heard peaceably; every man has not alike sense or judgment, “ neither is every man’s memory alike. I wish, that if any gentleman, who speaks of this, “ or any other subject as curious, shall let fall any word amiss or unpleasing, that it may be “ attributed rather to earnestness, than want of duty.” Throughout the further proceedings against the numerous monopolies now in force, we find not any mention made of his patent aforesaid, among those which were particularly promis’d to be revok’d or abolish’d as grievances to the state. On the 24th of *November*, Sir *Edmund Morgan* and Mr. *Pemberton*, both members of the house, being served with *subpœnas* to appear in the court of *Chancery*, the same day, at the suit of Sir *Walter* and Sir *Carew Raleigh*, they had the privilege granted them. The officers, who served those *subpœnas*, were taken into the custody of the serjeant, but soon released, upon pleading they knew not those gentlemen to be members of parliament.<sup>c</sup> This is all I find of that suit concerning Sir *Walter Raleigh*. On the 2d of *December*, he spoke <sup>And against the defects of a bill for re-forming of inns.</sup> against the defects and hardships in a bill that was read for reformation of abuses in inns; as that, “ it would deprive those, who, by their lordships or manors, had right to enquire into “ the defaults of selling liquors by full measure, of their privilege; that, by disabling a man “ for ever after of being an inn-keeper, how detrimental it might be to the inheritance of “ those who had inns, some at a hundred pounds *per annum*; and how dangerous to inn-keep- “ ers, who might, by the negligence of a servant, suffer: all which he left to the discretion “ of the house.”<sup>d</sup> After other like objections, by another member or two, we hear no more of it. Soon after, the means of suppressing the pirates of *Dunkirk*, now grown strong both

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter*, speaking of a parliament in the reign of king *Richard II*, wherein a subsidy was given only by the better sort, and the commons spar’d, says (in the person of a justice of peace) “ I myself once moved it in “ parliament, in the time of queen *Elizabeth*, who de- “ fired much to spare the common people, and I did it by “ her commandment; but, when we call up the subsidy-

“ books, we found the sum but small, when the 30 “ pound men (perhaps the *cypher* is added by mistake) “ were left out.” See *Raleigh’s Prærogative of Parlia- ments*.

<sup>b</sup> *Heywood Townshend*, fol. 244, 245.

<sup>c</sup> *Dewees’s Journal*, fol. 651, 652.

<sup>d</sup> *Townshend’s Hist. Coll.* fol. 278.



in arms and shipping, came under the consideration of this house. As one remedy against them, it was propos'd, to *restrain the transportation of ordnance*, and a bill to prohibit the same was read a second time on the 8th of *December*; but, before it was committed, there pass'd many speeches upon this important argument. It seems, a patent for transporting them had been granted to Sir *Henry Nevill*, and the queen's duty thereby rose to three thousand pounds a year; yet this profit no ways ballanc'd the inconveniences. For, being carried into all countries that were friends with *Dunkirk*, and confederates with *Spain*, the *Spaniards* had such plenty, that they now usually sold a hundred weight of iron ordnance for seven ducats and a half. The laws were moreover urg'd in 33 of *Henry VIII*, and 2 of *Edward VI*, which prohibited the transporting of gun metal; and tho' guns were not then made of iron, they now were; therefore it was within the power of those laws. Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in approbation of this motion, said,

“ I am sure heretofore one ship of her majesty's was able to beat ten *Spaniards*; but now, by reason of our own ordnance, we are hardly match'd one to one. And, if the *Low Countries* should either be subdued by the *Spaniard*, or yield unto him upon a conditional peace, or shall join in amity with the *French*, as we see them daily inclining, I say, there is nothing does so much threaten the conquest of this kingdom, as the *transportation of ordnance*; and therefore I think it a good and speedy course to proceed by way of petition, lest we be cut off from our desires, either by the *Upper House*, or before, by the shortness and sudden ending of the parliament.”<sup>a</sup> The generality agreed with him in the needfulness of restraining this privilege; however, they proceeded by way of bill, which pass'd the commons, but not the lords; for other business interfering, it fell asleep till the end of the session, and then the speaker *Crook*, who was to represent it to her majesty, forgetting his promise, it came to nothing.

Against  
the transpor-  
tation of ord-  
nance.

For repealing  
the statute of  
tillage.

ON the 9th of *December* the dispute was renew'd, whether the statute of tillage should be continued? This statute was made in the time of dearth, and Sir *Walter Ralegh* agreed with

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter Ralegh* has also written upon this subject in two or three places. In his *discourse, touching a war with Spain, and the protecting of the Netherlands*, written not long after he made the aforesaid speech, having told king *James* how he remember'd, that within these thirty years, two of her majesty's ships would have commanded one hundred sail of theirs; and that when he was a captain in *Ireland*, a hundred foot and a hundred horse would have beaten all the force of the strongest provinces: he adds, “ but of late I have known an *Easterling* fight, hand to hand, with one of her majesty's ships; and that the *Irish* have, in this last war, overthrown with even or far less number. The *Netherlands* (continues he) in those days, had wooden guns, and the *Irish* had darts; but the one is now furnish'd with as great a number of *English* ordnance as ourselves, and the other with as good pikes and muskets as *England* hath.” See *Ralegh's three Discourses*, 8vo. 1702, p. 16. In another *discourse* he afterwards writ, *touching a marriage between prince Henry of England, and a daughter of Savoy*, speaking of the *Netherlands*, he has these words; “ Whereas, in my time, I have known one of her majesty's ships command forty of theirs to strike sail; they will now undertake us one to one, and not give us a good morrow: they master us both in their number and in their mariners; and they have our own ordnance to break our own bones withal. We had reason to help them; but not to help them up to that height, as to make them able to tread upon our own heads.” Thus in the old MS. of that *discourse*, communicated by the noble earl of *Oxford*. Lastly, in another *discourse* Sir *Walter Ralegh* wrote after this, I mean that *on the invention of Shipping*, he has more copiously argued upon this head. These arguments I shall here also annex, both as what will exemplify the constancy of his judgment, and prove the genuineness of these discourses; tho' two of them are posthumous publications, and the other was never publish'd. “ There is no state, says he, grown in haste, but that of the *United Provinces*, especially in their sea-forces; and by a contrary way to that of *France*, or *Spain*; the latter by invasion, the former by oppression. For I myself may remember, when one ship of her majesty's would have made forty *Hollanders* strike sail, and to come to anchor; they did not then dispute *de mari libero*; but readily acknowledg'd the *English* to be *Dominii maris Britannici*.” And a little further: “ But whence comes this dispute? not from the encrease of numbers, not because our neighbours breed more mariners than we do, nor from the greatness of their trade in all parts of the world; for the *French* creep

“ into all corners of *America* as they do, and the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* employ more ships by many (fishing trades excepted) than the *Netherlands*: but it comes from the detestable covetousness of such particular persons as have gotten licences, and given way to the transporting of *English* ordnance. *Fuit hæc sapientia quondam, publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis*; and that in so great abundance, that not only our good friends, the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, have furnished themselves, and have them lying on their wharfs to sell to others; but all other nations have had from us, not only to furnish their fleets, but to garnish all their forts and other places, fortifying their coasts; without which, the *Spanish* king durst not have dismounted so many pieces of brass in *Naples*, and elsewhere, to arm his great fleet in 1588. But it was directly proved in the lower house of parliament, *Anno . . . .* of queen *Elizabeth*, that there were landed in *Naples* above 140 *Culverins English*; since which time, and not long since, it is lamentable that so many have been transported into *Spain*. But those belike who then determin'd it, and the transporters, have now forsaken the country; and tho' the procurers remain, I am resolv'd they also have forsaken the care of his majesty's estate, and the honour of this nation. I urge not this point, as thinking it unfit to furnish his majesty's good friends and allies, who have had with us one common enemy for many years. But all politic states have well observed this precept, *Ut sic tractarent amicum, tanquam inimicum futurum*; for, what are all the ships in the world to be valued at, other than a company of *floating tubs*, were they not furnish'd with ordnance, either to offend others, or defend themselves? If a ship of 1000 tons had in her 1000 musketeers, and never a great gun; with one *Cumster*, carrying ten or thirteen *Culverins*, she may be beaten to pieces, and her men slaughter'd. Certainly the advantage, which the *English* had by their bows and arrows in former times, was never so great as we might now have had by our iron ordnance, if we had either kept it within the land, kept it from our enemies, or imparted it to our friends moderately: for, as by the former, we obtained many notable victories, and made ourselves masters of many parts of *France*; so by the latter, we might have commanded the seas, and thereby the trade of the world itself. But we have now, to our future prejudice, and how far to our present judice I know not, forged hammers, and deliver'd them out of our hands to break our own bones withal.” See *Judicious and select Essays by Sir Walter Ralegh*. 8vo. 1650, p. 27, 32, &c.



those who were for having it now repeal'd. His reason for it was, because " many poor men  
 " are not able to find seed to sow to much ground, as they are bound to plough, which they  
 " must do, or incur the penalty of the law. Besides, all nations abound with corn. *France*  
 " offer'd the queen to serve *Ireland* with corn for sixteen shillings a quarter, which is but two  
 " shillings the bushel; if we should sell it so here, the ploughman would be beggar'd. The  
 " *Low-countryman* and the *Hollander*, who never sow corn, have, by their industry, such plen-  
 " ty, that they will serve other nations. The *Spaniard*, who often wants corn, had we never  
 " so much plenty, would never be beholden to the *Englishman* for it, neither to the *Low-coun-*  
 " *tryman*, nor to *France*, but will fetch it even of the very *Barbarian*; and that which the  
 " *Barbarian* has been suing for these two hundred years (I mean for traffick of corn into *Spain*)  
 " this king, in policy, has set at liberty of himself, because he will not be beholden to other  
 " nations. And therefore, I think, the best course is, to set it at liberty, and leave every man  
 " free, which is the desire of a true *Englishman*." <sup>a</sup> After other speeches, it was put to the  
 question, whether the bill of tillage should be committed? and it pass'd in the affirmative.  
 But, it having pleas'd her majesty to license Mr. *Dormer*, under her letters patents, with a *Non-*  
*obstante*, this statute, to enclose three hundred acres of ground, he prayed the house to admit  
 of this proviso; therefore it was put to the question, and carried. The *Noes* demanded a division  
 of the house: whereupon Mr. *Richard Martin* observ'd, the *Noes* had always carried it in this  
 parliament when they came to a division; many staying with the *Yea's*, because they would not  
 lose their places. Sir *Walter Raleigh* rose to answer him; but many hurrying out to the divi-  
 sion, he and *Cecyll*, it seems, took some displeasure; for, after the division, when Mr. *Dormer's*  
 proviso carried it again by a majority, whereby the house was set quiet, Sir *Walter Raleigh* said,  
 " I thought I had deserved of the house to have been heard to speak, as well as he that spake <sup>For liberty of</sup>  
 " before the division; and in that I offer'd to speak, and was not heard, I had wrong: for <sup>speech.</sup>  
 " him that last spake, it was out of humour, and not out of judgment. Notwithstanding, I <sup>Against an</sup>  
 " think it a *monopoly*, and the speech to be both perswasion, and to lay a great imputation up- <sup>enclosure.</sup>  
 " on the house: and this is all I would have said before."

NEXT day came on the question, whether the tax for *Dover-haven* should be continued by  
 force of the statute; which was *three-pence* a ton for the burthen of every ship. One mem-  
 ber, Mr. *Swale*, objected, that the charge amounted to at least a *thousand-marks* a year, yet  
 the haven was never the better; and that it was grown a proverbial wish of any tax, that it  
 would not continue like that of *Dover-haven*. But Mr. *John Boys* shewed the conveniency of this  
 haven, and how many hundred pounds worth of stones were ready to repair it: Sir *John For-*  
*tescue* also observ'd, what large ships of burthen it would receive; how necessary it is for the  
 passage of all merchants: as also that the tax was small, and the time might be when it would  
 need a great tax at one time. Lastly, Mr. *Comptroller* having likewise express'd how impru-  
 dent it was to take away this tax, now they were debating how to defend themselves from the  
*Dunkirkers*, which would weaken the most necessary haven of *England*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was  
 more particular in these words: " There are divers havens which have been famous, and now  
 " are grown to decay, as *Timmouth*, *Seaton* and *Winchelsey*; *Rye* is of little receipt; *Sandwich*  
 " (as a burgh of that town, Mr. *Peak*, said this parliament) is even a going. The tax being <sup>For the tax</sup>  
 " employed as it should be, I hold it both good and necessary; and there is no trade of fisher- <sup>to repair Do-</sup>  
 " men to *Newfoundland*, but by this haven of *Dover*; which, if the tax be taken away, and <sup>ver-haven.</sup>  
 " that go to decay, her majesty shall lose one of the best and most necessary havens of *Eng-*  
 " *land*, which hath all the commodities that Mr. *Comptroller* shewed, and lies opposite to all  
 " our enemies countries, who may soon be with us, and we not able to resist them, or help  
 " ourselves, should we want this haven. I think it therefore fit this matter should be con-  
 " sider'd of, and committed:" and so it was.<sup>b</sup>

THE 12th of *December* was read, the third time, a bill for the more diligent resort to church  
 on *Sundays*, which produced several speeches in the house. The recusants were very numerous  
 at this time, no less than fifteen hundred in *Yorkshire*, as Dr. *Bennet* affirm'd, which might be  
 one reason for now urging this bill; but those, who were no ways popishly inclin'd, perceived

<sup>a</sup> *Townshend*, fol. 299.

<sup>b</sup> *Idem*, fol. 309. See further on this subject, Sir *Walter Raleigh's Memorial* to queen *Elizabeth*, touching the  
 port of *Dover*; being a brief discourse, declaring how hon-  
 ourable and profitable to her majesty, and how necessary  
 and commodious for the realm, the making of *Dover-*  
*haven* shall be, and in what sort; with how little charge  
 and great perfection the same may be accomplish'd: printed

in a pamphlet, entitled, *An Essay on Ways and Means to*  
*maintain the Honour and Safety of England*, &c. published  
 by Sir *Henry Sherer*, Knt. 4to. 1701. There was a certi-  
 ficate, touching *Dover-haven*, from Mr. *William Borlough*,  
 author of several other maritime discourses, in a volume  
 of Sir *Francis Walsingham's State Papers*, relating to the  
 navy, fol. 216; as I find in his *Table-book* of their con-  
 tents (before mention'd) p. 41.



Against the  
defects in the  
*Sabbath* bill.

several insufferable defects in it; as Mr. *John Bond*, who, among other arguments, was not for exposing the Ecclesiastical authority among their enemies, as more impotent than a twelve-penny fine. At last there was a proviso added to it, "That if any man came eight times a year to church, and said the usual divine service twice every *Sunday*, and holy-day in his house, with his whole family, that should be a sufficient dispensation." But the bill, weak enough of itself, was overthrown by this conjunction, after Sir *Walter Raleigh* had shewed, "That all the church-wardens of every shire must come to the assizes, to give information to the grand jury. Say then there be a hundred and twenty parishes in a shire, there must now come extraordinarily two hundred and forty church-wardens; and say, that but two in a parish offend in a quarter of a year, that makes four hundred and eighty persons (with the offenders) to appear: what great multitudes this will bring together! what quarelling and danger may happen, besides giving authority to a mean church-warden! how prejudicial this may be!" with divers other reasons against it, and instances of the ambiguities and equivocations in it: and as for the proviso newly added, "it was a plain toleration from coming to church; and the parson could not prevent or constrain any, if they read service at home." Hereupon it was put to the question, and the house was divided; the *Yeas* went forth, and were a hundred and five, and the *Noes* within were a hundred and six: so it was thrown out by one voice. But the *Yeas* urging they had the speaker's voice, which would make it even; this grew a question, whether he had a vote? Sir *Edward Hobby* thought he had one; but Sir *Walter Raleigh* argued, "that he was foreclos'd of his voice, by taking that place which it had pleased them to impose upon him; and that he was to be indifferent for both parties;" withal shewed, "that by the old order of the house, the bill was lost:" the speaker himself confirm'd his observation, and confess'd, he had not, by custom, any vote. Then Mr. *Boyer*, secretary to the lord-treasurer *Buckhurst*, would have retrieved it, by suggesting, there was some foul play; declaring, a member was pulled back by the sleeve at going out, and charged Mr. *Dale* of the *Middle-Temple*: to which Sir *Walter Raleigh* answer'd, in a humorous manner, "Why! if it please you, it is a small matter to pull one by the sleeve, for so I have done myself oftentimes;" which, tho' a familiar phrase for checking or reproving one's self for any weakness or error, yet a very disingenuous and incongruous construction was forced upon it by the *Comptroller* and *Cecyll*; as if, "large was his conscience, or very flexible," that, in a matter of this consequence, would be drawn backwards or forwards by the sleeve," *Raleigh* took no notice of them, and the speaker being allowed to have no voice, the bill was thrown up, and they took their leave of it. Besides the speeches *Raleigh* made in parliament, which we have thus drawn together, as far as they are upon record, he appears in the committees of many other bills, and in several conferences with the lords, as may be seen in the journal books of both houses; but being only mention'd in general, we need not here be so particular as to recite them: therefore shall only observe, that the commons, having granted the queen a liberal subsidy, and her majesty given her royal assent to nineteen publick and ten private acts, this last parliament, in her reign, was dissolv'd on the 19th of *December*.

His picture.

IN the beginning of the year 1602, Mr. *Carew's* *Dedication* of his *Survey of Cornwall* is dated, as was before intimated; wherein that author has, with such energy, copied forth the most amiable distinctions of *Raleigh's* mind: this agreeable picture thereof, and the many other noble attitudes in which we have seen it display'd, have made me inquisitive what portraitures remained of his *person*, that we might better judge of the correspondence between them; how well, in one aspect, the sprightliness of genius consoorted with the solidity of judgment; how well, in one figure, the roughness of war, with the splendor and magnificence of courts. I have, at last, had the satisfaction of seeing these characters united in that portrait of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, still remaining with the descendants of his family.<sup>a</sup> It is a half length, representing him in the silver armour before-mention'd, and richly adorn'd in the skirts, the sword and belt with diamonds, rubies and pearls. It seems, by the darkness and fulness of the hair, with the freshness and clearness of the countenance, to have been the picture of him before his *Guianian* expedition above related; but the inscription, upon another very old draught in the same posture and habit, mentions his government of *Jersey*.<sup>b</sup> Farther, to describe this piece here, will be needless, since it is now brought into sculpture by an excellent hand, and ready to be made publick. Another painting I have also seen of him, and this is at full length; probably an

<sup>a</sup> It is in the possession of captain *William Eliott*, nephew of the lady *Eliott*, grand-daughter of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; and to that gentleman we are oblig'd for the liber-

ty of bringing the same into print.

<sup>b</sup> Among the collections of his grace the duke of *Devon* at *Knock* in *Kent*.



original. It agrees very well with the foregoing, in the form of the face, and colour of the hair and beard; at least as far as may be expected from the hands of different artists, some alteration perhaps by repairs, and some difference of years in the object; whereby he seems, in this last, more ruddy and tann'd than the other. For, by the inscription thereon, partly still legible, it appears, that this picture was painted in this last year of the queen, above-mention'd; and that his son *Walter*, who is likewise here drawn by him, was then eight years of age. Further, in this picture the stature of Sir *Walter Ralegh* measures about six feet, is well shap'd, and not too slender: he is apparell'd in a white fatten pink'd vest, close sleev'd to the wrist; and over the body of it a brown doublet, finely flower'd and embroider'd with pearl; his belt of the same colour and ornament, in which hangs his sword; and on the other side, over the right hip, is seen the pommel of his dagger. In his hat, which he has on, is a little black feather, with a large ruby and pearl-drop at the bottom of the sprig in place of the button. His trunks or breeches, with his stockings and ribbon-garters, fring'd at the end, are all white; and buff shoos, tied with white ribbons. His son, standing under his left elbow, is fair and prettily featur'd; dress'd in a blue silk jacket and trowses, guarded down with narrow silver galloon; stockings blue, and white shoos; gloves in the right hand, hat or cap in the left, and a silver sword by his side.<sup>a</sup> A year before this, the lady *Ralegh's* picture was also painted, as appears by the date upon it. It is a half-length like the first, but painted on board; a high finish'd piece, in the labour'd manner of those times, by some masterly hand; has been well kept, and is doubtless an original. It represents her a fair handsome woman, turn'd perhaps of thirty. She has on, a dark colour'd hanging-sleeve robe, tufted on the arms; and under it, a close-bodied gown of white fatten, flower'd with black, with close sleeves down to her wrist; has a rich ruby in her ear, bedrop'd with large pearls; a lac'd whisk rising above the shoulders; her bosom uncover'd, and a jewel hanging thereon; with a large chain of pearl round her neck, down to her waist.<sup>b</sup> These are all the paintings I have seen of them, that I can count authentic, or most likely to bear any true resemblance. But have been credibly inform'd of a picture of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in miniature, taken not long before his death; and another at large, representing him also in a white suit, which he had, beset with jewels, to the value of threescore thousand pounds; and that one diamond thereof, worth a hundred pounds, remained in the family till the beginning of the late queen's reign. In this picture there is a ribbon-garter, fring'd at the ends, ty'd about his left arm. This, according to the tradition that remains in his family, was his lady's (otherwise might be thought one of the queen's favours at the *Tilt-Yard*) which he brought one morning, when he was oblig'd to attend her majesty early, as a token, that, for dispatch, he had rode a hundred and twenty miles since he took leave of her late the night before. But such a number of jewels, which might be call'd extravagance in others, was no expence to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who had many other kinds of treasure, as well as this in *Spanish* prizes, or otherwise in traffick with foreign nations; and as for his stately appearance in, by wearing of them upon some special occasions, it is not only confirm'd by circumstances, in part before-mention'd, but also by some authors; who are not expected to take notice of it with great commendation: yet the Jesuit *Drexelius* might perhaps have found more dazling examples to dress out his *Dialogue upon Attire*, nearer the time he wrote it,<sup>c</sup> and to have parallel'd with the *Roman* emperors he produces, than *Ralegh*; even tho' Sir *Walter* might, upon some great assemblies at court, have his very *shoos* bedeck'd with precious stones, that exceeded the value of *six thousand six hundred pieces of gold*, as that author relates.<sup>d</sup> All I think here further observable upon the pictures of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, is, that after so many which may be called genuine, and many more pretended to be so, still in being, there have been such frequent occasions of engraving his effigies for his books; yet we have

His son's.

And his lady's.

His rich apparel.

<sup>a</sup> This picture of Sir *Walter* and his son, did belong to the *Careys* of *Beddington*, whence, by marriage with a daughter of the late Sir *Stephen Leonard* Baronet, it was removed to *Hest Wickam* in *Kent*; near which place, at a gentleman's seat, where there is a copy that was taken from it, I lately saw it.

<sup>b</sup> This also remains with captain *Elwes* before-mention'd.

<sup>c</sup> As lord *Hay* and others in king *James's* reign, but above all the duke of *Buckingham*, with whom it was common, at an ordinary dancing, to have his cloaths trimm'd with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hatbands, cockades and earrings; to be yoked with great and manifold ropes and knots of pearl; in short, to be manacled, fetter'd and imprison'd in jewels; inasmuch, that, "at his going over to *Paris* in 1625, he had 27

suits of cloaths made, the richest that embroidery, lace, silk, velvet, silver, gold and gems could contribute: "one of which was a white uncut velvet, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at *four-score thousand pounds*, besides a great feather stuck all over with diamonds; as were also his sword, girdle, hatband and spurs." This from a MS. in the *Harleian* library. B. II. 90. C. 7. fol. 642.

<sup>d</sup> His words are, "Gualterus Raiolæus, ille apud Anglicanam Cleopatram nimis gratiosus homo, cuius est in aula crepidas gestare ita gemmis distinctus, ut 6600, hoc est, sex millium sexcentorum aureorum, et amplius, aestimarentur. Vide Trifinegillus Christianus: seu triplex cultus, conscientie, cœlitum, corporis." Authore Hieremia Drexelio. Duaci 8vo. 1633. lib. 3. cap. 10. scđ. 5. p. 469.



never had, till now, more than *two sculptures*, which can pretend to have been taken from any paintings; that even these are different from any above describ'd; and that all the rest of the copper prints we have of him, whereof near half a score might be reckon'd, are copies only from the last of those two.<sup>a</sup>

The number  
of voyages  
he set forth to  
Virginia.

AMONG the rest of the particulars, we shall briefly relate of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in this last year of the queen's reign; a voyage, which he now set out for the supply of his colony in *Virginia*, is principally to be remember'd. For tho' he had made an assignment of his patent to other undertakers, as is before observ'd; yet they making no successful progress, he was so regardful of the *English* he had planted there, that he sent to them almost every other year, even from the time of the said assignment. For, besides the five voyages before epitomiz'd, which himself chiefly was at the expence of, for the first plantation of *Virginia*, we are well inform'd of five voyages more; which, since those, he set forth thither<sup>b</sup> for the relief of his countrymen, as well as for further discoveries of those parts, and alliance with the people; and that the last of these voyages, under the command of captain *Samuel Mace*, was made this year. In all which, Sir *Walter Raleigh* might very well have disburs'd forty thousand pounds, as was before observ'd; since, in a *French* author (lately come to hand) I have found the two first voyages only to *Virginia* cost him and his friends threescore thousand crowns:<sup>c</sup> yet were not the *English* so securely establish'd in this most promising plantation, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* would have had them; for, from the short account we have of this last voyage, and other circumstances, we may observe the said colony was much impair'd by the barbarous *Indians*, as indeed *Raleigh's* purse seems also to have been by these frequent communications to it. Nor was it without much blood, as well as money, that this settlement was at last fix'd by the succeeding undertakers in the next reign: and all owing to the want of that timely and competent assistance from the queen or state, whereby the most worthy attempts for the publick good were even in these, as well as other times, so generally starv'd. But *Raleigh* afterwards gave some emphatical reasons for this unhappiness; whence we may evidently perceive, it was to the queen's consulting so much, and relying upon the persuasions of her scribes, men unexperienc'd in all warlike or adventurous enterprizes, narrow domestick politicians, or mere courtiers, who were most constant at her ear; that she so frequently *did things by halves*,<sup>d</sup> as well in conquests and discoveries, as in rewards and preferments, especially of military men.<sup>e</sup>

Thus

<sup>a</sup> Of these two *sculptures* or *prints* of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the first is an extraordinary rarity; insomuch, that many *virtuosi* and antiquaries, who have searched after, and collected the graven heads of eminent persons, for many years together, have not so much as ever heard of it: the felicity and the favour are therefore the greater, that I have been oblig'd with the sight of it by general *Dormer*, who has procur'd a fresh and fair impression of it from *France* into his choice and costly *collections*; for it is a *French* piece, in the *Octavo* size, and graven by *Thomas Leau*, an artist, who was encouraged by some of our nobility in these times for the excellence of his hand. It represents him in a close-bodied silk coat, laced; agrees pretty well in the features with those before describ'd, especially the high forehead and cornering up of the hair above the right temple. It has a compartment or group at the bottom, displaying his victory over the fleet in the bay of *Cadix*; yet, in the large *Latin* inscription, expressing his titles and offices of command, there is mention made of his government of *Jersey*: so I conclude it was graven between his preferment thereto, and the queen's death. The other print of him, is that which we see prefix'd to most of the editions of his *History of the World*, whether to the first edition I am not yet certain, the oldest that I have seen being among the heads, annexed to *Henry Holland's Basilogia*, was graven by *Simon Pass* in the year 1617, representing him in a close-bodied suit, thickly laced; a full laced ruff and truncheon in his hand: also when he was more aged and corpulent, than we see him in any of those before-mention'd. By the visible erasure of a long inscription that was at the bottom, for the substitution of that which is more brief, the plate should seem to have been graven before that year; but by the truncheon in his hand, not till he had his command as general for his last expedition; yet, being probably taken from some authentic painting, it lay most ready to be copied, when any print was wanting for his lesser works. This is all I shall here observe upon the pictures of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; and, for much of this, we are obliged to the knowledge and industry of the ingenious Mr. *Porter*.

<sup>b</sup> See an excellent discourse upon the benefits that may grow to *England* by *American* plantations, entitled, *Virginia's Verger*; in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. 4.

<sup>c</sup> This particular I find in that scarce book, mention'd before in this life, fol. 34. entitled, *L'Histoire Notable de la Floride, &c.* 8vo. Paris 1586, dedicated by M. *Basani*, an eminent mathematician, *A illustre et vertueux Seigneur Walter Raleigh Chevalier Anglois, &c.* That editor, in this dedication, expressing, among other commendations, the laudable and unshaken constancy wherewith *Raleigh* persever'd, in advancing the honour and profit of his country, instances as most evident and fresh in memory, *Les deux voyages faits depuis deux ans en ça, par vos vaisseaux, vers les parties occidentales; ou vous & aucuns de vos amys n'avez moins employe de Soixante Mil' escus.* This dedication is followed with some *Latin* verses on Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by *Johannes Auratus*, the *French* king's poet and interpreter of the *Greek* tongue, an epigram in *Latin*, and an anagram upon Sir *Walter Raleigh's* name, in *French*, by *Martin Basanier*: And lastly, another *Latin* poem, in praise of those who had made discoveries in the new world, by *Richard Hakluyt*, then in *France*; from all which it will appear, how highly Sir *Walter Raleigh* was distinguish'd by his said contemporaries among and even above the preceding discoverers of unknown countries. For the sight and use of this scarce treatise among others, as well as several curious observations relating to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I must acknowledge myself much beholden to the rare library and courteous communications of Sir *Hans Sloane*.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's* discourse, touching a marriage between prince *Henry* of *England* and a daughter of *Savoy*, fol. MS. p. 14.

<sup>e</sup> "That her majesty, in her advancement of her men of war, says Sir *Walter Raleigh*, did sooner believe other men, than herself; a disease unto which many wise princes beside herself have been subject: I say, that such a confidence, altho' it may seem altogether to excuse her noble nature, yet can it not, but in some sort, accuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that when



Thus those speculative counsellors, tho' they could not hinder brave and active spirits from budding out into noble beginnings, of most hopeful benefit to the common-wealth; yet could, by stopping the channel of supplies or encouragements, blite them from advancing to any fruitful or profitable conclusions; and this, only to bring down those of superior service and merit, to a level with themselves.

WHETHER the expence of those voyages was the cause of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* falling, about this time, his estate, or some part of it in *Ireland*, is not so expressly told us, as that it was become less advantageous to him since the late rebellion in that kingdom. But we find, that a little before Sir *George Carew*, now president of *Munster*, took the castle of *Carrigfoyl Kerry*, Mr. *Richard Boyle* (afterwards earl of *Cork*) not only bought a ship of Sir *Walter Ralegh's*, call'd the *Pilgrim*, but soon after the said president conquer'd *Berehaven* castle, he, having advised the said Mr. *Boyle* to buy also Sir *Walter's* lands in *Munster*, sent him into *England* with two letters; the one to secretary *Cecyll*, giving an account of Mr. *Boyle's* abilities, desired, that he would introduce him to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and recommended him to this great man (says my author) as a proper purchaser of his said lands; the other letter was written, by Sir *George Carew*, to Sir *Walter Ralegh* himself, acquainting him, that the bearer was capable of making the purchase; and that he thought he might be willing to dispose of it, since the management thereof, in those turbulent times, gave him a great deal of trouble, and the income it produced was very inconsiderable: so, after a meeting, the bargain was struck up, and conveyances executed. These lands, soon after in the peaceable times, became a great estate to Mr. *Boyle*: and this purchase, as he afterwards gratefully remember'd in the *Memoirs* he wrote of his own life when he was earl of *Cork*, was the third addition and rise to his estate. <sup>a</sup>

Sells his estate in *Ireland*.

As for the estate at *Sherborne*, it appears, he now settled it upon his son *Walter*; and that the deeds were drawn in *Midsummer*, this present year, for so we have it from his own words. <sup>b</sup> This settlement, as I understand it, was of the remainder of the lease for ninety-nine years: for tho' the bishop of *Sarum*, Dr. *Henry Cotton*, had the last year assign'd over to the queen, the fee and inheritance also of the said premisses, and her majesty granted the same by her letters patent to Sir *Walter Ralegh* before her death, yet he did not make them over to his son, till the seventh year of her successor. <sup>c</sup> The reason of settling his estate upon his son at this time, appears also to have risen from a challenge, which he had lately received from Sir *Amias Preston* (who had been knighted at *Cadiz* by the earl of *Essex* since we last spoke of him) and which *Ralegh* says himself, "he intended to answer." <sup>d</sup> The cause of their quarrel I never could meet with in print or manuscript; yet conceive *Ralegh* had good reason on his side, because he afterwards shewed publicly himself, how deliberate he was in his preparations for it, by sorting his writings, and how resolved, by settling his estate. <sup>e</sup> But from what excellent hands soever Dr. *Fuller* received his information, that, upon some distaste, Sir *Amias* sent *Ralegh* this challenge; we may be pretty certain from what *Ralegh* has mention'd, that the said information, or this author's account of it, is erroneous, where he adds, "that Sir *Walter* declin'd it." Indeed, I agree he might do so, "without any abatement to his valour, wherein he had abundantly satisfied all possibility of suspicion, and with great advancement of his judgment; for having (continues *Fuller*) a fair and fixed estate, with wife and children (child he should have said) being a privy-counsellor (here he mistakes again) and Lord-warden of the *Stannaries*;" my said author thinks, "Sir *Walter* looked upon it as an uneven lay to stake himself against Sir *Amias*, a private and single person, tho' of good birth and courage; yet of no considerable estate." <sup>f</sup> But if *Ralegh* did accept of the challenge, as it appears plainly he did, when he might have had such fair reasons of evasion; those inequalities

Settles his estate in *England*.

In a challenge.

"the prosperous actions are so exceedingly priz'd, the actors are so unprosperous and neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all nations, is this; that those, who are nearell the person of princes (which martial men seldom are) can, with no good grace, commend, or at least magnify, a profession far more noble than their own: seeing therein, they should only remind their matters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use, than themselves." *History of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 6. sect. 2.

<sup>a</sup> See an extract of the said *Memoirs*, in the life of the late earl of *Orrery*, by *Eustace Budgell*, Esq; 8vo. 1732, p. 13, 14, 15. But, it seems, the said earl of *Cork* was afterwards sadly plunder'd of his great estate, for, at the breaking out of the rebellion, he was taken, and his estate was sold to another nobleman. <sup>b</sup> The same is said of Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

"and day, to preserve ourselves and our castles; for all we had without doors is lost; and poor I, that, besides my house, demesnes, parks, iron-works, fishings, and other commodities, had a revenue of fifty pounds per diem, cannot now truly say, that I have fifty pounds per annum in certain revenue." Thus in the earl of *Cork's* letter to the lord *Newburgh*, chancellor of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland* MS. in the *Harleian* library, B. II. 90. C. 7. fol. 706.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *Walter Ralegh's* letter to his lady, anno 1603. in his remains (last edition 12<sup>vo</sup>. 1726) p. 193.

<sup>c</sup> The case of *Carew Ralegh*, Esq; at the committee for sale of delinquents estates, MS. from the collection of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Baker*, of St. *John's* College, Cambridge.

<sup>d</sup> See the trial of Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

<sup>e</sup> Idem.

<sup>f</sup> *Fuller's Worthies of England* &c. &c.



in *Preston* will either prove Sir *Walter* a generous adversary, or that the injury he received from Sir *Amias* was indispensable. Now this representation seems to have been officiously and unnecessarily shaped to make *Raleigh's* actions conformable with his writings; for (continues our said author) “this is consonant to what he has written so judiciously about *duels*, condemning “those for ill honours *where the hangman gives the garland.*”<sup>a</sup> However, they were afterwards reconcil'd, as *Fuller* concludes; and, upon the whole, Sir *Walter Raleigh* seems to have shewn a much more creditable conduct herein, than Sir *Francis Vere* a little while before had done in the difference between him and a certain nobleman.<sup>b</sup>

Circumstances preliminary to his fall.

BUT here we are no longer to take notice of such open adversaries; for now, in the very close of this year, on the 24th of *March*, ends the long reign of glorious *Elizabeth*, and now sets the sun of *Raleigh's* external honour and felicity; yet, like that ever active planet, will shine resplendently to the heavens, when he is clouded or eclipsed to mankind. How he fell into this eclipse, record, the only, or greatest luminary of time past, does but dimly or doubtfully discover. All we can do, is diligently to assemble every unextinguish'd spark which darts any light this way; then see if they will afford that guidance to the truth, by being congregated, which they have not yet been observ'd to yield asunder. And first, we may remember to have before read of the prepossessions which *Effex* is affirm'd to have instill'd unto king *James* against *Raleigh*; and, after the earl's death, there are several circumstances implying that *Cecyll* did the like. For tho' *Cecyll* and *Raleigh* join'd against *Effex* and his faction; yet, when these were overthrown, they divided, and seem to have had a trial of skill with one another. And one author says, that “*Raleigh*, wanting strength, tho' not wit, to be the treasurer's rival, “perish'd, because not thought to own humility enough to be his servant; it being more safe “at court to have many enemies of equal power, than one false ambitious friend that has attained to the absoluteness of command.”<sup>c</sup> In short, *Cecyll* seems to have used those arts of insinuation with king *James* before his coming into *England*; to which *Raleigh* could not bend himself. That he then held clandestine correspondences with *Scotland*, is apparent from that story in Sir *Henry Wotton*, who tells us, “that her majesty, taking the air on *Black-beath*, “attended by *Cecyll* when the post rode by; and, hearing he came from *Scotland*, she called “for his packet: *Cecyll*, tho' he knew it contained letters, which, to discover, were as so “many serpents, yet, making more shew of diligence than doubt, to obey, called in great “haste for a knife to rip it up; but, approaching at some distance with it, he told the queen “it looked and smelled so ill favour'dly, coming out of the filthy budget, that it must needs “be air'd first, because he knew how offensive ill scents were to her majesty: so got opportunity to separate what he would not have seen,”<sup>d</sup> and she smelt nothing of the matter. One talent above the rest *Cecyll* was not wanting in to recommend him to this new sovereign; and this was such a faculty of discovering plots, as if he thought he should be looked on as useless without them. For, as a noble author observes, “It seemed as necessary for him, that there “should be *treasons*, as for the state, that they should be prevented. And, tho' he created “none, yet he fomented some conspiracies, that he might give frequent evidences of his loyalty; having not the advantage of others in person to gain estimation, therefore did it by “these eminent services:”<sup>e</sup> and as for king *James*, he was so apprehensive, so susceptible of such impressions, that, when he was but cross'd or disturb'd in his sports, he would charge people with *treason*: nay, we are particularly told by those who were otherwise friends to his memory, that his carver, once at table, giving him accidentally a nick on the finger (as he was routing in the dish) his majesty, at the sight of his own blood, could not forbear calling out *treason*; and that *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, was wont to make himself merry with this expression: and all this instanced, by my said author, to shew, that for any clamour of this

<sup>a</sup> This curious and copious digression against duels, which that author alludes to, is in Sir *Walter Raleigh's History of the World*, lib. V. cap. III. S. XVII. sect. 2. Sir *Walter* has also, in his *instructions to his son*, written a chapter against *Private Quarrels*; in which he no less wisely, than bravely, says, “Thou shalt be in as much “danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel, as in a battle, wherein thou may'st get honour to thyself, and safety to thy prince and country; but, if “thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely, that they “may fear thee after.” And a little further, “I would “not have thee, for any respect, lose thy reputation, or “enlarge publick disgrace; for better it were not to live,

“than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thyself; if it does, it shall be better to compound it “upon good terms, than to hazard thyself; for, if thou “overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the law; if “thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonour'd, &c.”

<sup>b</sup> See the earl of Northumberland's challenge, sent to Sir Francis Vere, with a narrative of the whole proceedings upon it, in the Cottonian library, Titus c. IV. 3.

<sup>c</sup> See the miscellaneous works of Francis Osborne, Esq; the eleventh edit. 1722. vol. 2. p. 75. in his political deductions from the history and death of the earl of *Effex*.

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Henry Wotton's* parallel, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Earl of *Clarendon's* disparity, &c.



kind, king *James's* word was no slander.<sup>a</sup> But more directly to our purpose there is another writer, who, making some critical enquiry into the preliminaries of Sir *Walter's* fall, says, “ Sir *Robert Cecyll*, principal secretary of state, fearing the great abilities of *Raleigh*, and being wearied with the troublesome impertinences of *Gray* and *Cobham*; all which had joined with him in design against the earl of *Essex*, their common enemy; had done their errand to king *James* (whose counsels he desir'd to engross to himself alone) before his coming into England.”<sup>b</sup> And when the king was arriv'd, there was matter enough to exasperate *Cecyll* against *Raleigh*, if, through any design of recrimination, Sir *Walter* did present to his majesty a memorial; wherein “ he reflected heavily upon *Cecyll* in the matter of *Essex*; and, vindicating himself, threw the whole blame upon the other: further laying open (at the end thereof) the conduct of *Cecyll* and his father also, in the matter of the queen of *Scots* (his majesty's mother) bitterly charging the death of this unfortunate queen upon them.” However, says my author, “ this had no influence over the king, and only irritated *Cecyll* the more against *Raleigh*.”<sup>c</sup> But what seems sufficient to have incensed the king also against *Raleigh*, was his being of that party, who, in regard of the inveterate feuds between *England* and *Scotland*, desired the king might be obliged to articles; for, as another writes, “ among these noble and publick spirits, were Sir *John Fortescue*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the lord *Cobham*, &c. all frownded upon after by the king, who had yet the luck to live so long as to change his opinion, and with the number of his countrymen had been limited, and they not suffer'd, like locusts, to devour this kingdom.”<sup>d</sup> There were not wanting still other particulars, which might render *Raleigh* obnoxious to a man of the king's jealous disposition; for “ he had (at the time of his majesty's accession to the throne) the daughter and heir of *Basset* to his *Ward*, who was to be married to his son *Walter*, her estate worth three thousand pounds per annum; but she was (after his condemnation, we suppose) taken from him, and married to Mr. *Henry Howard*, who died suddenly at table; and she was afterwards married to the earl of *Newcastle*, who profess'd he would never have wedded her, if young *Walter Raleigh* had been alive; conceiving her, before God, to be his wife, for they were married as much as children could be.”<sup>e</sup> Now these *Bassetts*, as we find elsewhere, were those of *Umberleigh* and *Heanton-Court* in *Devonshire*; who, being descended from the *Plantagenets*, laid some claim at this very time of the king's entrance to the crown of *England*.<sup>f</sup> But whatever discountenance *Raleigh* might receive at his first meeting of the king, in his journey from *Scotland*,<sup>g</sup> whence he set out on the 5th of *April* 1603, and arrived at *Theobalds*, which was *Cecyll's* seat, on the 3d of *May*, and at *London* four days after; it seems not to have amounted to a peremptory dismissal from his majesty's service or presence: for we are told, “ the king used *Raleigh* for some weeks with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents which he had received from him being in *Scotland*; for which he gave him thanks. But, finding him a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs and great actions, he feared lest he should engage him in a war.”<sup>h</sup> That *Raleigh* was in company with the king;

<sup>a</sup> See the *Regal Apology*: or, the *Declaration of the Commons*, &c. canvass'd; wherein every objection, and their whole charge against his majesty, is clear'd, and for the most part retorted, 4to. 1648, p. 24, where that instance, of king *James's* fearfulness above related, is mention'd, to clear king *Charles* for continuing *Buckingham* in favour, after king *James* had charged the increase of his last fatal illness to *Buckingham's* applying a plaister, and administering a posset-drink to him.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. *Peter Heylin's Examen Historicum*: or, a discovery and examination of the mistakes, falsities and defects in some *Modern Histories*, 8vo. 1659. in his animadversions on *Fuller's Church History*, p. 170.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. *Welwood's* notes on *Arthur Wilson's* history of king *James*, in the second volume of that collection, which is call'd Dr. *Kenner's* compleat History of *England*, fol. 1706, p. 664; and in a note on the preceding page, the doctor tell us, that memorial of *Raleigh's* to the king against *Cecyll* above-mention'd, is spoken of in a manuscript written by one *Buck*, secretary to chancellor *Egerton*.

<sup>d</sup> *Francis Osborne's Trad. Memorials of the reign of king James*, in the second volume of his works, p. 102.

<sup>e</sup> *Observations on some particular persons and passages*, in a book lately made publick (by *William Sanderfon*) entitled, a *Compleat History of the lives and reigns of Mary queen of Scotland*, and her son *James the sixth of Scotland*, and first of *England*, &c. by a lover of truth, 4to. 1656, p. 12.

<sup>f</sup> “ Sir *Robert Basset*, by his grandmother, descended from the *Plantagenets*, and of the blood royal, in the beginning of king *James's* reign, made some pretensions to the crown of *England*; but, not being able to make them good, was forced to fly into *France* to save his head; to compound for which, together with his generous way of living, he greatly exhausted his estate, selling off no less than thirty manors of land; tho' there is now a fair estate belonging to the heir of the family.” *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, fol. 114. See also *Wood's Ath. Oxon.* vol. I. col. 366.

<sup>g</sup> Sir *Richard Baker's Chronicle*. Also Sir *John Hawles*, in his *Reply to the Magistracy and Government of England*, vindicated, &c. fol. 1689. more expressly says, “ *Cobham* and *Raleigh* were not permitted to come at the king, upon his journey into *England*, and had word sent them, they might spare their labour.” But *Stow* says, when the king came towards *York*, his train increased by such numbers of gentlemen from the South, as made provision so dear, that he was fain to publish an inhibition against the inordinate access: so that many were stop'd in their way. Thus perhaps the countermand might not be particular of any person; however some, as we see, apply it to *Raleigh*, as others have also done to *Cobham*; affirming, the king check'd him for his absence from his charge at that dangerous time, being then Lord-warden of the *Cinque-Ports*. Dr. *Heylin* as before.

<sup>h</sup> A brief relation of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* troubles, &c. 4to. 1669. p. 1. A scarce tract in the *Harleian* library, B. 11.



His writings  
against the  
peace with  
Spain.

and that some of his conversation turned upon this subject we have from his own words, where he says, “ I offer’d his majesty, at my uncle *Carew’s*, to carry two thousand men to invade “ the *Spaniards* without the king’s charge.”<sup>a</sup> And this agrees with his writing a discourse, which he did or intended to deliver to his majesty *against the peace with Spain* now in treaty, which seems to be the same that was a hundred years afterwards publish’d by his grandson.<sup>b</sup> Herein he advis’d his majesty to protect the *Netherlands*; for, says he, *a poor neighbour’s house, set on fire, is to be better guarded or watched, than a great city afar off.* Herein he persuades the king to deliberate, and not come to a hasty conclusion of peace with the *Spaniards*; for, *when the house is built, it is ill mending the foundation.* Herein he says, “ I dare not “ write all I desire; for I know not to whose hands these may come. This I beseech your “ majesty to know, that it proceeds from an humble and a faithful heart, which your majesty “ cannot beat from the love of your royal person and good estate.”<sup>c</sup> And lastly, I shall observe, that herein he also mentions another discourse, “ *how war may be made against Spain “ and the Indies*; which I will, says he, also present your majesty, if you will vouchsafe the “ reading thereof.”<sup>d</sup> but this, I think, has never appear’d in print. The former of these discourses is humbly and discreetly address’d with variety of arguments and observations from his own knowledge and experience; also strengthened with many historical examples of foreign countries, and political maxims or sentences from the ancient classics: all which he had plentifully at command in any topic he undertook to write, or even speak of: such the extensiveness of his remarks and his reading; such the felicity of his memory and talents of application. But, if reason would have prevail’d, it was not wanting also from other hands; so that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was not singular in his dissuasions of the king, but had the satisfaction of seeing foreigners, as well as his own countrymen, subscribe to his sentiments;<sup>e</sup> and the lord *Henry Howard*, tho’ otherwise brought into the court-measures, yet could not, it seems, content to these of a general pacification; therefore was, as well as *Raleigh*, excluded from the benefit of those rich presents, which the marquis of *Rosny*, ambassador from *France*, made to all those courtiers who promoted the same; insomuch that *Howard*, being asked by the king *How it happen’d he had not a jewel as well as the rest?* answer’d, in allusion to *Esop’s* fable, *Non sum gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam.*<sup>f</sup> The causes, which moved the king of *Spain* to sue for this peace, *Raleigh* did afterwards, with great perspicuity, lay open;<sup>g</sup> but his present opposition of it, and the consequences of that, seem to have been the hinges upon which his whole fortune now turn’d; I say, the most apparent cause to me of all those sorrows and sufferings which fill up the melancholy remains of his story. This unfortunate event, which he was above shunning, by trimming and temporising in a matter which he knew so highly concern’d the honour and advantage of his country, he has himself so excellently accounted for, where he shews the ill success which attends such sincere conduct, and how prosperity is the fruit of slavish or hypocritical compliances;<sup>h</sup> that I could not, but from the said occasion of the greatest vicissitude in his life, form the introduction to this account of it.

THUS

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* Remains, the last edit. 12°. 1726. p. 190.

<sup>b</sup> Being one of the *three Discourses* of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, publish’d by *Philip Raleigh, Esq;* 8vo. 1702.

<sup>c</sup> So in a MS. of this *Discourse*, with which I have been favour’d by a noble hand; but the latter part of the period is wanting in the printed copy, p. 45.

<sup>d</sup> Idem, p. 26.

<sup>e</sup> The learned *Dominicus Baudius*, among his *poems*, reprinted at *London*, 8vo. 1607, has one elaborately written to king *James* against this peace. At the end of his *Epistles* also, reprinted at *Amsterd.* 8vo. 1642. p. 523. there is a long *oration* by this author to that prince on the same subject. And at home, besides others, a discourse against this peace with *Spain* was written, and dedicated by *John Afkham* to his majesty, *Anno* 1603. the MS. whereof is extant in the *Harleian* library, 35. C. 18.

<sup>f</sup> Lord *Bacon’s* Apophthegms, new and old, p. 222.

<sup>g</sup> *Raleigh* lays down five reasons for the king of *Spain’s* making this peace with *England* and the *Netherlands*: “ as *first*, his having so exhausted his treasure, that he “ was no longer able to maintain the archduke’s army. “ *Secondly*, the great interruption of his trade, and losses “ of his merchants, to the breaking of both his banks at “ *Seville*. “ *Thirdly*, his fear that the *English* and *Nether-* “ *lands* would plant in the *West-Indies*. “ *Fourthly*, to re- “ cruit his coffers, and enable himself to break into war “ again. “ *Fifthly*, that the *English* may decline, and for- “ get the passages and pilotage to the *West-Indies*, and “ their sea-officers may be worn out; for, except a little

“ trade for tobacco, there is not a ship that sails that way. “ and seeing the *Spaniards* may hang up the *English*, “ put them to death by torments, as they do; and that “ the *English* dare not offend the *Spaniards* in those parts. “ a most notable advantage gotten in the conclusion of “ the peace! it is certain, that the *English* will give over “ that navigation to the infinite advantage of the *Spaniards*. “ king both present and future. For these causes of im- “ portance it was, that the Catholic king sought the “ peace of *England* and the *Netherlands*; and so much all “ men of judgment discern.” See these reasons more at large in Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* *Dialogue* between a *Jeſuit* and a *Reculant*, among the *genuine Remains*, publish’d at the end of an *abridgement* of his *History of the World*, by *Philip Raleigh, Esq;* 8vo. 1700.

<sup>h</sup> In a curious discourse, where he learnedly and religiously reconciles fortune with reason and providence, *Raleigh* has these words. “ But it may be objected, that “ if *fortune* and *chance* were not sometimes the causes of “ good and evil in men, but an idle voice whereby we “ express *success*, how comes it then, that so many woe- “ thy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and “ empty-headed fools? that riches and honour are given “ to external men, and without kernel; and so many “ learned, virtuous and valiant men, wear out their lives “ in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no “ other inferior or apparent cause, besides the partiality “ of men’s affection, but the *falsifying* and not *fixing* “ ourselves according to the nature of the times wherein we “ live. For whosoever is most able, and best sufficient



THUS have we seen several circumstances, and these are all I have met with in this interval, whereby *Raleigh* might undesignedly and unluckily become disagreeable to a man of king *James's* temper ; but, on the other side, little or nothing that could so inflame *Raleigh* against the king, as to make him run headlong into such violent conspiracies, as could only end in his own ruin. Suppose the king did discourage *Raleigh's* attendance upon him at his entrance, dislike his patent for wines, or removed him from the guards, to oblige Sir *Thomas Erskin*, his countryman and favourite, whom he afterwards prefer'd to higher dignities ; and this is all I have met with that could give offence on the king's part : will this be thought sufficient provocation for a man of *Raleigh's* reason and judgment, so tender of fame and reputation, so settled in family, so well situated in his fortune, no less than three thousand pounds a year, as was confess'd at his trial, besides many other profitable, and I may say princely possessions on the seas, as well as the land, to plot commotions or insurrections ; yet enervate himself for the execution of them, by resigning, as he says himself he did, his office of chiefest power, the wardship of the *Stannaries* ? Nay, further, to herd with a motly and disjointed crew of priests, also with profess'd enemies to himself, not to mention knaves and fools ; and, on a sudden, resolve to turn rebel, ruffian and cut-throat ; to be the *Coryphaeus*, to murder the king with his own hand, and all his innocent progeny ! for this is the charge that the fertile pens of *French* writers have heap'd upon him. Indeed, I was somewhat startled, when I read it in a history that bears the name and character of *Thuanus*, tho' I thought he might possibly come at it by ministerial direction to an *English* resident, till at last I found his author to be no other than one of his own countrymen, whom *Camden*, as I have before observ'd, has refuted in other passages that are even more credible. Now these tell over this desperate story thus. In the month of *June* Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a man equally dexterous at consultation or action, says *Thuanus*, and famous for his memorable expeditions to the *Indies*, taking leave of his sister at *London*, intreated her to commend him to God in her prayers, for he was going to a place from whence he expected never to return. She, suspecting that he was going to fight a duel, with the same levity dispers'd it among the ladies of her acquaintance, till the rumour came to court. Then *Raleigh's* friends and relations flock'd about him to know this enterprize ; he, apprehending himself detected, readily made a whole confession and discovery of the matter. The king was inform'd, and greatly astonish'd, but would needs have *Raleigh* before him, who, then asking his pardon, acknowledged, that seeing his majesty give more countenance to the *Scots* than the *English*, and had depriv'd him of his command in the guards, and that many great men expected, when he was establish'd on the throne, he would be reveng'd for the death of his mother, he had therefore enter'd into a conspiracy with others, whom he named, to shed his royal blood ; and that they had unanimously deputed him to be his majesty's executioner, when he rode a hunting. Hereupon the said conspirators were taken up and try'd, as these authors proceed to relate. If there had been any truth in this ridiculous story, which I think no one has before taken the pains to relate in *English*, that confession had neither escap'd the attorney-general *Coke* at *Raleigh's* trial, when they were so lamely put to it to bring him in guilty without sufficient proof, nor king *James's* apologetical Declaration after *Raleigh's* death, in which his majesty, and his coun-

Accounts of his pretended treason.

“ to discern, and has withal an honest and open heart, and loving truth ; if princes, or those who govern, endure no other discourse than their own flatteries ; then, I say, such a one, whose virtue and courage forbids him to be base, and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel ; which kind of deserving well, and receiving ill, we always falsely charge fortune withal : for whosoever shall tell any great man, or magistrate, that he is not just ; the general of an army, that he is not valiant ; and great ladies, that they are not fair ; shall never be made a counsellor, a captain, or a courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wife prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just ; for such a one has no estate in his prosperity ; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities ; sail with the tide of the time, and alter form and condition, as the state or states-master changes : otherwise, how were it possible that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an observant slavish course ?” A little further, having quoted out of *Menander*, “ That every fool is won with his own pride, and the flattering applause of others ;” he infers, “ That whosoever will live altogether out of himself, study other men's humours, and observe them shall never be unfortunate. On the contrary, that man, who prizes truth and virtue, except

“ the season wherein he lives be of these, and all sorts of goodness, fruitful, shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof.” So, after other learned authorities and proper examples, concludes with the following ingenious allusions, “ Whosoever therefore will set before him *Machiavel's* two marks to shoot at, riches and glory, must set on, and take off, a back of iron to a weak wooden bow, that he may fit both the strong and the feeble. For as he, who first devised to add sails to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them, as, being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his mast, he might abide all winds and storms, or else he some time or other perish'd by his own invention : so that man, who prizes virtue for itself, and cannot endure to hoist and strike sail, as the divers natures of calms and storms require, must cut his sails and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himself with a slow and sure navigation ; to wit, a mean and free estate.” Sir *Walter Raleigh's* History of the World, lib. I. cap. 1. sect. 15.

• *Chronologie Septenaire de L'Histoire de la Paix*, entre les Roys de France et D'Espagne ; par P. Victor Cayet, 8vo. Paris 1605. p. 424. also, L'Unzieme Tome du *Mercurie Francois* : ou L'Histoire de nostre Temps. 8vo. Paris, 1626. p. 352. also *Thuanus*, Tom. V. lib. CXXIX. fol. 1056.



cil together, have no less lamely offer'd weaker reasons for taking away his life, as will be fully represented in its proper place.

By our *English* accounts it appears there was somewhat of a plot, but it was never prov'd that *Raleigh* was engag'd in it; however, his great enemy, the attorney-general *Coke*, affected to compare him with the conspirators, "to *Sampson's* foxes, which were join'd in the tails, tho' their "heads were sever'd." What share he had in that plot may further be judg'd by the promotions which the conspirators intended themselves upon the success of it; for whereas one was to be lord chancellor, another lord marshal, this lord treasurer, that master of the horse, and t'other secretary of state: how comes it, as one author well observes, that *Raleigh*, able to officiate any, had no office in the state assign'd him? <sup>a</sup> But perhaps the best means to clear him, may be the very *trial*, by which he was condemn'd. 'Tis too common, and too tedious, to be thought needful of transcribing it here at length; not to say so full of barbarous partiality and foul language, especially by *Coke* himself, that he was expos'd for it upon the publick theatre; <sup>b</sup> and those, who revere the laws of our country, have been so ashamed of it, as rather to wish the proceedings have been falsely related, than believe such a sentence could pass upon such insufficient evidence. But the character of this *trial*, and of that attorney-general, I leave to others; <sup>c</sup> and shall here only, from the several copies or accounts of it I have met with, draw out a short regular narrative of the most material matters of fact, wherein *Raleigh* appears any way concern'd; and it is as follows:

THERE was one *Matthew de Laurencie*, a merchant of *Antwerp*, attendant on count *Aremberg*, who now, about the beginning of *June*, came over ambassador-extraordinary from *Albert*, archduke of *Austria*, to congratulate king *James*, and assist in composing the general peace. With this merchant the lord *Cobham* had held intelligence some years before, upon matters of state, with licence. Five days after *Aremberg's* arrival, that is to say, about the 9th of the same month, *Cobham* repair'd to him with *Laurencie*, and that night *Cobham* supp'd, with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, at *Durham-house* in the *Strand*; whereby *Raleigh* came to understand, that *Cobham* had fresh negotiations with *Aremberg*; and was, as the chief of those who oppos'd the peace, offer'd a sum of money by *Cobham* to be a promoter of it; tho' that offer, also made to *Raleigh* before *Aremberg* came, <sup>c</sup> was afterwards pretended, as will appear, to have been for treasonable purposes. In the next month, those persons with whom *Cobham* transacted the conspiracy (or part of it) then on foot, were discover'd; either by the *Spanish* faction in revenge to *Raleigh*, the greatest enemy of *Spain* alive, thinking he was then too far hamper'd in, or acquainted

<sup>a</sup> Fuller's Church History, lib. X.

<sup>b</sup> See Mr. Theobald's *Shakespeare*, 8vo. 1733. vol. II. in the comedy call'd, *The Twelfth-Night*; act 3. p. 503.

<sup>c</sup> The learned and ingenious author of the preface, to the collection of *State-Trials* in six volumes folio, having spoken of such counsel as are wont to press nothing illegal against the prisoner, or unreasonable, nor use any artifices to deprive him of his just defence, adds, "These will appear in a different light from those, who, with rude and boist'rous language, abuse and revile the unfortunate prisoner, who stick not to take all advantages of him, however hard and unjust, which either his ignorance, or the strict rigour of the law, may give them; who, by force or stratagem, endeavour to disable him from making his defence; who browbeat his witnesses as soon as they appear, tho' ever so willing to declare the whole truth; and do all they can to put them out of countenance, and confound them in delivering their evidence, as if it were the duty of their place to convict all who are brought to trial, right or wrong, guilty or not guilty; and as if they, above all others, had a peculiar dispensation from the obligations of truth and justice. Such methods as these should be below men of honour, not to say men of conscience; yet, in the perusal of this work, such persons will too often arise to view: and I could wish, for the credit of the law, that that great oracle of it, the lord chief justice *Coke*, had given less reason to be number'd among this sort." So, as a most notorious example, refers us to the trial of Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

Another author before this, having shewn us with what temper and superior command Sir *Walter Raleigh* behav'd himself under all the scurrilities which the attorney-general threw upon him, goes on thus. "We have given the reader a taste of the eloquence of the bar in that reign, to shew how far the hopes of places and preferment will sometimes carry men of sense and learning from reason and justice. This *Billinggate* way of arguing is the more remarkable in a person of the lord *Coke's* character, whose writings are still oracles in *Westminster-*

*hall*; and scolding and calling of names were commonly the refuge of such wretched lawyers as were the tools of a party; who, having neither sense, law, nor language on their side, thought to supply the want of them with railing and impudence: which kind of baiting and worrying of state prisoners to death, by the king's counsel, was reviv'd by judge *Jefferies* in king *Charles* and king *James II's* reign; and it being much easier to call a man rogue, than to prove him so, the example he set was followed by too many, till the reverend bench of judges in the reign of king *William* and our present sovereign queen *Anne*, frown'd upon that cruel practice, and put an end to it." *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh in Lives English and Foreign*. 8vo. 1704. vol. I. p. 124.

And before all this, even to *Coke's* own face, as much was objected, when he himself was humbled, and fallen into disgrace, by one of his own acquaintance, who told him, "As your pleadings were wont to insult over misery, and inveigh bitterly against the person, so are you still careless in this point, to praise and disgrace upon slight grounds, and that suddenly; so that your reproofs or commendations are for the most part neglected and condemn'd, when the censure of a judge, coming slow, but sure, should be a brand to the guilty, and a crown to the virtuous. You will jest at any man in publick, without respect to the person's dignity or your own. This disgraces your gravity, more than it can advance the opinion of your wit; and so do all actions which we see you do directly with a touch of vain-glory. You make the laws too much lean to your opinion; whereby you shew yourself to be a legal tyrant, &c." Thus in a letter admonitory to the lord *Coke*, MS. sign'd A. B. in a volume of *State-Letters*, among the curious collections of the lord *Coleraine*, fol. 772. This Letter is also printed in the *Cabala*, and an extract of it in *Arthur Wilson's* History of king *James*.

<sup>e</sup> The arraignment of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, printed in *J. Sherley's* account of his life, 8vo. 1677. p. 124.



with it to escape; or by some one of the *English* conspirators to secure himself: and, when the lord *Cecyll* (for he was lately made baron of *Essenden*) found, upon the first news of *Anthony Copley*, one of these conspirators, who was apprehended the 6th of *July*,<sup>a</sup> that the king's person was to be surpriz'd by the lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and *George Brook*, brother to the lord *Cobham*, he suspected *Cobham* himself was in the secret; and *Cobham's* great intimacy with *Raleigh* at this time, who was now buying an estate for him, and settling his household affairs, drew *Raleigh* also into suspicion. Hereupon *Cecyll*, meeting *Raleigh* upon *Windsor* terrace, tells him, "the lords of the council had something to say to him;" so he was examin'd about the surprizing treason, and particularly about *Cobham*, as appears from his own words, by whom he fully cleared. After examination, *Raleigh* further said: "Whatsoever correspondence there was between *Cobham* and *Aremberg*, *Laurence* might be better able to give account of it, therefore advis'd to the calling upon him;" tho', as he further explain'd, "he knew of no intelligence between them, but such as might be warranted:"<sup>b</sup> and that advice he wrote also in a letter to *Cecyll*. When *Raleigh* return'd from examination a private prisoner to his own house, *Cobham* sent to him to know what had pass'd; *Raleigh* writ an answer by captain *Keymis*, "that he was examin'd, and had clear'd him of all;" and *Keymis* bid *Cobham* "be of good comfort, for one witness could not condemn him:" this precaution, to arm *Cobham* against making discoveries, was, after his confession of it, objected against *Raleigh*; but he utterly deny'd, that he sent any such verbal message.<sup>c</sup> Now when *Cobham* was brought to his examination at *Richmond*, one date whereof appears to have been *July* 18; and after he had, by a constant denial, cleared both himself and *Raleigh* of all that was question'd against them, *Cobham* was, by device, says my author (in an epistolary narrative of his trial, at which he was present<sup>d</sup>) induced to think, that *Raleigh* had first impeach'd and betray'd him. For that part of *Raleigh's* letter aforesaid to *Cecyll*, referring the lords to *Laurence* for *Cobham's* transactions with *Aremberg*, being shewed to *Cobham*, and accompanied, it seems, with such artful suggestions as were proper to inflame a man of *Cobham's* weakness, had the desired effect; for he being led thereby to imagine that *Raleigh* had accus'd him of all, or more than he knew, burst out into vehement exclamations against *Raleigh*, and in his rage, or madness, made the following confession. "That having a passport to go to the *Spanish* king, he intended first to confer with the archduke; and, because he knew he had not money to pay his own army, meant from thence to go to *Spain*, to deal with the king for six hundred thousand crowns, then to return by *Fersey*; and that nothing should be done about the distribution of that money to the discontented in *England*, till he had spoken with Sir *Walter Raleigh*: Further, that he had never enter'd into these courses, but by his instigation. He spake also of plots, but of the particulars could give no account; yet acknowledg'd he was afraid that *Raleigh*, upon his return to *Fersey*, would have him and the money to the king."<sup>e</sup> After all this, before *Cobham* departed to the stair-foot, he retracted his confession, and profess'd he had done *Raleigh* wrong:<sup>f</sup> nor does it appear, says my author, that he did subscribe it.<sup>g</sup> In another branch of his examination, *Cobham* said he had of *Raleigh* a book, written against the king's title, which he gave to his brother *Brook*, and that *Raleigh* said it was foolishly written. But this he also retracted, as we shall hear. Upon this, and other parts of his confession more foreign to *Raleigh*, concerning the advancement of lady *Arabella Stuart* to the crown, as also from that of *George Brook*, a known enemy to *Raleigh*, as *Cecyll* could not deny; "asserting his brother *Cobham* told him (tho' *Cobham*, in his confession, refused to own it) the lord *Grey* and others were only on the bye, but he and *Raleigh* were on the main; thereby meaning, said *Brook*, the taking away of the king and his issue;" together with what *Raleigh* acknowledg'd in his own examination; "That *Cobham* offer'd him eight thousand crowns for his furtherance of the peace, tho' the lord *Cecyll* and earl of *Northumberland* were to have the same proffers;"<sup>h</sup> and that in some discourses he might have said, "the way to invade *England* was to begin with stirs in *Scotland*:" Upon these circumstances, I say, *Raleigh* was indicted at *Stains* on the 21st of *September* following;<sup>i</sup> and from hence that heavy indictment appears to have been accumulated upon him, which we see prefixed to

Accused by  
lord *Cobham*.

Who retracts  
the accusation.

<sup>a</sup> *Stow's Annals*, fol. 826.

<sup>b</sup> Arraignment, in *Sherley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, &c. p. 98.

<sup>c</sup> *Id.* p. 110.

<sup>d</sup> *Id.* p. 140.

<sup>e</sup> Letter from a member of parliament to Mr. *John Donne*, concerning the arraignment of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, MS. among the collections of *Radney Fane*, Esq; The

same is also printed in Sir *Toby Mathew's* collection of letters, 8vo. 1660. p. 281.

<sup>f</sup> Arraignment of Sir *Walter Raleigh* as before, p. 97.

<sup>g</sup> *Id.* p. 100.

<sup>h</sup> Sir *Thomas Overbury's* copy of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* arraignment, printed 4to. 1648, p. 15.

<sup>i</sup> *Idem*, p. 12.

<sup>k</sup> *Stow's Annals*, fol. 830.



And acknow-  
ledges the  
wrong.

his trial. Three days afterwards *Cobham* and *Grey* were also indicted at the same place; and, not long after this, they were all three return'd prisoners to the tower of *London*. When the time of their trial drew nigh, that is to say in the beginning of *November*, *Raleigh* got a poor fellow in the tower to cast up a letter, fasten'd to an apple, in at *Cobham's* window, while the lieutenant was at supper, to intreat him (because he then knew not but *Cobham* might be arraign'd before him :) "for God's sake, to do him justice by his answer, and signify to him, that he had wronged him in his accusation;" and *Cobham* did, by an answer under his hand, confess the same; which not being perhaps so full and expressive as *Raleigh* expected, he afterwards sent *Cobham* another letter, desiring he would publish his innocence at his arraignment. But, notwithstanding that *Raleigh* did not now request any further justification under his hand, *Cobham* sent him another answer,<sup>a</sup> clearing him in the most solemn and perfect manner, as will presently appear. Now by reason of the plague, which raged so violently in and about *London*, the term having been proclaim'd to be held at *Winchester*, the state-prisoners, who were thus indicted for the plot, were conveyed thither in great pomp. I find, that *Raleigh* went in his own coach, under the custody of Sir *Robert Mansell*, on the 10th of *November*, to *Bagshot* in *Surrey*, twenty-four miles from *London*; and, two days after, from thence, the other thirty miles, to the castle at *Winchester*. The conspirators conducted thither at the same time, were *George Brook*, under the charge of Sir *William Wade*; Sir *Griffin Markham*, under Sir *Robert Wroth*; besides Sir *Edward Parham*, *Bartholomew Brooksby*, *Anthony Copley*; also *William Watson* and *William Clark*, two priests, under-wardens of the *Tower*, and the keeper of the *Gate-house*, together with a guard of fifty light horse: as for *Cobham* and *Grey*, they set out six days, and arrived three days before, at the said castle, under the like guard.<sup>b</sup>

Arraign'd at  
*Winchester*.

AND here *Cobham* having been prevail'd on to make fresh accusations in a letter to the lords, at least subscrib'd with his name, which will be produced a little further, *Raleigh's* trial was first brought on; and this was on the 17th of the month aforesaid. He excepted not against his *Jury*, being all strangers: but we are told by one, who seems to have had good intelligence of this matter, "That there was appointed for *Raleigh* another jury, the foreman of which was Sir *Michael Stanhope*, the next Sir *Edward Darcy*, the next Sir *William Kille-*  
"grew, all men of honour, and near servants to the late queen *Elizabeth*: but these be-  
"ing found not for their turn, they were all changed over night, and those others (named in  
"the common printed trial) put in their places."<sup>c</sup> After the indictment had been opened, and aggravated by serjeant *Heath* and attorney *Coke*, in speeches, manifestly fathering the treasons of the rest upon *Raleigh*, for no other reason that I can see, but because *he was a man of wit, and a swordsman*: *Cobham's* examination was read as before quoted. Here *Raleigh* first shewed the unreasonableness and improbability of the accusation therein against him, as follows:  
"It is strange for me, said he, to devise with *Cobham*, that he should go to *Spain* to persuade  
"the king to disburse so much money, he being a man of no love in *England*; and I  
"having resign'd my room of chiefest command, the wardenship of the *Stannaries*; it is strange  
"for me to make myself a *Robin Hood*, or a *Ket*, or a *Cade*, I knowing *England* to be in  
"better state than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* united, *Ireland* quieted, *Denmark* assur'd,  
"which before was suspected. I knew, that having a lady, whom time had surpriz'd, we  
"had now a lawful successor. The state of *Spain* was not unknown to me. I had written a  
"discourse, which I intended to present unto the king against the peace with *Spain*. I knew  
"the *Spaniard* had six repulses, three in *Ireland*, and three at sea; and once in 1588, by my  
"lord-admiral, also at *Cadiz*. I knew he was discourag'd and dishonour'd. I knew the king  
"of *Spain* to be the proudest prince living, but now he comes creeping to my master for a  
"peace. I knew, whereas he had before in his ports six or seven score sail of ships, he has  
"now but six or seven. I knew, of twenty-five millions he had from his *Indies*, he has scarce  
"one left. I knew him so poor, that the *Jesuits* in *Spain* were fain to beg at the church-door.  
"Was it ever read or heard, that any prince should disburse so much money, without a suf-  
"ficient pawn? I knew her own subjects, the citizens of *London*, would not lend her majesty  
"money, without lands in mortgage. I knew the queen did not lend the states money, with-  
"out *Flushing*, *Brill*, and other towns, for a pawn; and can it be thought he would let *Cobham*  
"have so great a sum? I never came to the lord *Cobham's*, but about matters of his profit,  
"as the ordering of his house; and I had of his, when I was examin'd, four thousand pounds  
"worth of jewels for a purchase, a pearl of three thousand pounds, and a ring worth five

<sup>a</sup> *Overbury's* Arraignment, p. 23.

<sup>b</sup> *Stow's Annals*, fol. 828, 829.

<sup>c</sup> *Observations on the history of Mary queen of Scots*

and king *James*, a scarce tract in the *Harleian* library, printed 4to. 1656, p. 8.



“ hundred pounds. If he had had a fancy to run away, he would not have left so much money to have purchas’d a lease in fee-farm. I saw him buy three hundred pounds worth of books to send to his library at *Canterbury*, and a cabinet of three hundred pounds to give Mr. *Attorney* for drawing the conveyances; and God in heaven knows, not I, whether he intended to travel: but for the practice with *Arabella*, or letters to *Aremberg*, or any discourse with him, or in what language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would absolutely confess the indictment, and acknowledge myself worthy of a thousand deaths.” And a little further concerning *Cobham’s* examination: “ He that hath been examin’d, has ever been asked if it be according to his meaning, and then to *subscribe*. Methinks, my lords, when he accuses a man, he should give some account and reason of it; it is not sufficient to say we talked of it. If I had been the plotter, would not I have given *Cobham* some arguments, whereby to persuade the king of *Spain*, and answer his objections? I knew *Westmoreland* and *Bothwell*, men of other understandings than *Cobham*, were ready to beg their bread.”<sup>a</sup> Here being obstructed by other matters, the attorney fell at last into that passage of *Cobham’s* telling *Brook*, “ You are on the *bye*, *Raleigh* and I are on the *main*.” But *Cobham* would not confirm his ever having said such words.<sup>b</sup> *Brook*, who had pretended he did say them, was allowed to have been *Raleigh’s* enemy;<sup>c</sup> so the expression was not proved. Another matter they kept some coil about was, the book *Cobham* said he had of *Raleigh*, written against the king’s title. This was nothing more than a *Defence of the queen’s Proceedings against Mary queen of Scotland*, written by one *Robert Snag*, a lawyer, and found by *Raleigh* in the library of the late lord-treasurer *Burghley*, which he had liberty of searching for some geographical descriptions of the *West-Indies*. *Raleigh* had declared to *Cobham* that it was foolishly written, but deny’d that he gave it him; and tho’ *Cobham*, in his examination, said it was given him by *Raleigh*, he revoked that confession upon being further question’d about it (as one of the lords of the council own’d;) and said, the truth was, “ he took the same of himself out of Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* study when he was asleep;”<sup>d</sup> so much to be depended on were lord *Cobham’s* accusations. But there was nothing acted thereby to the king’s prejudice, for the book was burnt.<sup>e</sup> As for the evidence of a rumour in *Lisbon*, brought into court by one *Dyer*, a pilot, who answering to a question, “ when the king would be crown’d?” made by some-body or other there, that “ he hop’d ’twould be shortly;” was told again, “ it should never be, for Don *Raleigh* and Don *Cobham* would cut his throat first:” *Raleigh* made light of it, as of such a rumour and such a witness he might; and said, “ If *Cobham* had practice with *Aremberg*, it might well be known abroad: and that the duke of *Buckingham* was named with *Jack Straw’s* treason to countenance it.”<sup>f</sup> But none of these little circumstances were much insisted on; and we are told by one who was present, that, “ touching the setting up of *Arabella*, nothing at all was proved; nor touching the invasion here, or sedition in *Scotland*, or even the destruction of the king, &c. The proof against *Raleigh* (as the same writer continues a little further) did rest only upon *Cobham’s* accusation, and some presumptions, whereof that only was the ground: therefore *Raleigh* spent most of the time in disabling that accusation, as being only utter’d in fury and passion,”<sup>g</sup> through the device aforesaid, of making *Cobham* believe that *Raleigh* had first accused him. Besides, that he had renounced and repented it; and altho’, “ afterwards by practice, says my said author, he did affirm it, yet would he never be brought to set his hand to the examination: all which was clear.” Then *Raleigh*, seeing this retraction so unjustly overlook’d, “ labour’d to prove these two points out of scripture, civil law, statute law, common law and conscience; in every of which he had been plentifully read (as the same auditor of his arraignment goes on:) first, that there ought to be produced against him two witnesses: secondly, that his accuser might be brought to accuse him face to face.” Agreeable hereto are *Raleigh’s* own words, after he had urged the statutes of *Edward III*, *Edward VI*, and queen *Elizabeth*; produced the opinions of judges in the law, and precedents from their writings; besides testimonies from the Old and New Testament; where he says, “ If by the statute, civil law, and God’s word, it be requir’d that there must be two witnesses at least, bear with me, if I desire but one.”<sup>h</sup> But truly it was an unreasonable request; those statutes were repeal’d, and the law would not allow of it now; tho’ we are inform’d

<sup>a</sup> Arraignment of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his Life aforesaid, p. 101, 106.

<sup>b</sup> *Idem*, p. 133.

<sup>c</sup> *Owenbury’s* Arraignment of *Raleigh*, p. 7.

<sup>d</sup> *Idem*, p. 8.

<sup>e</sup> *Aulicus Coquinarius*, 8vo. 1650, p. 83.

<sup>f</sup> Arraignment of *Raleigh* in *Sherley*, p. 147, 148.

<sup>g</sup> Letter of a member of parliament in Sir *Toby Matthews* as before, p. 280.

<sup>h</sup> Arraignment in *Sherley*, p. 115.



that king *James* himself, taking notice how *Cobham* was with-held, should say, “ If he could  
 “ have spoken any thing against *Raleigh*, they would have brought him from *Constantinople*  
 “ to have accused him.”<sup>a</sup> Well therefore might he desire the jury to consider, “ There is no cause  
 “ so doubtful, which the king’s counsel cannot make good against the law.”<sup>b</sup> These men do  
 “ usually defend bad causes every day against men of their own profession, and as able as  
 “ themselves : if they can do so, what may they not do with me, who never studied law till  
 “ I came into the tower of *London* ; who have been practis’d in other affairs ; am weak of  
 “ memory, and feeble as you see ? (for he was fain to have a pen and ink to help him in the  
 “ long speeches that were made against him.”) Then said he, more closely to them, “ If  
 “ you would be content to be judg’d upon Suspitions and Inferences : if you would not have  
 “ your accusation subscrib’d by your accuser : if you would not have your accuser brought to  
 “ your face (being in the same house too) where you are arraign’d : if you would be con-  
 “ demn’d by an accusation of one that has recanted, and is truly sorrowful for it : if you,  
 “ in my case, would yield your bodies to torture, lose your lives, your wives and children,  
 “ and all your fortunes, upon so slender a proof ; then am I ready to suffer all these things :”<sup>c</sup>  
 or (as the common trial has it) “ If you would be contented to be so judged, judge so of  
 “ me.”<sup>d</sup> Now tho’ *Raleigh* at last put himself on it, that if *Cobham* would only speak before  
 God and the king, “ that ever he knew either of *Arabella*’s matter, or the money out of *Spain*,  
 “ or of the surprizing treason, or would accuse him with things equivalent, in any main point,  
 “ or any ways to have been an instigator of him to deal with the king of *Spain* ;”<sup>e</sup> yet would  
 they not let *Cobham* confront him, or give his testimony *viva voce* : and tho’ *Raleigh* did not  
 directly consent to be determin’d by *Cobham*’s accusation, if they should now produce it justi-  
 fied under his hand ;<sup>f</sup> yet he was forced to submit to what they had in reserve of this kind,  
 which was the letter above-mention’d, written to the lords at *Winchester* the day before the  
 trial. Some say, this letter was not written by *Cobham* himself ; but that Sir *William Wade*,  
 one of *Cecyll*’s creatures, tampering with his weakness, got *Cobham* to write his name to a  
 blank ; to which, says my author, *Wade* no question wrote the accusation.<sup>g</sup> Others imply,  
 that *Cobham* did himself write it ; tho’ after he was instructed by a letter from his lady, that  
 there was no way to save his own life, but to accuse *Raleigh* ; and that it was so reported upon  
 the going together of the jury.<sup>h</sup> This letter was read with great triumph and exultation by  
*Coke*, as follows. “ I have thought it fit to set down this to my lords, wherein I profess on  
 “ my soul to write nothing but the truth. I am come now near to the period of my time ;  
 “ therefore I confess the truth before God and his angels. *Raleigh*, four days before I came  
 “ from the *Tower*, caused an apple to be thrown in at my chamber window ; the effect of it  
 “ was, to intreat me to right the wrong I had done him, in saying that I would come home  
 “ by *Jersey* ; which under my hand to him I have retracted. His first letter was thrown in  
 “ the same manner ; wherein he prayed me to write him a letter, which I did. He sent me  
 “ word the judges met at Mr. *Attorney*’s house ; and that there was good hope the proceed-  
 “ ings against us should be staid ; he sent me another time a little tobacco. At *Aremberg*’s  
 “ coming, *Raleigh* dealt with me to procure him a pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year,  
 “ for which he promised, that no action should be against *Spain* but he would give knowledge  
 “ before-hand. He told me the states had audience with the king. He hath been the origi-  
 “ nal cause of my ruin ; for I had no dealing with *Aremberg*, but by his instigation. He hath  
 “ been the cause of my discontentment ; he advised me not to be overtaken with preachers,  
 “ as *Effex* was ; and that the king would better allow of a constant denial, than to accuse any.”<sup>i</sup>  
 But this advice to a denial, and by that example, and the desire of any such pension from *Spain*,  
*Raleigh* protested to be false. And further, to shew them what a base dishonourable recreant  
*Cobham* was, he pull’d out the letter which *Cobham* a few days before wrote to him voluntarily  
 in the *Tower*, desiring the lord *Cecyll* to read it, because he knew his hand ; and that the jury  
 would observe, if *Cobham*’s testimony were of any credit with them, how much more solemnly  
 it was writ to clear, than the other to condemn him ; being in these words : “ Seeing myself  
 “ so near my end ; for the discharge of my own conscience, and freeing myself from your  
 “ blood, which else will cry vengeance against me : I protest, upon my salvation, I never  
 “ practis’d with *Spain* by your procurement : God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are

Accused by  
*Cobham*  
 again.

Cleared by  
 him again.

<sup>a</sup> Observations on *Sanderfon*’s History of *Mary queen of Scots* and king *James*, 4to. as before, p. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Arraignment in *Sherley*, p. 148.

<sup>c</sup> *Overbury*’s Arraignment, p. 21.

<sup>d</sup> In *Sherley*, p. 149.

<sup>e</sup> *Idem*, p. 145.

<sup>f</sup> *Overbury*, p. 19.

<sup>g</sup> Sir *Anthony Weldon*’s court and character of king *James*, 8vo. 1650, p. 35.

<sup>h</sup> *Overbury*’s Arraignment, p. 24.

<sup>i</sup> The Arraignment in *Sherley*, as before, p. 156.



“ a true subject for any thing that I know. I will say with *Daniel*, *Purus sum à sanguine hujus* :  
 “ So God have mercy on my soul, as I know no treason by you.”<sup>a</sup> This was the last evidence  
 given ; yet the jury brought in their verdict guilty : this letter, last produced to acquit *Ra-* Condemn'd.  
*legb*, not prevailing with them so much, it seems, as the letter before, which was last, tho’  
 less forcibly, written by *Cobham* to accuse him, “ which, all things consider’d, says the  
 “ person, who heard the whole trial, was no more to be weigh’d than the barking of a dog ; and  
 “ I would not (continues he) for much, to have been of the jury, to have found him guilty.”<sup>b</sup>  
 “ Some of his jury, we are further told, were, after he was cast, so far touch’d in conscience,  
 “ as to demand of him pardon on their knees ;”<sup>c</sup> and even *Coke*, the attorney himself, being  
 “ retir’d into a garden to take some air, when his man brought him word that the jury had  
 “ condemn’d *Ralegh* of treason, answer’d, Surely thou art mistaken, for I myself accused  
 “ him but of *misprision* of treason ; and this relation, upon the word of a Christian, I have  
 “ received, says my author, from *Sir Edward Coke*’s own mouth.”<sup>d</sup> Sentence being given,  
*Ralegh* humbly desir’d, the king might know the proofs against him ; that he still persisted in  
 his loyalty, notwithstanding that verdict ; which he would pray, that his said jury might never  
 answer for : and only craved pardon for concealing lord *Cobham*’s offer to him, which he did  
 through a confidence that he had diverted him from those humours. So accompanied the  
 sheriff to the prison “ with admirable erection, yet in such sort as a condemn’d man should  
 “ do.”<sup>e</sup>

THUS was he “ tired out of his life, as one observes, by the bawling of the king’s counsel  
 “ on one side, and the bench’s insisting on a confession, extorted from the lord *Cobham* out  
 “ of fear, on the other, rather than convinced :”<sup>f</sup> and thus did his adversaries reap dishonour  
 and reproach in their victory, while he received triumphant applauses in his overthrow, like  
 some flowers which are sweeter in their fall, than others in their bloom. He stood at a bay  
 with them from morning till night, “ to the great admiration of the hearers,<sup>g</sup> who all thought  
 “ that a man of such understanding and experience, would hardly be drawn into a plot so  
 “ foul and so foolish.”<sup>h</sup> “ Divers, who went thither his enemies, went away with commise-  
 “ ration of his injuries and misfortunes, thinking never man spake better for himself.”<sup>i</sup> One  
 of his auditors says, “ He behaved himself so worthily, so wisely, so temperately, that in half  
 “ a day the mind of all the company was changed, from the extremest hate, to the extremest  
 “ pity.”<sup>k</sup> and another says, That “ *Sir Walter Ralegh*’s carriage was most remarkable ;  
 “ first, to the lords ; humble, yet not prostrate : towards the jury ; affable, but not fawning ;  
 “ rather shewing love of life, than fear of death : towards the king’s counsel ; patient, but  
 “ not insensibly neglecting ; not yielding to imputations laid against him in words : and it was  
 “ wonder’d, that a man of his heroic spirit, could be so valiant in suffering ; that he was  
 “ never overtaken in passion, &c.”<sup>l</sup> On the other side, as to *Coke*’s behaviour, we shall, to  
 what has been said, only observe, as one means to account for it, that if *Essex* was known to  
 have ever been in any wise a friend or patron to him, as it appears he was in a private me-  
 morial of an honourable person, who was of the same college in *Oxford* with *Ralegh*, and  
 almost of the same standing ; then *Coke* might perhaps think of retrieving himself in the eye  
 of the world, and making atonement for his ingratitude to the said earl, also at his trial, and  
 to his memory after his death, by his inhumanity now to one of the contrary faction. *Cecyll*,  
 on the other side, play’d a smooth edge upon *Ralegh* throughout the trial ; his blade seemed  
 ever anointed with the balsam of compliment or apology, whereby he gave not such rough  
 and smarting wounds, tho’ they were as deep and fatal as the other. But *Ralegh* could distin-  
 guish crooked friendship, and perhaps the grounds of it, in this place, as well as he has done  
 crooked wisdom in another ;<sup>m</sup> when, to those speeches, where *Cecyll* said, “ My affection,  
 “ to you *Sir Walter Ralegh* was not extinguish’d, but flaked, in regard of your deserts :  
 “ and, excepting your faults (I call them no worse) by God I am your friend :” he answer’d,  
 “ Whoever is the workman, it is reason he should give account of his work to the work-  
 “ master.”<sup>n</sup> As to any impertinences that occur’d in the trial, they appear no-where so  
 much as in the personal reflections made by the said attorney *Coke*, and the lord chief justice

<sup>a</sup> The Arraignment in *Shirley*, as before, p. 160.

<sup>b</sup> In *Sir Toby Matthews* as before, p. 283.

<sup>c</sup> *F. Osborn*’s Memoirs of king *James*, in the 2d vol. of his works, p. 108.

<sup>d</sup> Observations on the history of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, and her son *James*, as before, p. 9.

<sup>e</sup> *Overbury*’s Arraignment, p. 25.

<sup>f</sup> *Osborn*, as before.

<sup>g</sup> *Speed*’s Chronicle, fol. 1243.

<sup>h</sup> Bishop *Carleton*’s Hist. Collect. of Deliverances, &c.

4to. 1624, p. 179.

<sup>i</sup> Observations on the history of the queen of *Scots* and her son, &c. as before.

<sup>k</sup> In *Sir Toby Matthews*, p. 279.

<sup>l</sup> See this character more at large in *Sir Thomas Overbury*’s Arraignment of *Sir Walter Ralegh*, p. 6.

<sup>m</sup> *History of the World*, lib. V. cap. VI. Sect. VII.

<sup>n</sup> Arraignment of *Sir Walter Ralegh* in his *Life*, as before, p. 144, 146.



*Popham*, whom *Camden* justly calls a censorious man;<sup>a</sup> they being foreign to the matters *Raleigh* was charged with, therefore he wisely looked over them. But these, and the other irregularities throughout the whole proceedings, which have left men so unsatisfied in the justice of them against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and so little inclin'd to believe him the criminal his enemies made him,<sup>b</sup> being summ'd up by an able hand, and one whose province it more properly was to judge of them, I shall take my leave of the said trial, with a reference to his observations on it.<sup>c</sup>

THAT *Raleigh* expected nothing less than this kind of treatment from those hands, is plain by the letter which he wrote to the king himself just before his trial; wherein having said, "I know, that, among many presumptions gather'd against me, your majesty has been persuaded, that I was one of those who were greatly discontented, and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal; but the great God of heaven and earth disclaim me from both worlds if I were not the contrary, and if I took not great comfort to behold your majesty; always learning some good, and bettering my knowledge by your majesty's discourse: and having humbly beseeched him not to believe any of those, who, under pretence of offences to kings, do easily work their particular revenge;" he says a little further, "For my part, I protest before the ever-living God, that I never intended treason, consented to treason, or perform'd treason against you; and yet I know I shall fall into their hands, *e quibus non possum evadere*, unless by your majesty's gracious compassion I be sustain'd."<sup>d</sup> Another letter, which he wrote to the lords, gives us some further light or assurance, that the offer made to him for one intention, and to others for another, was construed as made to him for both; where, speaking of the two principal accusations against him, he says, "the first was, that money was offer'd me with a pretence to maintain the *amity*, but the intent was to have assisted his majesty's *surprize*: the other, that I was privy to my lord *Cobham's Spanish* journey. For the first, it seems, this money was offer'd to others long after it was offer'd to me, and upon other *considerations* than it was to me. For myself I avow, upon my allegiance, that I never knew or suspected either the man or the *new intention*. To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe that he had any commission to offer it: for, if that word *amity* had been used to me colourably, I must have been also made acquainted with the *true end* for which it should have been given; which it seems was for the *surprize*: but of any such horrible purpose, if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I refuse your lordships favour, and the king's mercy. I know your lordships have omitted nothing to find out the truth; but, as you have not err'd, like ill surgeons, to lay on plaisters too narrow for so great wounds, so I trust that you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to give medicines more cruel than the disease itself. For the journey into *Spain*, I know I was accused to be privy thereto; but I know your lordships have a reputation of conscience, as well as industry. By what means that revengeful accusation was stirr'd, you, my lord *Cecyll*, know right well, that it was my letter about *Keymis*; and your lordships all know whether it be maintain'd, or whether, out of truth, and out of a Christian consideration, it be revok'd." A little further he says, "God knows, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent forty thousand pounds of

<sup>a</sup> *Annal. Eliz.* 1592.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. *Heylin's Examen Historicum*, as before, p. 171.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *John Hawles*, solicitor-general to the late king *William*, in his *Reply* to a sheet of paper, entitled, *The Magistracy and Government of England vindicated*; printed in 1689 having observed, that the *accusations* of Sir *Walter Raleigh* did not amount to a *legal proof*; says further, p. 35, as follows. "Not to mention all that might be excepted to in the trial of the case cited; I would know, by what law is the deposition of a person, who might be brought face to face to the prisoner, read as evidence? I would know, by what law it is forbidden, that the accuser should be brought face to face to the accused? I would know, by what law *Brook's* deposition of what the lord *Cobham* told him of *Raleigh*, was evidence against *Raleigh*? I would know, by what law the story *Dyer* told of what an unknown man said to him at *Talbot* of *Don Raleigh*, was evidence against *Raleigh*? I would know, by what statute, the statutes of the 25th of *Edward III.* and 5th of *Edward VI.* are repealed? This trial was so very irregular throughout, that I would willingly believe it was not so as it is related; but, if it were so, I am sure none can defend it: and even for that reason, if any such resolution was in the case, as is cited, I am sure it ought to carry no credit with it: and there is no reason to believe there was any such resolution; there being no occasion for it;

"the question being only fact, which Sir *Walter* deny'd. The circumstances of his trial, in which the court always over-rul'd the prisoner, were somewhat like the lord *Ruffel's*; he complained of the ill usage of the king's counsel, as well as the lord *Ruffel*; and both had reason so to do. *Hearsay* was admitted to be given in evidence against both; all that either of them said for themselves, tho' very material, was slighted. The one was put in mind, at his trial, of the death of the earl of *Essex*; as the other was, of the death of the viscount *Stafford*; both, in their dying speeches, vindicated themselves of those aspersions. The principal witnesses, in both cases, had, before the trials, affirm'd, they knew nothing against them: they were both accused with having heard what other persons had said in their company, and had not discover'd it; they both gave the same answer, that they could not help other men's talk. I think it is plain, at this day, that of Sir *Walter Raleigh* is thought a *Sham-plot*; what the lord *Ruffel's* is thought, let the author say."

<sup>d</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's* letter to king *James*, before his trial at *Winchester*; in the supplement to the *Cabala*, call'd, *Scrinia Sacra*, 4to. 1654, p. 85. and in *Raleigh's Remains*, edit. 1726, p. 185. collated with MS. copies thereof, in the *Harleian* library, &c.



“ my own against that king and nation ;<sup>a</sup> that I never reserved so much of all my fortunes,  
 “ as to purchase forty pounds *per annum* land ; that I have been a violent persecutor and fur-  
 “ therer of all enterprizes against that nation : I have served against them in person ; and how,  
 “ my lord-admiral and my lord of *Suffolk* can witness. I discover’d, myself, the richest part  
 “ of all his *Indies* ; I have planted in his territories. I offer’d his majesty, at my uncle *Ca-*  
 “ *rew*’s, to carry two thousand men to invade him without the king’s charge. Alas ! to what  
 “ end should we live in the world, if all the endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown  
 “ off with one blast of breath, or be presented by one man’s word ?” “ Think therefore (says  
 “ he a little further) I beseech you, on my great affliction with compassion ; who have lost  
 “ my estate, and the king’s favour, upon one man’s word ; and as you would that God should  
 “ deal with you, deal with me.” He concludes in this manner : “ Your lordships know,  
 “ that I am guiltless of the surprize intended ; you know, or may know, that I never accept-  
 “ ed of the money, and that it was not offered me for any ill ; and of the *Spanish* journey,  
 “ I trust your consciences are resolved. Keep not then, I beseech you, these my answers and  
 “ humble desires from my sovereign lord, *qui est rex pius et misericors, et non leo coronatus.*”<sup>b</sup> In  
 another letter which he wrote to the king after his trial, he has these words : “ Lost I am for  
 “ hearing a vain man, for *hearing only*, and never believing or approving ; and so little  
 “ account I made of that speech of his, which was my condemnation, that I never remember’d  
 “ any such thing, till it was at my trial objected against me.” This letter he nobly concludes,  
 with a desire only to *repay a lent life* with a love and affection equal to the goodness wherewith  
 his majesty should please to bestow it.<sup>c</sup>

IF these letters had any good effect, it appeared not immediately, *Raleigh* being kept near  
 a month at *Winchester* after he was condemn’d, in daily expectation of death. We find, that  
 when the report of the arraignments was made to the king in his privy-chamber at *Wilton*, he  
 carried himself so reservedly, that no-body could guess how well he was satisfied with the equa-  
 lity of condemnation, till he made, himself, a difference in the punishment. The two priests  
 were executed on the 29th of *November*, and *George Brook* on the 5th of *December* following.  
 His majesty also sign’d warrants for *Cobham*, *Grey* and *Markham*, to be beheaded on the 9th  
 day of the said month. But, in the particular *narrative* of this proceeding to execution, ‘*Ra-*  
*leigh* is not so much as mention’d ; and this might be owing to the extraordinary disappoint-  
 ment of that purgation, which was expected from one of those three next to be executed : for  
 the day aforesaid being come, *Markham* was first brought to the scaffold ; and, having ended  
 his speech, prayers, with all he had to say, and being on his knees, ready to receive the stroke  
 of the ax ; up steps *John Gibb*, groom of the king’s bed-chamber, to Sir *Benjamin Tichbourne*,  
 the sheriff of *Hampshire*, with his majesty’s warrant to stay the execution ; so *Markham* was  
 told he must withdraw a while into the hall, to be confronted by the lords. Then lord *Grey*  
 was brought upon the stage ; and he is said to have poured out his prayers and his confession,  
 tho’ not one word of them recorded in our *narrative* aforesaid ; then was he also call’d aside.  
 Lastly, *Cobham* was brought, and expos’d in the same manner ; and his devotions to God  
 are mention’d ; but not a word of the treason, his guilt or innocence, or concerning any pro-  
 moter of his disloyalty or discontent : so when he had done, the sheriff found it time to un-  
 ravel the *plot*, by proclaiming and magnifying his majesty’s *mercy*, as we have it in the same  
 author ; who yet cannot forbear comparing his own relation to a *comedy*, “ representing so  
 “ many lively figures of justice and mercy in a king, of terror and penitence in offenders,  
 “ and of so great admiration and applause in all others as appear’d in this *action*, carried on  
 “ only and wholly by his majesty’s own direction.”<sup>d</sup> But whereas *Coke* had (after his outra-  
 gious manner) charged *Raleigh* in the *trial* frequently with being the chief plotter and traitor  
 in all this conspiracy : we now see the king, in his *warrant* aforesaid, contradicting him, where  
 he says, to use his own dialect, that, “ the two priestis, and *George Brooke*, vaire the principall  
 “ plotteris and intifairs of all the rest, to the embracing of the saidis treasonabill machina-  
 “ tions :”<sup>e</sup> and yet you find, in the trial again, that *Brook*’s treason was distinct, and to be

<sup>a</sup> As the king’s counsel, in *Raleigh’s trial*, used argu-  
 ments, grounded on presumptions, to prove him guilty ;  
 so did he there also use others to clear himself, grounded  
 on these of his great expences against the *Spaniards*, and  
 his having always been such a noted enemy to their faction.  
 But the sum of 40,000 *l.* in this letter above, is only  
 call’d so many *crowns* in the said common *trial*.

<sup>b</sup> *Raleigh’s Remains*, the last edit. as before, p. 188,  
 &c.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 192, &c.

<sup>d</sup> The copy of a *letter*, written from master T. M.  
 near *Salisbury*, to master H. A. at *London*, concerning the  
 proceeding at *Winchester*, where the late lord *Cobham*, lord  
*Grey*, and Sir *Griffin Markham*, all attainted of high trea-  
 son, were ready to be executed on *Friday* the 9th of *De-*  
*cember*, &c. imprinted at *London* by R. B. (*i. e.* Barker  
 the king’s printer) 4to. 1603. reprinted in *Stow’s Annals*,  
 and lately in Mr. *Joseph Morgan’s Phoenix Britannicus*.

<sup>e</sup> See king *James’s* warrant in the pamphlet aforesaid,  
 p. 11.



kept secret from *Raleigh*, because there *Brook* tells *Markham* “ take heed how you make “ lord *Cobham* acquainted ; for, whatever he knows, *Raleigh* the witch will get it out of “ him.”<sup>a</sup> In short, the whole proceeding is so full of inconsistencies, flanders, and other like odious effects of a false and malicious prosecution, that we may well conclude with that historian, who says, “ the king had ground enough to shew mercy, which some of the condemn’d “ party obtain’d.”<sup>b</sup>

BUT *Raleigh*, it seems, did last taste of it, and for no other apparent reason, but because he was the only one whom his enemies still wanted matter to exclude from it ; as may be gather’d from what *Cecyll* wrote to a correspondent three days after the king’s warrant of suspension, to the others before-mention’d ; where, among these wonderful instances of his majesty’s clemency, we are told, “ He pretended to forbear Sir *Walter Raleigh* for the present, “ till the lord *Cobham*’s death had given some light how far he would make good his accusation : ”<sup>c</sup> and tho’ we hear not that he ever did make it good, yet was the pretended time of *Raleigh*’s execution so determin’d, however we find not, that he, like the rest, was ever brought to the place ; that he wrote, what he intended for his last words, to his wife, the night before he expected to be put to death, in a very moving letter, full of the most generous acknowledgments, of the wisest, most religious and affectionate advice to her, no less than of the most heroic and magnanimous sentiments in regard to himself, and to that suffering which ordinary souls so naturally shrink at. It is too long to recite in this place, besides has been often printed, and may be easily met with in his works. The historical passages in it acquaint us, that his lands were conveyed to his son, as is before-mention’d : that he intended his wife the profits of his wine-office, half his goods, and all his jewels, except some one to his son : that *Baily* owed him two hundred, or, as other editions have it, a thousand pounds ;<sup>d</sup> and his brother *Adrian Gilbert* six hundred : that he had also much money owing him in *Jersey*, besides the arrearages of the wines, which would pay all his debts. Towards the conclusion, he intreats her “ to get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ, said he, to the lords, where- “ in I sued for my life. God is my witness, that it was for you and yours that I desir’d “ life. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it ; for know it, dear wife, that “ your son is the son of a true man, and one, who, in his own respect, despises death, and “ all his mishapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much ; God knows how hardly I steal “ this time, while others sleep ; and it is also high time, that I should separate my “ thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was deny’d thee, and either “ lay it at *Sherborne*, if the land continue, or in *Exeter* church, by my father and mother. “ I can say no more ; time and death call me away.” And as, in the former part of this letter “ he trusts that his blood will quench their malice, who had thus cruelly murder’d him : ” so in the conclusion, “ he prays to God, that he may forgive his persecutors and accusers.”<sup>e</sup>

Prisoner in  
the Tower of  
London.

BUT after all this usage, *Cobham* never confirming his accusation of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, they both were, with the rest of the prisoners, returned, on the 15th of *December*, to the Tower of London :<sup>f</sup> those, of whom the least profit was to be made, were either acquitted, or did afterwards get their liberty ; among whom was *Markham*, who travell’d abroad, but endured greater distress in his state of freedom, than he had in his restraint.<sup>g</sup> But *Grey*, it seems, died in the Tower,<sup>h</sup> and with *Cobham* it went nigh to fare still worse ; for he would have starved there, being so closely fleec’d as he was by the court-beggars of his great estate, had they not also laid thereby a kind of a fine upon his majesty for his offences ; the crown being imposed upon to support him in his many years confinement, as *Raleigh* himself has sufficiently discover’d.<sup>i</sup> And here, to dispatch what more remains of this lord relating to our present

<sup>a</sup> The Arraignment in *Raleigh’s* Life, as before, p. 91.

<sup>b</sup> *Rushworth’s* Historical Collections, vol. I. fol. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Ralph Winwood’s* Memoirs, vol. II. fol. 11.

<sup>d</sup> See this letter in the edit. of *Raleigh’s* Remains, 120. 1651.

<sup>e</sup> *Idem*, and, besides the other editions of his Remains, also at the end of Sir *Thomas Overbury’s* relation of his arraignment, and at the end of *Raleigh’s* Life in *Prince’s Worthies of Devon*, fol. 543.

<sup>f</sup> *Stow’s* Annals, as before.

<sup>g</sup> *James Wadsworth*, in his *English Spanish Pilgrim*, 4to. 1630, p. 66, speaking of the state and demeanor of the English fugitives under the king of Spain’s dominions, says, “ This Sir *Griffin Markham*, at his first arrival in *Brussels*, being kept under by the Jesuits, was “ driven to such an exigency, that he was constrain’d to “ pluck out the inlaid silver of the hilts of his sword, to “ buy flour to make a hatty-pudding for his dinner : “ but he afterwards (says the same author) took the best

“ way to raise his fortunes ; having got into favour with “ the duke of *Nuburge*, who gives him the surest pension of all.”

<sup>h</sup> *Osborne’s* Memorials of king *James*, p. 106. also Sir *William Dugdale*, who says, that this *Thomas* lord *Grey* (son of *Arthur* before-mention’d in this Life) died in the Tower on the 6th of *July* 1614, being the last lord *Grey* of *Wilton*. *Baronage of England*, vol. I. 1675, fol. 716.

<sup>i</sup> The lord *Cecyll*, who was created earl of *Salisbury* in 1605, and lord-treasurer, upon the death of *Buckburgh*, earl of *Dorset*, in 1608, did very much engross the revenues of the crown, as *Raleigh* made appear to the king himself, in an excellent Dialogue he dedicated to his majesty ; where, among the particulars, of *Cecyll’s* neglecting an increase of 40,000 pounds to the king’s estate, the conferring a 10,000 *l.* fine upon *Devonshire* and his mistress, the engrossing to himself many goodly manors, and the exchange of *Theobald’s* for *Hatfield*, which the greatest subject or favourite queen *Elizabeth* had, never



present history, we may observe, that some years after their confinement, *Raleigh* is said to have himself procur'd a re-examination of *Cobham*, and to have been absolutely cleared by him. But the practices which were used against him therein, are represented so foul and wicked, as to have given some, whose interest it was to favour the administrations of these times, occasion to suspect the assertion; tho' it is corroborated by several material circumstances, as well as the testimony of coeval writers. The author, in whom we first meet with this passage, and whose shorter account of it is before related, to shew that *Raleigh's* life was surreptitiously taken away, gives it us again more circumstantially, and as a true story, thus, "Queen *Anne*, that brave princess, was in a desperate, and some believed incurable disease, whereof the physicians were at the furthest end of their studies to find the cause, at a *non plus* for the cure. Sir *Walter Raleigh* being, by his long studies, an admirable chymist, <sup>a</sup> undertook His cure of queen *Anne*. and perform'd the cure; <sup>b</sup> for which he would receive no other reward, but that her majesty would procure, that certain lords might be sent to examine *Cobham*, whether he had accused Sir *Walter Raleigh* of treason at any time under his hand? the king, at the queen's request (and in justice could do no less) sends some lords and others of the council (which, as our author goes on, were the duke of *Lenox*, *Salisbury*, *Worcester*, *Suffolk*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Julius Caesar*) to demand of *Cobham*; whether he had not, under his hand, accused Sir *Walter Raleigh* at *Winchester*, upon that treason he was arraign'd for? *Cobham* did protest, never, nor could he; <sup>c</sup> but, said he, that villain *Wade* did often sollicite me, and, not prevailing that way, got me, by a trick, to write my name upon a piece of white paper, which I, thinking nothing, did; so that, if any charge came under my hand, it was forged by that villain *Wade*, by writing something above my hand, without my consent or knowledge. <sup>d</sup> These six returning to the king, the rest made *Salisbury* their spokesman; who said: Sir, My lord *Cobham* hath made good all that ever he wrote or said. Where it is to be noted, that this was but an equivocating trick in *Salisbury*; for it was true, that *Cobham* had made good whatever he had writ, but never wrote any thing to accuse *Raleigh*; by which you see the baseness of this lord, the credulity of the king, and the ruin of Sir *Walter Raleigh*." <sup>e</sup> As for the miserable end this lord *Cobham* made, the same author relates it; <sup>f</sup> and it is also confirm'd by others, who were well acquainted with the history of these times, and

durst have named to her; he farther instances, that, "It had been an honest service to the king, to have also added 7000 *l.* lands of the lord *Cobham's*, with his woods and goods, worth 30,000 *l.* more. For those lands, remaining with *George Brook's* children but during their lives, had been the king's for ever in effect; but to wrest them from the king, and draw the inheritance upon himself, the treasurer persuaded his majesty to relinquish his interest for a petty sum of money; and, that there might be no counter-working, he sent *Brook* six thousand pounds to make friends; whereof lord *Hume* had two thousand pounds back again, *Buckhurst* and *Berwick* had the other four thousand pounds, and the treasurer and his heirs the mass of land for ever." What then came to the king by this confiscation? (says one of the correspondents in the said *Dialogue*.) "His majesty (answers t'other) by all those goodly possessions, woods and goods, loses five hundred pounds a year, which he gives in pension to *Cobham* to maintain him in prison." See Sir *Walter Raleigh's* *Prerogative of Parliaments* in his *Remains* (last edit) p. 249, &c.

<sup>a</sup> The author here quoted, seems to have been well acquainted with Sir *Walter Raleigh's* character, by this circumstance; for there is still in being a volume of *Chymical and Medicinal Preparations*, in *Raleigh's* own hand-writing, as will more particularly be observ'd a few pages farther.

<sup>b</sup> The author of *Aulicus Coquinarius* thinks, he sufficiently answers this passage; where he says, p. 97, "the queen was never cur'd of her disease, but by death, that ends all maladies." Now the disease, which this queen *Anne* died of, was a *dropsy*, but not till after Sir *Walter Raleigh's* death, and above fifteen year after this imprisonment; whereas the disease, from which *Raleigh* recover'd her, was a *fever*, as Dr. *Wekwood* informs us in his *Narrative on Wilton's History of King James*. In the same place he says, it was some time before the illness of *Anne*; and *Camden*, in his *Annals of King James*, telling us, when Sir *Julius Caesar* was made a peer, could not, we may conclude this cure was perform'd between the years 1607 and 1612.

<sup>c</sup> This much is confirm'd by another writer, who ob-

serves, "that *Raleigh* and *Cobham* being prisoners, upon the suit of queen *Anne* (who was thereunto press'd by Sir *Walter Raleigh*) *Cobham* was re-examin'd before some of the lords of the council at the *Tower*, and did clear Sir *Walter Raleigh* from all treasons whatsoever." *Observations upon some persons and passages in the Complaint History of Mary queen of Scotland, and her son James*, 4to. 1656, p. 12.

<sup>d</sup> An author before cited, has attempted to disprove this particular thus: "How could *Wade* tamper with *Cobham* to write his name to a blank, to which *Wade* framed the accusation against *Raleigh*; when it appears, *Cobham* never signed at all to his examinations?" *Aulicus Coquinarius* p. 190. But it is plain this trick of *Wade's*, if such he committed, could not be meant of *Cobham's* examinations, for they were taken at *Richmond* and at *London*; but the question put here was, Whether *Cobham* had not, under his hand, accused Sir *Walter Raleigh* at *Winchester*? which could relate only to this letter of accusation before quoted, which was subscrib'd with *Cobham's* name, and pretended to be written by him the night before *Raleigh's* trial there.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *Anthony Weldon's* court and character of King *James*, p. 38, 39, 40.

<sup>f</sup> He tells us, that, "as lord *Grey* died pitied, *Cobham* died scorn'd, and his death as base; for he died louty for want of apparel and linen; and had starv'd, had not a trencher-scraper, some time his servant in court, relieved him with scraps, in whose house he died, being so poor a house, as he was forced to creep up a ladder into a little hole to his chamber; which was a strange judgment, and unprecedented for a man of seven thousand pounds *per annum*, and of a personal estate of thirty thousand pounds; of all which the king was so cheated (or of what should have cheated to him) that he could not give him any maintenance, as in all cases the king does, unless out of his own revenue of the crown; which was the occasion of this lord's want (his wife being very rich, and would not give him the crumbs that fell from her table) and this was a just judgment of God on him." *The Works*, p. 37, &c. *Observations*, much to the same tenor, tell us, from the authority of *William earl of Portland*, "that



and from whom we learn, that *Cobham* survived not Sir *Walter Raleigh* above two or three months.<sup>a</sup>

BUT to return to more early passages in *Raleigh's* imprisonment, and to consider his state, as it appears at his entrance therein, we may very easily believe, he was at first in very great trouble to be so suddenly, and in such a manner, depriv'd of power, fortune, liberty and reputation; but find nothing to confirm the extraordinary dejection one writer, who has been before spoken of, describes him under; where he says, "In the publick joy and jubilee of the whole realm, when favour, peace and pardon were offer'd even to offenders; he, who in wit, in wealth, in courage, was inferior to few, fell suddenly (he cannot tell how) into such a downfall of despair, that his greatest enemies would not have wished him so much harm, as he would have done himself;"<sup>b</sup> for we have seen he had enemies, who would have done him the injury that could not be exceeded, had not the king, in some degree of justice, rather than mercy to him, interpos'd, and secured him, as well from being quite destroyed by, as taking revenge on them: besides, that letter to his wife before-mention'd, when his fate appeared nearest and most unavoidable to him, demonstrates the firmness and fortitude of a man, who could receive death as an acquaintance, rather than a stranger, or one, who, having so often gone to face him among the foes to his country abroad, could, with equal steadiness and composure of mind, meet him from those at home. Indeed, the affairs of a person, who had such various and extensive dealings or commerce with mankind, could not but be somewhat perplex'd and embarrass'd, upon a fall so sudden and precipitous; therefore, to find him employing agents for collecting in debts, and satisfying creditors, is to be expected. Thus, in one of his letters to Sir *Michael Hext*, he desires him to spare *John Shellbury* for a little time, he being bound for him in a sum of fifteen hundred pounds; and, if he was restrained, so that he could not recover the wine-arrearages, which (as we find from *Raleigh's* letter before to his wife) would clear all his debts, they must remain unpaid. The date endors'd upon this letter, probably by Sir *Michael* himself, is *November 12, 1604.*<sup>c</sup> In the middle of *February* following, we find a grant made by the king, to that *John Shellbury* and another person, to this effect: "That Sir *Walter Raleigh*, late of *Sherborne, &c.* being attainted of high treason, whereby all his goods and chattels, real and personal, moveable and immoveable; debts, duties, sums of money, bonds, &c. are forfeited. His majesty therefore, in consideration that the said debts, which Sir *Walter Raleigh* did truly owe before the said attainder and conviction, may be justly and truly paid; as also for the help and maintenance of dame *Elizabeth* his wife, his child and family; and for other considerations, grants to *John Shellbury* and *Robert Smith* of *London*, gentlemen, all the said goods, &c."

THUS we see a great distinction made already between him and *Cobham*, and shall find more favour extending towards him in a little while. 'Tis said to be much owing to the earnest and unwearied intercessions of his lady at court, who, that she might be more serviceable to him, soon after he was committed to the *Tower*, petition'd the king, that she might be a prisoner with her husband, or live with him there in his confinement; and her request was granted. Here, manifestly after the grant aforesaid to *Raleigh's* trustees, because that mentions but one of his sons, she was deliver'd of the other, and he was christen'd *Carew*, who was yet born, as authors compute, within the year above-mention'd. To this satisfaction, *Raleigh* had others afterwards, which greatly alleviated the loss of his liberty; so that his restraint, which was intended as a mortification, his prudence in time so converted, that it proved only a retirement, or the quiet enjoyment of a domestick life; and he felt certain comforts arise from the constant company of his little family, which, in the pomp of courts, the pride of conquests, the glory of discoveries, and the sweetness of freedom itself, he had never tasted. But this tranquillity appears not to have suddenly arriv'd, being for a while divested of all his estate; and, having some contentions at law with those who were considerably indebted to him, and could not otherwise be brought to account; one instance whereof we have in *Wil-*

His younger son born.

" that *Cobham* died in a room ascended by a ladder, at a poor woman's house in the *Minories*, formerly his laundress, rather of hunger, than of any more natural disease. Thus miserable was his fate, in meeting with a prince so inconsiderately profuse to strangers, that he forgot the owner, not leaving him wherewithal to buy bread: an impiety not found among infidels, who ever deem'd it less injustice to take away life, than the means to maintain it.

<sup>a</sup> *Camden's Annals* of king *James*, and *Dugdale's Baronage*.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *John Harrington's* Brief View of the Church, p. 93.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh* to Sir *Michael Hext*, the original in the choice and valuable library of *James West*, Esq. F. R. S.

<sup>d</sup> *De Concessione Johanni Shelbery et Roberto Smyth, de Bonis et Catallis quæ fuerunt Walteri Raleigh Militis Attincti.* In *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. XVI. fol. 569.



*liam Sanderfon* the elder, “ who was of kin to *Raleigh*; <sup>a</sup> and (as we are told) in the time of his “ prosperity and greatness, was his servant, intrusted with receiving great sums of money for “ him out of his office of wines, and his other places, by which he became in arrear to *Ra-* “ *legb* in divers great sums; which, after his troubles, he sent for to *Sanderfon*, who was so far “ from paying them, that he pretended *Raleigh* should owe him two thousand pounds: where- “ upon Sir *Walter*, in great anger, commenced a suit against *Sanderfon*, which was managed “ by his servant and solicitor *John Shellbury*; and *Sanderfon*, being overthrown, and found in “ arrear to *Raleigh* in very great sums, was cast into prison, where he died a beggar. Hence “ sprung all the spleen and malice of *William Sanderfon* the younger (in his history of king “ *James*’s reign) towards Sir *Walter Raleigh*,” as the author of the pamphlet whence this pas- sage is extracted, and which was written many years after *Raleigh*’s death, to detect the errors and falsities in that history, continues. <sup>b</sup> Now this exposure both of that author’s father and his own history, so enraged the son, that he forthwith publish’d an *answer* to the said pamphlet, in which he not only endeavours to support what he had written of Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his history, tho’ with no authorities or satisfactory reasons, but falls most foully upon *Carew Ra- legh*, as if he was the author of the pamphlet aforesaid against his history; and that, with such womanish spleen and slander as might have betray’d, had not himself own’d, that his wife had a hand in writing it. But of the passage here last quoted, tho’ he contradicts several particulars, he does not deny the main point; which is, that Sir *Walter Raleigh*, now after his reprieve, did commence suits by *Shellbury* against his father, which might naturally sharpen the son’s pen, and warp his impartiality, when he was representing him in his history, and the rather if *Raleigh* was such a debtor besides to his father, as he describes him. <sup>c</sup> But, who- ever was the author of those *observations* on the said history, he has not more unfavourably treated it, than others who examined it afterwards. <sup>d</sup>

WHEN *Raleigh* had got over these troublesome contests, all things appear’d, for a while, about him as serene, as in such a gloomy state could be hoped for; and he, who lately was upon the very brink of dissolution, had all his offices, lands and goods, seiz’d upon, and was himself committed a close prisoner, had not only his life repriev’d, and his confinement sweetned with some degrees of latitude, but even his estate also restor’d to him. For these lands (as should have been before observ’d, had *Carew Raleigh*’s case, whereof I had then but an imperfect extract, been, as it is now at hand) were actually made over by Sir *Wal- ter Raleigh* to his son, both inheritance and fee, before queen *Elizabeth* died, as formerly was also the lease for years; <sup>e</sup> so that, as he observes again in another place, “ being entail’d on “ Sir *Walter*’s heirs, he could not forfeit them, but during his own life; and the king, finding “ in himself the iniquity of Sir *Walter*’s condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited “ again.” <sup>f</sup> Herewith agrees likewise Sir *John Harrington*, who not only tells us by whose

His estate  
restor’d him.

<sup>a</sup> For the said *William Sanderfon* the elder, who was much engag’d among the merchant-adventurers in queen *Elizabeth*’s reign, and one of her commissioners for the *Spanish* prize-goods; also of note for the great globes, which, by his encouragement, were brought to perfection; married, about the year 1571, *Margaret Snedale* or *Snow- dale*, the daughter of Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s sister *Mary*, by her husband *Hugh Snedale*, a commander in the queen’s royal navy, as we gather from a pamphlet written by their son *William Sanderfon*, more particularly mention’d a little lower.

<sup>b</sup> Observations on the history of *Mary* queen of *Scot- land*, and her son *James*, &c. p. 2.

<sup>c</sup> See an *Answer* to a scurrilous pamphlet, entitled, *Observations upon a compleat History, &c. of Mary queen of Scotland, and her son king James, &c.* by *William Sanderfon*, Esq; 4to. 1656.

<sup>d</sup> The character he gives of *Sanderfon*’s said *History* of king *James*, is as follows: “ His whole *History* is a “ *Rhapsody* of notes and scatter’d papers from other men, “ collected without order or method; exceedingly defec- “ tive both in time, place and nominations; and written “ in so unseemly and disjointed a style, that you may “ easily perceive he has taken up other mens words with- “ out understanding their matter; and unless it be where “ he rails on persons of honour (which he does plainly, “ and often, tho’ sometimes very falsely) his language “ is dark, harsh and unintelligible.” Dr. *Heylin* thought this character so just, that he has recited it in his *Survey of Sanderfon’s History of Charles I.* annexed to his *adver- tisements* on the said author’s *History of the queen of Scots and king James*, in his *Examen Historiarum* before men-

tion’d; and farther confirms it with this character of his own: “ *Sanderfon*’s method is intricate and perplex’d, “ backwards and forwards, without care of time or or- “ der; telling the same thing over and over, and many “ times disagreeing in one place, from that which was “ affirm’d in another: his language rough and unpolish’d “ in most parts of the book, and in some parts ungram- “ matical; so that no sense can be pick’d out of it, but “ by circumstances, and in the way of conjecture only.” A little further he also gives it as the opinion of a judi- cious friend, “ That *Sanderfon* writes nothing like an “ historian, either for style or composure: his sentences “ many times nonsense, and his digressions tedious and “ impertinent.”

And Dr. *Welwood*, in his notes on *Wilson*’s history of king *James*, says, nothing could enhance the value of it more than “ a most wretched one publish’d by one *Wil- liam Sanderfon*; who pretends, in several places, to “ some secret memoirs or discourses with great men, to “ make good the passages of his history. But the truth “ is, the whole is nothing else but an ill-compil’d collec- “ tion out of other authors; wherein he, for the most “ part, mistakes or perverts their meaning. In cursorily “ reading over this history, I have sometimes taken no- “ tice of above four or five gross errors, either in names, “ things or chronology, in one single page.”

<sup>e</sup> *Carew Raleigh*’s case at the committee, for sale of delinquents estates, MS. before quoted.

<sup>f</sup> A brief relation of Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s troubles; with the taking away of the lands and castle of *Sherborne* in *Dorsetshire*, &c. 4to. 1669, p. 6.



mediation *Raleigh* recover'd his said estate, and his enlargement in prison, but how laudably he employ'd himself there at the time of this author's writing, which might be about the year 1607; where he says, "God put it into the king's mind, against man's expectation, to save his life; and since, by the fruit of his faithful wife, both to preserve his estate, and to ease his restraint, in such sort as many, who are at liberty, taste not greater comforts than he doth in prison; being not barr'd of those companions, meaning books, that he may, and perhaps does, take more true comfort in them, than ever he took of his courtly companions in his chiefest bravery."<sup>a</sup>

BUT this prospect was soon overcast; for there was a young *Scotchman*, named *Robert Car*, who, soon after the said restitution, sprang up in great favour at court; and, having no fortune of his own, it was contrived by those who had gaped in vain for *Raleigh's* estate themselves, to lay the foundation of this favourite's future greatness upon his ruin: for, being thus frustrated of the effects of Sir *Walter's* attainder, they pretended to find a flaw in his last conveyance of the fee and inheritance of *Sherborne* to his son; and to this purpose an information was exhibited in the *Exchequer* by the attorney-general *Hobart*, to which *Raleigh* put in his answer; and therein the said grant or conveyance was set forth to be made over, as above: yet, for want of a single word (which was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of the clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and *Sherborne* absolutely forfeited to the crown; a judgment to be foreseen without witchcraft; since his chief judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a friendless prisoner and the king of *England*.<sup>b</sup>

And taken  
away again.

THEN was *Sherborne* given to this *Car*, afterwards earl of *Somerset*. The lady *Raleigh* and her children earnestly petition'd the king for compassion; but could now obtain no other answer from him, than that *he mun have the land, he mun have it for Car*. And she, a woman of high spirit, on her knees, prayed to God, that he would punish those who had thus wrongfully exposed her and her children to ruin.<sup>c</sup> We have an elegant letter of *Raleigh's* extant, to *Car* himself, upon this occasion; but, having been corruptly printed, as I have elsewhere observ'd,<sup>d</sup> it may appear from several ancient manuscript copies more correct, as follows: "After some great losses, and many years sorrows, of both which I have cause to fear I was mistaken in the end; it is come to my knowledge, that yourself, whom I know not but by an honourable fame, has been persuaded to give me and mine our last fatal blow, by obtaining from his majesty the inheritance of my children and nephews, lost in the law for want of a word. This done, there remains nothing with me but the name of life, despoiled of all else but the title and sorrow thereof. His majesty, whom I never offended (for I ever held it unnatural and unmanly to hate goodness) stay'd me at the grave's brink; not, as I hope, that he thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold all mine cast out of the world with myself; but as a king, who, judging the poor in truth, has received a promise from God, that his throne shall be establish'd for ever. And for yourself, Sir, seeing your fair day is but now in the dawn, and mine drawn to the evening, your own virtues and the king's grace assuring you of many favours and much honour, I beseech you not to begin your first building upon the ruins of the innocent; and that their sorrows, with mine, may not attend your first plantation. I have been ever bound to your nation, as well for many other graces, as for their true report of my trial to his majesty, against whom had I been found malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compassion, and the minds of the greatest number present into the commiseration of my state. It is not the nature of soul treason to beget such fair passions; neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithful subjects, especially of your nation, to bewail his overthrow, who had conspir'd against their most liberal and natural lord. I therefore trust, Sir, that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo their curse, who enter the field of the fatherless; which, if it please you to know the truth, is far less fruitful in value than in fame: but that so worthy a gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to your service, being, Sir, gentlemen, not base in birth or alliance, who have interest therein; and myself, with my utmost thankfulness, will ever remain ready to

<sup>a</sup> Brief View of the State of the Church of *England*, p. 93, 94.

<sup>b</sup> Thus in the brief *Relation* of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Trouble, and *Carver Raleigh's* Case as before. *Raleigh* has himself also made some sharp reflections upon judges for their deprivations of this kind. In his *Discourse* of the original and innery of invasive war, p. 19.

<sup>c</sup> A brief relation of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* trouble, as before, p. 7.

<sup>d</sup> In an *Essay on Epistolary Writing*, &c. MS. p. 31. from archbishop *Ussher's* Observation in his *Baconiana*, printed 8vo. 1679. p. 77. where, speaking of the corrupt and embased copies, from which several of the letters in the *Cabala* were printed, he gives a particular instance in this letter of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* to Sir *Robert Car*; having compared it with the original, and found no fewer than forty difference between them, of which some were of moment.



“obey your commandments.” This letter, in one or two old copies, is dated *December 1608.*<sup>a</sup> But this so little prevailed upon *Car*, or any other applications *Raleigh* might make to the king, with his majesty himself; that besides *Sherborne*, and the manors belonging to it, those other lands which *Raleigh* himself had purchased, call’d, *Pinford* and *Primesly*, *Barton*, and the manors appertaining also thereunto, forfeited with the rest by his attainder, were also granted the following year 1609, or the seventh of his majesty’s reign, to the said favourite.<sup>b</sup>

BUT now, or not long after, *Raleigh* was grown into high esteem with that great hope and heir of these kingdoms, prince *Henry Frederick*, the king’s eldest son, who, being satisfied of his loyalty, and well inform’d of his great qualifications and experience in civil and military affairs, with his hazardous services for the honour and defence of his country, no less than his many publick-spirited adventures, both to enlarge and enrich it, testified not his own merits more in any one particular, than in distinguishing those of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; and, notwithstanding the many little envious detractions of some undermining courtiers about him, did both encourage his epistolary addressees to him from the *Tower*, and send for his counsel or opinion upon several emergent occasions. It was, perhaps, one of the brightest rays in the shining orb of this rare prince’s actions; that he never left invading the king with the most persuasive solicitations, that he would bestow *Sherborne* upon him, with full design to return it to its just owner, till his majesty at last granted his request: but by what cruel fate *Raleigh*’s hopes were eclipsed again, and indeed those of the whole kingdom, we shall suddenly hear.

How much respected by the prince of Wales.

IN the mean time, we must here endeavour to give such light of that intercourse which passed between the said prince *Henry* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as those *letters* and *discourses*, which he address’d to his highness, and are extant, will afford; and first, when he found how commendably the prince was inclined to the studies of navigation; how much delighted he was with a view of the fleet at *Chatham*; how inquisitive, or desirous to inform himself, by consultation with the most experienced commanders, in the knowledge of building ships most artfully, fitting them out most commodiously, sailing them most dexterously, and fighting with them most successfully, in order to execute those great designs he had upon the *West-Indies* and *Spain* itself, whenever the king thereof should give cause of publick hostility, as one of his own servants acquaints us, and would have done more distinctly, had he not been manacled in a courtly maxim so discrepant with all *personal* narrative; *That to publish particulars, agrees not with rules of state:*<sup>c</sup> *Raleigh* compos’d and communicated to his highness several *trattates* upon these subjects. Such was his *letter* touching the *model* of a *ship*, which the prince intended to build;<sup>d</sup> and such his *discourse* of a *maritimal voyage*, with the *passages* and *incidents* therein,<sup>e</sup> which he seconded with some necessary *observations* on the *royal navy* and *sea service*,<sup>f</sup> also dedicated to his highness; and wherein he appears to have been a most worthy and earnest counsellor of the prince, to a due *regard* and *regulation thereof*. For, says *Raleigh* to him, in answer to any objection that might be made to the maintenance of so great a fleet, in the perfection and readiness which he recommends, now in times of peace: “*Tho’ the sword is put into the sheath, we must not suffer it to rust, or stick so fast, that we shall not be able to draw it readily when need requires;*” and, a little further, “*we may be assur’d, that if those powerful means, whereby we reduced our enemies to the courtesy of seeking peace of us, were neglected, so as we could not again, upon occasion, readily assume the use and benefit of them, as we have done; those proud mastering spirits, finding us at such advantage, would be more willing to shake us by the ears as enemies, than to take us by the hands as friends.* Therefore, far be it from our hearts to trust more to that friendship of strangers, which is but dissembled upon policy and necessity, than to the strength of our own forces, which has been experienced with so happy success. I confess, that *peace* is a blessing of God, and blessed are the *peace-makers*; therefore doubtless blessed are those *means* whereby peace is gain’d and maintain’d. For well we know, that God works all things here among us, mediately and by a secondary means; the which means, of *our defence* and *safety*, being *shipping* and *sea-forces*, are to be esteemed as his gifts; and then only available and beneficial, when he withal vouchsafes his grace to *use them aright.*”<sup>g</sup> To this end,

His advice to the prince about the Royal Navy.

<sup>a</sup> One copy is in a thin folio volume of Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s Letters, among the MS. collections of Sir *Hammond*; and the other, in the library of *James West*, Esq;

<sup>b</sup> *Carver Raleigh*’s Case, as before.

<sup>c</sup> A *Discourse* of the most illustrious prince *Henry*, late prince of *Wales*, written *Ann* 1626 by Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Kt. some time treasurer of his highness’s house.

Dedicated to prince *Charles* by *J. B.* printed 4to. 1641. p. 12, 13, &c.

<sup>d</sup> In Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s Remains (last edit.) p. 160.

<sup>e</sup> Mention’d by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his *Observations* on the *Royal Navy*, &c. p. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Printed in his *Essays*, 8vo. 1650.

<sup>g</sup> *Id.* p. 44, &c.



*Raleigh* also wrote another *discourse* for the said prince, *Of the art of war by sea*.<sup>a</sup> But the untimely death of his highness, as we shall too soon find, deprived both him and posterity of the advantages which a subject so useful and uncommon, from an author so able and experienced, did promise.

THERE is nothing in these discourses, or any other I have met with, which shew *Raleigh* any ways concerned in writing those propositions or arguments for foreign wars, which were delivered to prince *Henry* by some of his military servants, and which were afterwards abstractedly publish'd, together with an answer at large, written, very conformable to the taste of king *James*, by the learned Sir *Robert Cotton*; <sup>b</sup> tho', to the first edition of this treatise, the booksellers, having prefixed Sir *Walter Raleigh's* picture, have thereby misled some writers of his life, carelessly to insert this book into the catalogue of his writings. <sup>c</sup> 'Tis true, *Raleigh* has obliquely and subordinately touch'd this branch of the subject in some of his discourses upon war, but in other arguments than are here answer'd, nay after this answer was written; nor are they address'd to the prince, but indeed written also after his death. <sup>d</sup> In some places, he has given the greatest discouragements to a military life, from knowing, how many are deluded to be the executioners of other men's ambition, and to lay down their lives for what they should not venture them; <sup>e</sup> yet withal, the greater disproportion of honour and reward which attends that profession, than others of less personal hardship and danger, as was before partly observed. <sup>f</sup> In other places, he has written against wanton and causeless invasions, for the mere sake of brutish and vain-glorious victory; against waging war with our enemies, till we beat the art of it into them; till cowards are learnt to be courageous, and defenders become assailants: yet has elsewhere, in a very ingenious similitude, shewn, that martial policy is one of the principal supports of government. <sup>g</sup> However, when a prince has thereby got authority, or the sharpest means in his power, he would have the mildest use; and the one acquired in full strength, only that the other may be exercised with perfect safety: for he ever preferr'd reason and love as stronger chains of government than constraint or violence, <sup>h</sup> and thought that royal dealings was ever surest of meeting with royal success. <sup>i</sup> Such were the principles Sir *Walter Raleigh* infus'd not only into the prince of *Wales*, but all other readers throughout his writings; and agreeable hereto is the tenor of that letter he wrote to the said prince, August the 12th 1611, concerning the most eligible power in an English sovereign, where he has, with the spirit of a true patriot, said: "Let me not doubt but all plans, which do not carry in them the mutual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd to your great understanding, as disagreeable to your noble nature." <sup>k</sup>

And concerning the bell plan of government.

BUT now *Raleigh's* pen was engaged upon a different subject in the prince's service, and by his command: for, "the first overtures of a marriage between this prince and the eldest daughter of *Spain* being put off," <sup>l</sup> the like motion was now made by the *Savoyan* ambassador, not only for a marriage between prince *Henry* and a daughter of the duke of *Savoy*, but for another, of his son Don *Phillibert*, prince of *Piedmont*, with princess *Elizabeth*, the daughter of *England*. *Raleigh* wrote two discourses, upon this occasion, in the year last mention'd; and that he particularly was requested by the prince to give his opinion of the said

<sup>a</sup> Hereafter mention'd more particularly in the catalogue of his writings.

<sup>b</sup> Wars with foreign princes dangerous, or reasons for foreign wars answer'd, 8vo. 165—reprinted under the title of An answer to such motives as were offered by certain military men to prince Henry, inciting him to affect arms more than peace, publish'd by Sir John Cotton, Bart. 8vo. 1665. But this second edition has very properly exchanged Sir *Walter Raleigh's* picture for Sir *Robert Cotton's*.

<sup>c</sup> Anthony Wood in Athen. Oxon. vol. I. col. 440. and Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 541.

<sup>d</sup> As in his Discourse of the original and miseries of invasive war, 8vo. 1650, &c.

<sup>e</sup> His words are: "It may be affirm'd, the number of those that have been slaughter'd by their fellow-creatures, exceed the number of all the inhabitants that ever were at one time living upon the face of the earth; yet very few of this infinite number, thus untimely slain, were ever masters of the grounds of the disputes for which they suffer'd, or the true reason of their being led to the battle; the truth, with much artifice, being kept from all, but what were parties to the design resolv'd on. What deluded wretches then have a great part of mankind been, who have either yielded themselves to be slain in causes, which, if truly known, their hearts would abhor, or been the bloody executioners of other men's ambition! It is a hard fate to be

"slain for what a man should never willingly fight; yet few soldiers have laid themselves down in the bed of honour under better circumstances." *Raleigh's Three Discourses*, p. 110.

<sup>f</sup> From his reflections on the unhappiness of a military profession, in his History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 6. sect. 2.

<sup>g</sup> It is as follows: "They say, that the goodliest cedars, which grow on the high mountains of *Libanus*, thrust their roots between the cliffs of hard rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As nature has instructed those kings of trees, has reason taught the kings of men to root themselves in the hardy hearts of their faithful subjects. And, as those kings of trees have large tops, to have the king of men large crowns; whereof, as the first would soon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; so would the other easily totter, were they not fasten'd on their heads with the strong chains of civil justice and martial discipline." *Raleigh's Remains* (last edit.) p. 116.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, p. 119.

<sup>i</sup> *Raleigh's Precedent of Parliaments*, in the said edition of his Remains, p. 236.

<sup>k</sup> See this letter of Sir *Walter Raleigh* to prince Henry, in Sir *Richard Steele's Englishman*, 8vo. 1714, p. 9.

<sup>l</sup> Sir *William Cornwallis's Discourse* of the most illustrious Prince Henry, as before, p. 19, &c.



offers, appears in his introduction to the first of those discourses, inscrib'd to some minister of state about his highness; in which *Raleigh* has so notably discover'd what a tool for "avarice and ambition most of the Catholic princes in *Europe* had made of this sacrament of matrimony;" and how notoriously "the *Castilians*, with those of whom these princes are descended, have gotten no less by the traffick of their marriages, than they have done by the trade of their *Indies*;" that I wonder these excellent political discourses were never made publick, for the more easy advertisement of our succeeding princes upon this topick. The second of them, upon the match for prince *Henry*, is treated under eight heads; and, in the fourth page of it, *Raleigh* has these words: "There is a kind of noble and royal deceiving in marriages between great kings and princes; yea it is, of all others, the fairest and most unsuspected kind of betraying: it has been as ordinary among them to adventure or cast away a daughter to bring some purpose to pass, as at other times, for saving of charges, to make them nuns." A little farther, having represented the duke of *Savoy* so tied to the see of *Rome*, both by religion and benefit, that he could no more be separated and subsist, than if his soul was divided from his body, he goes on thus, more directly, concerning the marriage: "What then remains of profit to our prince by this alliance? A sum of money, and a beautiful lady. For beauty (says he) it was never more cheap in any age; and it is ever better loved in the hope, than when it is bad: for the million of crowns offered, which makes but two of our subsidies, I speak it confidently; when those dukes, lords, and great ladies, who will attend the princess in her passage hither, shall be all presented with gifts according to their degrees and the king's honour; when the preparations, triumphs and feastings are paid for, there will nothing remain but a great encrease of charge, and, perchance, a great deal of melancholy." And a little further, *Raleigh* comes closer still, to the prince himself, in these words: "Now, if by these dislikes of the former alliances, you make judgment that it is my desire that the prince should not marry at all; I say, my desire is not, that the prince should not marry at all, but not as yet; and I am exceeding sorry that the prince has not the same desire. For seeing his majesty is yet but young, and by God's favour like to live many years; and that his highness, if he should now marry, may have many children born to him, before he be thirty years old; and, seeing all his children shall be princes, and must be provided for as princes, I think it will much perplex him to find himself so environ'd, till his majesty has somewhat repaired his estate, and provided beautiful gardens to plant these olive branches in. While the prince is unmarried, all the eyes of *Christendom* are upon him; for, with what king soever he shall be ballanc'd, he will cast the scale; but, to have him weigh'd with a little prince, I should be sorry, and he himself will be as sorry after. All the princes in *Christendom* woo'd *Charles*, duke of *Burgundy*, while his daughter was unmarried; and while our prince is free (our enemies not knowing upon what ground to build their practices) his majesty's safety is in the mean while infinitely assured; but, the prince once disposed of, they will presently muster our forces, measure our fortunes, sound us to the bottom, and make their approaches accordingly: they will then say, we have seen the utmost of the *Prince of Wales*!" Then having observ'd, that "since there is none but a Catholic lady for us, let us have a king on our side (says he) to boot:" so, in consideration of the many motives to enmity between *France* and *Spain*, which he enumerates; as also the many obligations which *France* then lay under, of gratitude to the crown of *England*, and the advantage of retaining the *Netherlands*, he proposes the daughter of the *French* king. On the other side, that it would be a needless hazard both to neglect this love and union, and sustain withal the hatred of the archduke, the pope, and the king of *Spain* together; however disunited, they were not to be feared: "For then, if they should combine against us, from whom should we hope for help? If it be from *Savoy* or *Florence*, God help us! Our friends inhabit beyond the mountains, our enemies at hand! We leave those that are strongest and nearest us, for those who are weakest and furthest off! We leave those that can help us, or harm us, for those that can do neither! Those we leave who depend on themselves, to wit, the *French*, for those who depend on others, to wit, the *Savoyans* and *Florentines*!" Thus ends Sir *Walter Raleigh's* discourse upon the marriage proposed for prince *Henry*.

In his other discourse, on the match that was offered for the ingenious and accomplish'd lady *Elizabeth*, that prince's sister, having copiously exemplified, as we have observ'd, what mercenary sacrifices had been made, by crown'd heads, of their children, in this grand market of matrimony; and answer'd the objection he foresaw some *espanioliz'd* courtiers might make, that seeing the kings of *France*, and especially of *Spain*, had so often match'd themselves with the dukes of *Savoy*, Why should not the king of *England* also accept of their alliance? He pro-

His arguments against the match proposed for his highness.



And against  
the match for  
princess *Elizabeth*.

ceeds to examine what encrease of *honour* and *dignity*, or what great *comfort* or *contentment* this excellent young princess could expect or hope for by this match? “ For the *first*, to wit, “ *honour* and *dignity* (says he) as she is born the eldest, and now only daughter of one of the “ mightiest kings of *Christendom*, so is she thereby of higher place and state, than the wife “ of a duke of *Savoy*. Besides, in her birth and blood, both of father and mother, descended “ of such royal races, as *Savoy* cannot add any greater grace or glory to ; and by nature and “ education endow’d with such princely perfections, both of body and mind, as may well de- “ serve to be reputed a worthy spouse for the greatest monarch of *Christendom*, especially con- “ sidering the *possibilities* of a daughter of *England*, whereof we have had many precedents ; “ and, at this time, is happily manifested in the king’s majesty, our sovereign, being descended of “ a daughter of *England* ; whereby the whole island, formerly divided, is again now made “ one GREAT-BRITAIN, to the mutual strength of either. Now to confer the *possibility* of “ such a fortune, upon a poor popish duke of *Savoy*, that can return no recompence of benefit “ to this state, were greatly for his glory, tho’ little for the advancement of this noble prin- “ cess, and less for the safety of this kingdom, considering the dangers that it may draw upon “ our worthy magnanimous prince and the noble duke of *York*, if the ambition of this match “ should tickle the *Savoyan* to look after *possibilities*, wherein there would want neither means, “ persuasions nor pardons from *Rome*, to practise any villany in that behalf, whereby to bene- “ fit or strengthen an appendix of *Spain*, and so devoted a son to the *Romish* see. For the “ second, namely the *comfort* and *contentment* of this worthy young lady by this match, as there “ is little in appearance presently, so there is less to be hoped for in the future. For, as first, “ she must be removed far from her nearest blood, both by father and mother, into a country “ far estranged from our nation, as any part of *Christendom*. and as far differing from us in “ religion, as in climate. And what true correspondence, or matrimonial affection, there can “ be maintain’d between those persons, whose minds are different, and opposite in the religious “ points of their Christian faith, is greatly to be doubted. Moreover it is greatly to be feared, “ with what safety and security she can long live free from secret practices and treacheries, “ in a country so near the pope’s jurisdiction, environ’d with the plots of the *Jesuits*, who, we “ see, do daily traffick the lives and fortunes of all princes who are not wholly devoted to the “ *Romish* obedience ; and therefore how they will entertain or tolerate the race of our king, “ were too great an error and presumption to trust to : so as when the worthy lady, hereafter “ by her children or otherwise, has furnish’d their desire, and fully served their turn, she shall “ be then either forced to wound her conscience, by forsaking her faith, or else to undergo “ the scorns and danger which shall be daily cast upon her and her family, for the exercise of “ her religion. And this also we may be well assured of, that, if she shall have any issue by “ the prince of *Piedmont*, they must all be bred and brought up contrary to her conscience, “ which can be no small grief to a virtuous and natural mother, and as little comfort to our “ just religious king, their grandfather. Lastly, the very binding cause of amity between all “ kings, princes and states, is their trade and intercourse of their subjects. Now there is not “ any prince or state of *Europe*, the inland countries of *Hungary* and *Transylvania* excepted, “ but the *English* have trade withal ; yea even with the *Turk*, *Barbarian*, *Persian* and *Indians* ; “ only with the subjects of *Savoy*, I do not know that we have any meddling or interchange at “ all : for the duke has no port, his ditch of *Villa-Franca* excepted, which is only capable “ of a few gallies, either to furnish ships from, or to receive them, being strangers. And “ therefore for his majesty of *England* to match his eldest and only daughter with a prince, “ who has his dependance on other kings ; a prince *jeshited*, who can neither head us in time “ of war, nor trade with us in time of peace ; a prince, by the situation of his country, every “ way unprofitable to us ; and that, no less perilous for his majesty’s daughter to live in : I re- “ solve myself, that he is of too excellent a judgment ever to accept of it, and his honourable “ council too wise and provident to advise the prosecution thereof. Now, if his *highness* should “ be pleased to ask my opinion, with what *Christian* prince he should match his sister, were it “ in his own power and choice to make election, I humbly desire to be excused herein ; for, “ would it become me to presume so far ? It is true, I have heard it, that some overtures have “ been made for the prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine* ; certainly he is as well born as the duke of “ *Savoy*, and as free a prince as he is. The nation is faithful ; he is of our religion, and by “ him we shall greatly fasten unto us the *Netherlands* : and, for the little judgment which God “ has given me, I do prize the alliance of the *Palatine* of the *RHINE*, and of the House of

“ NASSAU,



“*NASSAU, more than I do the alliance of ten dukes of Savoy.*” And thus ends his *discourse* on the marriage of princess *Elizabeth*.<sup>a</sup>

WHAT follow'd was, that about a twelve-month after the writing of those *Discourses*, the said princess was married to *Frederick*, elector palatine of the *Rhine*,<sup>b</sup> afterwards king of *Bohemia*; a match which might have well answer'd all the advantages expected from it, at least one that had never been attended with such a series of calamities, were king *James* to have been moved, if not through honour and power, as a *sovereign*, yet through nature and affection; as a *father*, to have granted them a seasonable supply against their enemies. Instead of which, his indulging, beyond all apprehension of possibility, at least all production of precedent, a *blessed peaceable* temper, as his flatterers called it, to the sitting down a quiet spectator of his childrens overthrow, and their fortunes, occasion'd, not only all the lamentable *wars* which succeeded throughout *Germany*, to the utter ruin of his said son-in-law, and all the princes who assisted him; but also those of his successor at home, throughout his own dominions: For, daring not to draw his sword, through fear of offending the *Spaniard*, he sat musing at home, one while, how to raise money by privy-seals, benevolences, crown-lands and woods, either to cram his insatiable favourites, or else to fit out more prodigal and frivolous embassies, than would, by arms, have settled his children unmoveably in their throne; and, at other times, how to improve his sovereignty; or pick quarrels with his parliaments, and entail them to his heirs-general.<sup>c</sup>

As for the prince of *Wales*, he is said to have first encourag'd the prince *Elektor* to attempt his sister; desiring more to head an army in *Germany*, than he durst make shew of, and would, no doubt, have been bravely follow'd:<sup>d</sup> but alas! that fate, which so often suffers the unworthy to flourish, deprived this kingdom of prince *Henry* in less than a month after the arrival of the said *Elektor*. Some have insinuated, as if the *Spaniards*, because his highness approved *Raleigh's Discourse* touching a war with *Spain*, had a hand in his untimely end; alledging, that, if *Philip* the second cut off his own hopeful son *Charles*, for but pitying the people of *Flanders*, it can be no wonder he (or his son) should promote the destruction of a stranger, who did so far applaud the advice of *Raleigh*, as to say, *No king, but his father, would keep such a bird in a cage.*<sup>e</sup> But, from more intestine and unnatural sources, his sudden death is surmised by others to have sprung; the disease being so violent, that the combat of nature against it, in the strength of youth (he being almost nineteen years of age) lasted but few days. Here it is somewhat remarkable, that after *Sir Theodore Mayerne*, with *Dr. Butler*, *Hamond*, and other most eminent physicians, had used the utmost of their skill in vain, and had the least hopes imaginable left of the prince's recovery, that these should be at last center'd in some relief that might be had from *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and that a cordial from him (a state-prisoner) should be sent for, and, with consent or approbation, administer'd, when all other means had failed, and were given over, as we may gather from *Sir William Cornwallis*,<sup>f</sup> and other historians of those times. As to the effect, tho' it came too late, so that it might rather prolong pain than life for a few hours, and truly must have been a kind of miracle to have restored one so far exhausted, and on the point of expiring, for he died the same evening, being the 6th of *November 1612*: Yet, to observant readers, it is enough to manifest, first, what high reputation *Sir Walter Raleigh's* medicinal knowledge, through this *Cordial*, had now gained (and it afterwards encreas'd<sup>g</sup>) among the most skilful of the faculty; and secondly, the

His great Cordial sent for to the prince, at the point of death.

<sup>a</sup> Of these two MS. *Discourses*, by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, on the Marriage betwixt *England* and *Savoy*; more will be spoken a few pages further, in the *Catalogue* of his Works.

<sup>b</sup> This marriage was celebrated on the 14th of *February 1612*, in such pomp and splendor, that the jewels only, which were worn by the king, queen and prince, were valued that day, by his majesty himself (upon occasion of discourse happening of the bravery then appearing) at nine hundred thousand pounds Sterling. *Sir John Finet's* Observations touching foreign ambassadors, 8vo. 1656, p. 11.

<sup>c</sup> See the *Life and Reign of King Charles*, &c. 8vo. 1651. in Pref. Also *Observations* on the History of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, and her son *James*, p. 5.

<sup>d</sup> *Osborne's* Memoirs of King *James*, p. 154.

<sup>e</sup> *Idem*, p. 165.

<sup>f</sup> *Sir William Cornwallis's* Life of Prince *Henry*, in 8vo. a different and more copious work than his *Discourse* in 4to. on the said prince before quoted, tho' printed the same year 1641. See also *Aulicus Coquinarius*, and *Sanderfon's* History of King *James*.

<sup>g</sup> Inasmuch, that there has been a distinct volume written upon this *Cordial*; whereby I find it is not to be taken for that which is called *Sir Walter Raleigh's cordial*, in a book entitled, as I remember, *The Lady's Closet open'd*: for that is only a simple strawberry-water. But this here meant, was his GREAT CORDIAL, as I find *Raleigh*, in one of his manuscripts, has styl'd it himself. This *Cordial* rose into such high repute, for its sovereign virtues, in the reign of king *Charles II*, and was so much recommended to and admir'd by him, that he commanded *NICHOLAS le FEVRE*, the royal professor in chymistry, and apothecary in ordinary to his majesty's household, to prepare a quantity of this precious remedy after the exactest manner, which the said chymist not only did, but composed in *French* also, under his majesty's auspices and command, a Treatise entitled, *Discours sur le GRAND CORDIAL de SIR WALTER RALEGH*, which he dedicates to the said king: and this was at the same time translated into *English* by *PETER BELON*, student in chymistry. For they were both licensed on the 23d of *April 1664*; tho' the translation appears to have been printed first, because it is dated that year: and the original the



the unsteady and incoherent opinions which were entertain'd of one and the same man's loyalty; that he, who was accused at his trial of a plot to *extirpate* the royal family, should yet be so far relied on to *save* it, as to have the lives first of queen *Anne*, as was before related, and now of prince *Henry*, trusted to his experiments. But, in a modern author, we have some further circumstances of this passage, which I have not elsewhere met with. For, having spoken of the particular esteem which prince *Henry* had contracted for Sir *Walter Ralegh*, the constant correspondence he kept with him by letters and messages, and of the solicitations he had so repeatedly made to the king for his liberty, as what might contribute towards his majesty's personal prejudice against *Ralegh*, he adds: "When the prince fell into his last illness, the queen sent to Sir *Walter Ralegh* for some of his *cordial*, which she herself had taken in a fever some time before, with remarkable success. *Ralegh* sent it, together with a letter to the queen, wherein he express'd a tender concern for the prince; and, boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose, *That it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison*. The prince dying, tho' he took it; the queen, in the agony of her grief, shewed *Ralegh*'s letter, and laid so much weight on the expression about poison, that to her dying day she could never be dissuaded from the opinion, that her beloved son had foul play done him." <sup>a</sup> If this was true, there might be a stress too confidently laid on this medicine, in supposing that nothing but poison could resist the power of it, and perhaps some inadvertency in starting such a suspicion in a fond mother, which (in the said modern writer's opinion) there might possibly be no ground for, and might, in the consequence, prove fatal to *Ralegh* himself; tho' the same author also knew, *Ralegh* was not the only man who started that suspicion; for he knew what the prince's domestic chaplain preach'd at *St. James's* on the dissolution of his highness's family; and he knew what the lord chief justice *Coke* not long after said in open court about the poisoning of

the year after: The *French* is in 12°, the *English* in 8vo. After the dedication, follows this introduction of the *Recipe*: — *Eximium Cordiale Regium multis rebus necessariis auctum, secundum consilium & approbationem illustrissimorum virorum, D. D. Kenelmi Digby, Equitis Aurati, & serenissimæ Reginæ matris Cancellarii, & D. D. Alex. Fraiser, Equitis Aurati, & serenissimi ac potentissimi Regis Caroli Secundi, &c. Archiatrorum Comitum.* Next follows the Receipt in these words: — "RECIPE *Rasuræ Cornu Cervi, libram unam; Carnis Viperarum cum Cor- dibus & Hepatibus, uncias sex; Florum Boraginis, Buglos- se, Roris-Marini, Calendulæ, Vetonice, Coronariæ rubræ, Roris solis, Rosarum rubrarum, & Sambuci, singulorum libram semissem; Herbarum Scordii, Cardui Benedicti, Melissæ, Dictamni Cretici, Menthæ, Majoranæ, Beto- nica, singulorum manipulos duodecim; Granorum Kermes recenter in rob redactorum, Cubebarum, Cardamomi majoris, Baccarum Juniperi, Maceris, Nucis Myristicæ, Caryophyllorum, Croci, singulorum uncias duas; Cinna- momi acutissimi, Corticis ligni Sassafras, flavedinis ma- lorum Citriorum & Aurantiorum, singulorum uncias tres; Lignorum Aloes & Sassafras uniuscujusque uncias sex; Radicum Angelicæ, Valerianæ, Carlinæ, Fraxinellæ seu Dictamni albi, Serpentariæ Virginianæ, Zedoariæ, Tormentillæ, Bistortæ, Aristolochiæ longæ, rotundæ & cavæ, Gentianæ & Imperatoriæ, singulorum unciam unam & semissem. Omnia incisa & grosso modo contusa in vase idoneo posita cum spiritu vini rectificato extraban- tur secundum Artem. Tincturæ filtratæ in extractum mediante, in Mariæ balneo, distillatione evaporentur. Magma expressum comburatur; cineres reverberati per aquam elixavientur, unde sol purum lege Artis paratur, quod extracto miscetur. His ita peractis, huic extracto adde, ut Artis est, Pulverem sequentem cæteraque ingre- dientia. RECIPE Lapidum Bezoardicorum Orientalium & Occidentalium verorum uniuscujusque unciam semissem, Magisterii solubilis Perlarum Orientalium uncias duas, Magisterii solubilis Corallorum rubrorum uncias tres; Boli Orientalis, Terræ sigillatæ veræ, Unicornu Mine- ralis, Cornu Cervi Philosophicè preparati, & Cornu Cervi calcinati, singulorum unciam unam; Ambrægri- seæ electissima in Essentiam redactæ, unciam unam; Moschi Orientalis optimi essentificati drachmam unam & semissem; Croci solis cum tinctura Antimonii Basilii Va- lentini parati drachmas duas. Sacchari candisati albi subtilissime pulverisati, libras duas. Ex his omnibus mixtis & ex arte unitis fiat Confectio vere Regia, quæ ad usum reservetur in pixidibus apprime clausis." Then the author aforesaid begins his *Discourse* with examples among the ancients of those who have made themselves famous by their remedies, as *Mithridates*, &c. and among the moderns, *Mattheolus*, *B. Valentine*, *Paracelsus*, and*

others; but finds none more worthy, in this particular, than Sir *Walter Ralegh*, because he has not only selected most judiciously whatever is most choice and sovereign in the animal, vegetable, and mineral world; but has also manifested so much art and experience in the preparation of this great and admirable CORDIAL, as will, of itself, render him immortal: wherefore he says, he could not restrain the applauses owing to his honour and glory, which he has more than merited by that noble labour and profound study, that acquired him the sublime know- ledge he had in the virtues and qualities of all those in- gredients, which unite to the composition of this incom- parable remedy. So he proceeds to explain, first the vir- tues of every individual drug, which, together, cause those rare effects this CORDIAL daily produces (says he) as well towards the healthful, as the sick. Secondly, He spe- cifies how art helps nature in the harmonious and ex- quisite method of the preparation. Thirdly, Distinguishes the efficacy of it in maritime or islandic and northerly countries. Lastly, What a preservative it is, as well as restorative; and concludes with the exposition of the dose, the quantity, time and method of using it. Thus much concerning this *Discourse* on Sir *WALTER RALEGH*'s great CORDIAL, of which the following particulars may be here farther observed: That the author *le Febvre* ac- knowledging, he had inserted two ingredients, by the coun- sel and approbation of the aforesaid Sir *Kenelm Digby* and Sir *Alexander Fraiser*, which were not mention'd in the first prescription, and which I have marked above in a different character, being the flesh, heart, and liver of vipers, and the mineral unicorn which some would have to be the white loadstone; it may induce the curious to enquire whether more liberties have not been taken with Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s own genuine RECIPE. To this end, should be consulted the *English* copy thereof, in Sir *Kenelm Digby*'s *Collection of Receipts*, printed a few years after *le Febvre*'s book. Also Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s book of *Chymical Receipts*, an original MS. in Sir *Hans Sloan*'s library, marked B. 387. In which book (all written with *Ralegh*'s own hand) there are, p. 63. b. these words, *Our Great Cordial*, and underneath, several ingre- dients set down, tho' not near the number above cited; but scor'd out again with a pen, tho' not illegibly. The next leaf is torn out, where 'tis supposed *Ralegh* had writ it more compleatly; and that, from this leaf, *le Febvre*'s copy was taken. Lastly, There is a receipt of this cor- dial remaining with a lady, who is a descendant from Sir *Walter Ralegh*; but, whether agreeing with those in print, I have not, at this juncture, the leisure for making a request to be satisfied.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. *James Welwood*'s Notes on *Wilson*'s History of King *James*, in the Compleat History of England, vol. 2. l. 714.



Sir *Thomas Overbury*: that it was to prevent the discovery of another crime of the *same nature*, committed upon one of the *highest rank*, whom he termed a *sweet prince*;<sup>a</sup> and indeed several histories of these times make no secret of it, where they shew the bickerings between prince *Henry* and the aforesaid favourite *Car*, in regard to the countess of *Essex*, not to mention other motives. However, the physicians about the prince gave it under their hands, which was spread abroad in several copies, that he died of a strong malignant *fever*, after they had anatomiz'd him to amuse the world (says another writer) and clear the suspicion of poison, as if no venoms could produce the like effects; while the king, to dispel the clouds and monitors of sorrow, commanded that no man should appear at court in mourning.<sup>b</sup>

WHATEVER was the cause of this excellent prince's death, *Raleigh* had no common share in the loss of him; his highness having, but a few months before he died, obtained *Sherborne*, with intention to return it him, as is already observ'd; and we are further inform'd, that king *James*, to satisfy his favourite *Car*, who was now viscount *Rocheſter*, gave him, instead thereof, *twenty-five thousand pounds* in money: so far was the crown from gaining by this purchase.<sup>c</sup> But now, after the prince's death, this *Rocheſter* got *Sherborne* of the king again; however (as some kind of composition or amends) his majesty, we are told by *Raleigh* himself, also gave his wife and son *eight thousand pounds* for the said estate.<sup>d</sup> But how it thrived with *Rocheſter*,<sup>The king's gift for his estate.</sup> is evident enough in the *Histories* of those *Times*; where it appears, that in little more than three years from this prince's death, the said favourite, by the title of earl of *Somerſet*, was arraign'd and condemn'd for that black and shameful business of *poisoning* Sir *Thomas Overbury*; whereby he not only lost *Sherborne*, but all those other possessions which the king had so lavishly heaped upon him; for what merits or services, may better appear in those *Histories*, than it is needful they should do here. As to *Sherborne*, on whom it was next bestowed, and upon what consideration, with the attempts made after *Raleigh's* death by his son *Carew* to recover it; since the accounts thereof would carry us too far beyond the period in these sheets propos'd, and indeed do more properly relate to the story of the son, than the father, I shall here refer to an abstract thereof, in a brief *memorial* of the said *Carew Raleigh*, at the bottom of the page;<sup>e</sup> for as to his elder brother *Walter*, whose right it had first been to have pursued

<sup>a</sup> *Idem*, fol. 689.

<sup>b</sup> *Arthur Wilson's* Life and Reign of King *James I.* in the same volume, fol. 690.

<sup>c</sup> *Relation of the Troubles of Sir Walter Raleigh*, &c. p. 8.

<sup>d</sup> *Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology*, p. 47.

<sup>e</sup> *Carew Raleigh* was born, as is before observ'd, in the *Tower*, in the latter end of 1604 (or beginning of the next year) being aged about thirteen years at his father's death, as he tells us himself: became a gentleman-commoner of *Wadham* college in *Oxford* in 1620, as *Anthony Wood* informs us; but indeed rather sooner, because *Carew Raleigh's* own words are, that, after having been five years at *Oxford*, he came to court, and, by the favour of *William* earl of *Pembroke*, his noble kinsman, hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes; but the king, not liking his countenance, said, he appeared to him like his father's ghost: whereupon the earl advised him to travel, which he did till the death of king *James*, which happen'd about a year after. Then returning, and a parliament sitting, he, according to the custom of this land, petition'd to be restor'd in blood, that he might be enabled to inherit whatever lands might fall to him, as his father's heir, or any other way: but his petition having been twice read in the house of lords, king *Charles* sent Sir *James Fullerton* (then of the bed-chamber) for Mr. *Raleigh*, who being brought into the king's chamber by that knight, his majesty (after using him with great civility) told him plainly, that he had formerly promised Sir *John Digby*, now earl of *Bristol*, to secure his title to *Sherborne* (it being confer'd on him 14 of *Jac.*) against the heirs of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; whereupon *Digby* had given him, being then prince, *ten thousand pounds*; so that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king; and therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to *Sherborne*, he neither could, nor would pass his bill of restoration. Mr. *Raleigh* urged the justice of his cause; that he desir'd only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never deny'd any freeman: but the king was positive, and so left him. After this, Sir *James Fullerton* used many arguments to persuade submission, as the impossibility of contending with kingly power, and the many inconveniences of not being restor'd in blood: all which consider'd, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the king, not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr. *Raleigh*, who, being not

full twenty years old (as he says himself) left friendless and fortuneless, it prevailed so far, that he submitted to the king's will. Whereupon there was afterwards an act passed 3<sup>o</sup> *Caroli* for his restoration; and, together with it, a settlement of *Sherborne* to the earl of *Bristol*; and, in shew of some kind of recompence, four hundred pounds a year pension, during life, was granted to Mr. *Raleigh* after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid during her life, in lieu of joynture. About a twelve-month after this, Mr. *Carew Raleigh* married the lady *Philippa*, relict of Sir *Anthony Ashley*, a rich young widow, by whom he had two sons and three daughters, and was not long after, at least before the year 1635, made one of the *Gentlemen* of the king's privy-chamber. Among the ingenious poems of *Thomas Carew* Esq; (who was another of those gentlemen) printed 8vo. 1640, p. 80. there is a compliment, *To his cousin C. R. marrying the lady A.* by which letters are to be understood this Mr. *Raleigh*, and that lady *Ashley*. As for the kind token, which *Anthony Wood* says the king honour'd him with at his majesty's leaving *Hampton-court*, and going into the *Isle of Wight* anno 1647, it was no more than a picture of the lady *Stanley*, as I remember, which was Mr. *Raleigh's* own property; therefore the king, among the letters he left on the table, desired, in one of them, the said picture might be returned him, as may appear by those letters which were then printed, or the extract of them in *Heath's Chronicle*. In the year 1650, and afterwards, several little tracts of his father's were publish'd and dedicated to him. In 1651, there was a committee for the sale of delinquents estates; and about that time the earl of *Digby* being fled to *France*, Mr. *Raleigh* had a fair prospect to recover his estate, therefore deliver'd his *Cafe* in to the said committee; and it was order'd, "That this *Cafe* be reported to the house with the opinion of this committee; That they conceive him a fit object of their mercy." He also, about the same time, drew up a brief *Relation* of Sir *Walter Raleigh's troubles*, and address'd it to the parliament. But whether printed before his death I know not, (the edition here used being dated three years after) nor wherefore his case and petition were laid aside. In 1656, came out the *Observations* on *Sanderſon's* history of king *James*, which this historian supposing to be writ by *Carew Raleigh*, publish'd an *Answer* to it the same year, with some scandalous and unworthy reflections therein upon him: But no one has given heed to them. He certainly made his court



fued whatever prospect there was of retrieving the said estate, he died before their father, as will be more particularly remembred towards the conclusion of this work.

But which of these two sons was attended on in his adventures by *Ben Johnson*, is not easy to distinguish from the words of an author, who writes, “ That *Johnson’s* mother, having married “ to her second husband a bricklayer, took her son from *Westminster* school (where he had “ made a hopeful progress under the learned *Camden*) and made him work at her husband’s “ trade : till being pitied by some generous gentlemen, *Camden* got him a better employment ; “ which was to attend or accompany a son of *Sir Walter Raleigh* in his adventures, whereby “ gaining experience, he made his company acceptable among many.” <sup>a</sup> Now if this hap- pen’d before *Ben Johnson* took to acting or writing of plays, as our said author relates it did, then *Sir Walter Raleigh’s* eldest son was scarce old enough to go to school, much less upon ad- ventures. Besides, this son never made, that we can hear of, more than one adventure abroad, from which he never return’d ; therefore he could not part with his attendant or companion *Ben Johnson* in the manner our said author intimates he did after their return. Then if we sup- pose it the other brother, *Carew*, he never made any adventures at all, nor stir’d out of *Eng- land* till six years after his father’s death, and then only upon a short tour for about a twelve- month ; which was near thirty years after *Ben Johnson* became a dramatick poet or writer for the stage ; and when he seems rather to have wrote himself into his pension from the crown, or otherwise into such easy circumstances, as render it unlikely he should attend even on *Carew Raleigh* in those sorrows and difficulties he was then under ; and consequently in the whole, that either one or other should part with him *not in cool blood*, as our said author thinks, after their re- turn. Had the time of his going abroad with the younger or the elder brother been better adjusted, that particular of their parting would need no regard ; seeing by what trifles, what misunderstand- ings between themselves, or misrepresentations by others, such divisions are made between per- sons, who would, or might otherwise be most serviceable and beneficial to one another. If *Ben Johnson* was of such a surly and *hypercritical* disposition, as some men’s writings, and indeed some of his own, have represented him ; as it makes such parting the more plausible, if there had ever been any such meeting, so it is probable it would have distill’d with more acrimony from his pen, when he was giving a character of *Raleigh* as an author, than that he could find nothing to condemn *either in his judgment or his stile*. <sup>b</sup> But as for *Raleigh’s* temper, to all who had dependance upon him (and they were very numerous in the time of his felicity) espe- cially towards those of any liberal knowledge and education, it appears to have been of singu- lar candor and benignity. There are examples, further than what have been beforemention’d, of his courtesy, superior to that of many other great persons in his time, towards such men of parts as any ways relied on his patronage or protection ; and publicly asserted by those them- selves, who had tasted the benefits thereof. <sup>c</sup> He has also, under his own hand, recommended such generous treatment, as most coercive, especially to such as live under the power or com- mand of others ; and exploded the austere, the imperious *regimen*, as what is liable to betray its practitioners no less into peril than disdain ; where he shews, how contemptibly the *vain*, with affected *sourness*, counterfeit the gravity of the *wise* ; because the shadow of *reverence*, thereby obtain’d, has power to delude the eyes only of *underlings* ; and how thus, the time, where- in, by using it well, men might *attain to be such as they ought*, they usually mispend, in seek- ing to *appear such as they are not* : yet withal, not only how deceivable, but dangerous a course this is ; procuring, instead of the *respect* that was *hoped for*, more *indignation* than was *fear’d*. <sup>d</sup> Many other weighty counsels and useful precautions to this purpose, are dispersed up and down his writings, both in print and manuscript, which (for brevity) I forbare, here, to recite.

His great  
courtesy to-  
wards his  
dependants.

court to the commons of *England*, in hopes of getting *Sherborne* by their means. Hence *Wood* says, he cringed to men in power, and was made governor of the *Isle of Jersey*, by the favour of general *Monk*, in the latter end of *January* 1659, as *Whitlock* has recorded. At the restoration of king *Charles II.* his majesty would have confer’d some personal honour upon him, but he declined it in hopes of something better ; the king therefore knighted his eldest son *Walter*, who died soon after at *West-Horsely*, in *Surrey*, his father’s seat, which had, I think, been the earl of *Derby’s* ; for his will is dated from thence, as a friend who has seen it informs me. This was told after Mr. *Raleigh’s* death to *Sir Edward Nicholas*, secretary to king *Charles*. He had another seat at *Kenton-Park* near *Hampton-Court*, which, I think, he sold himself ; and dying in 1666, was buried in the church of *St. Andrew*, near *Hampton*.

according to *A. Wood*, in his father’s grave ; who further says, he has seen some sonnets of his composition, and certain ingenious Discourses in MS. also a poem set to musick by Mr. *Henry Lawes*. *Sir Henry Wotton*, in his letters, gives him the character of a gentleman of dextrous abilities, and he is by others mentioned with honour ; but far, God wot (says *Wood*) was he from his father’s party, either as to the sword or pen.

<sup>a</sup> Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 608.

<sup>b</sup> *Ben Johnson’s Discoveries*.

<sup>c</sup> See *Thomas Churchard’s* dedication of his *Spark of Friendship* to *Sir Walter Raleigh* : a scarce old tract, lately communicated from the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, or it had been more particularly made use of in the place where it is before mention’d.

<sup>d</sup> *History of the World*, lib. 2. cap. 22. sect. 10.



But here, as *Raleigh* has been occasionally mention'd in the character of an *Author*, we are reminded, that it is high time he should be consider'd more particularly in that light; which cannot in any place more properly be done, than in this sedentary part of his life, when most of his works were written. Here then we are arriv'd at that part of his story, wherein he will appear, rather a collegian than a captive; a student in a library, than a prisoner in the *Tower*. On this occasion, we cannot but reflect, how well such productions, in such a situation! Such spacious exercises of genius, in such a contracted state! will prove, that, 'Tho' the soul of man, by a *fly*, or a *hair*, may be separated from the body, *tyranny* itself cannot confine it to the body; and, at the same time, how trifling a calamity *confinement* must be, to those who have well employ'd their *liberty*. Some men, impatient under so many years restraint, would have pined obscurely away with despair; and others, with rage, have made their bonds more galling: but *Raleigh*, as in many other disasters, so in this, has left us no common example of an heroick mind. In him we may observe, there is no levelling a *sublime spirit* with the *subalterns* of Nature: press it on one part, it will still rise in another; and be like some hardy plants we may have seen, whose heads will shoot forth and flourish in the sight of mankind, tho' their roots are closely fetter'd in walls of stone. Happy then are they, who in their youth have so fortified themselves with knowledge, and attained to such a relish of *literature*, that, wheresoever they are driven by the persecutions of power, they can make the contemplation of wisdom beguile the sense of their sufferings! Who out of the most prevailing examples in all ages, of patience and prudence in all exigences, can set themselves lessons of fortitude, and tasks of imitation! Who can, out of the misfortunes of others, extract consolations for themselves; or partake in their prosperity, and make it tributary to their own contentment! Such carry with them an infallible, an undeprivable solace; which can relieve them in *poverty* with inestimable *treasure*, and manumise them in *prison* with intellectual *liberty*: for the multitudes of anxieties which surprise illiterate and uncultivated minds, even in the midst of the most splendid affluence or adulation, are inaccessible to them, under the darkest clouds of indigence or reproach.

That *Raleigh*, in his greener years, did attain to such a taste of letters as all his succeeding avocations could never remove; and which proved not only an ornament to those his earlier and happier days, but a relief in his age and afflictions, even so as to render him under his darker fortunes and condition more illustrious than he was in his brightest prosperity, may appear by a survey of his writings from the juvenile productions of his pen, to the more numerous and mature offsprings of his present confinement. But in this survey, we think not the simple *chronological* method will be either needful or acceptable; which tho' easiest and readiest for transcribing, would be most crude and disjointed in reading; and yet be incapable of admitting all into their true order, because we have not the time that several of his *pieces* were written. Therefore, that we may carry on our discourse with some coherence, we shall attempt at such a digestion as, upon a little review, will naturally arise, or most conveniently, at least in this place, lead us, as out of a flowry garden, into the high-road again of publick action: for I might, perhaps, recommend some variation, in this arrangement, of the same pieces if they were to be reviv'd in a uniform and methodical edition of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Works; so that the junior efforts of his *musè*, or more extemporary products of his *epistolary* correspondence might not, as here for dispatch, lead up the rest.

Now as for these productions of his *musè*, since several of them are mention'd in the former part of these sheets, they need be here only recapitulated; as his poem on *Gascoign's Steele-Glass*; *The Excuse*, *The Silent Lover*, the *Answer to Marloe's Pastoral*; with his poem of *Cynthia*, and two more on *Spencer's Fairy Queen*. Since the time that these seven were before spoken of, I have met with four other such like poetical pieces, which seem also to have been compos'd by the same hand, from those elegant tautologies or *retornellos* wherein his *sonnets* and *madrigals* are usually so correspondent with one another.\* These were all written long before this his imprisonment, as were probably some also in the *Asbmolean* library; namely, *Erroris Responsio*, and

\* Three of these pieces are to be found in an old Collection of several ingenious Poems and Songs by the Wits of the Age: printed in 8vo. 1660, and annexed to a comical speech in prose, call'd *Le Prince d'Amour*, printed the same year; which, by the latter part thereof, entitled *Noctes Templarie*; or, *A brief Chronicle of the dark Reign of the bright Prince of banishing Love*, appears, in a volume of the *Harleian MSS.* 90. C. 7. fol. 556, to have been written by Sir Benjamin Rudyard. The poems publish'd with this speech are improperly said, in the title, to be written by the wits of the age in regard to the time they

were publish'd: for, as the publisher owns, in his dedication to the honourable society of the *Middle Temple*, the wit in this collection was born long before our unhappy intestine divisions, and as much in the poems themselves is evident; there being among them several written in the time of king *James* and queen *Elizabeth*; and one, or more, as old as king *Henry VIII.* Among the rest, one we have page 131. entitled, *The Lover's Maze*, a poem of four stanzas, beginning thus: *Her Ear, her Tongue, her Wit, &c.* 'Tis all compos'd of monosyllables, and with that ingenious intricacy or transposition which happily an-



and his *Answer to the Lie*, &c. Besides, we find there is a satirical elegy on the death of the treasurer Cecyll, earl of Salisbury, written *within* this period, likewise ascrib'd to him; <sup>a</sup> and we have still *three* pieces more of his poetry written *afterwards*, and but a short time before his own death. These are of a solemn nature; as his *Pilgrim*, his *Epigram in Allusion to the Snuff of a Candle*; lastly, a divine stanza, which is call'd his *Epitaph*. <sup>b</sup>

Epistolary.

Next we might speak of those shorter pieces also in prose, his *Letters*; and these, being written in all parts of his life, cannot perhaps be improperly enumerated in this. I have seen of them in print and manuscript to the number of *twenty-eight*: Fourteen or fifteen of them have already been made use of in the foregoing sheets; and the rest, as they likewise are of personal import, will be serviceable in the remainder, so they need not be more particularly distinguish'd in this place.

Military.

But those more continued compositions which were the result of experience and occasion in his several publick professions or engagements of life, will, perhaps, first demand our observation; such as relate to his character as a *warrior*, a *sailor*, a *discoverer* of unknown countries, and a *politician* vers'd in the interest of nations and the arts of government. Among these, we may first mention his *military discourses*; and these concern either a *defence* of *England* in particular, or contain general arguments and examples of the causes and reasons of *war* among *mankind*. On the former subject, he seems to have drawn up several remonstrances which are but sparingly and slowly come to light. However, from what has before been observ'd, of his having had a principal hand in the *determinations* of the grand *Council of War* for putting the nation in arms when it was under immediate apprehensions of the *Spanish Invasion*, there is good reason to believe he was also the author of a treatise, containing *Notes of Direction for such Defence of the Kingdom*: written three years before, when the said enemies were beginning to shew their designs. To this treatise was also join'd a *Direction for the best and most orderly Retreat of an Army, whether in Campaign or Straits*. And these were then presented in MS. to the privy council. Herein, one advice is, since *frontier* forces are unlikely to prevent an enemy from landing, that if they should land, through the deficiency or absence of our shipping (for this is the force *Raleigh* was ever for having first us'd against such foreign invasions) it were better by driving or clearing the country of *provisions*, and *temporizing*, to endeavour at growing stronger, and rendering the enemy weaker, than to hazard all by a confused and disorderly *descent* of the populace to oppose the first landing, as their custom heretofore was. But this, chiefly, among the said reasons and positions, for preventing an invading enemy, was a little before the approach of the *Spanish Armada* oppugned by *Thomas Digges*, Esq; muster master-general of her majesty's forces in the *Low-Countries*, in a *Discourse of the best Order for repulsing a foreign Force*, &c. which he then exhibited in print. This produced an *Answer*, which, having been found in an old manuscript copy among others of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Discourses, has lately been published; and which, by several circumstances therein, agreeing with many in his *life* as well as with several orders in the aforesaid *council of war*, several passages in his *History of the World*, and his other *writings*, offers many reasons to believe it was written by him. <sup>c</sup> But if we would see his opinion upon this subject in a more extensive and universal manner,

fers the title. This is follow'd in the next page with another, of three stanzas, entitled *Farewell to the Court*; beginning thus: *Like truthless dreams, so are my Joys exp'd*: this is again succeeded in the ensuing page by another of equal length, call'd, *The Advice*; with this beginning: *Many deserve, but few or none deserve*; and all three subscribed *H. R.* They are apparently, by the *style*, written at the time that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was celebrated for such kind of compositions, and from the *subject*, of the two last especially, no less manifestly to me, written by himself; the one just before his first *Guaianian* expedition, the other, to the lady that was his wife. Lastly, the *fourth* poem above refer'd to, is lately printed in a miscellany call'd, *The London Magazine*, for Aug. 1734.

<sup>a</sup> This *Pastoral Elegy* on the earl of Salisbury, who died in May 1612, was first printed by F. Osborne in his *Memoirs of King James*, and it begins thus: *Here lies the final our Pastor achile e'er*, &c. That author tells us, "It came from so smart a pen, in the king's sense, that he said, He hop'd the author would die before him: who he was (concludes he) God knows." The first person I have met with who ascribes it to Sir *Walter Raleigh* is the author of his *life*, printed in 8vo. 1677 (and afterwards in *folio*) whom *Anthony Wood* calls *John Shirley*, the writer of several romances and such like things. The writer in that life, page 119 says, that *Raleigh* for *Cecil's* kindness, bestow'd upon him that *epitaph*, "Which

"I am, says he, upon very good grounds, assur'd to be his."

<sup>b</sup> These are printed in Sir *Walter Raleigh's Remains*.

<sup>c</sup> 'Tis entitled, *A Military Discourse: whether it be better for England to give an Invader present Battle, or to temporize and defer the same*, &c. Now publish'd by Nathaniel Booth, of Grays-Inn, Esq; 8vo. 1734. containing 52 pages. The *Author*, in his introduction, tells us, "He has thought good, first to set down the *reasons* alledg'd on both sides, as he finds them collected by his antagonist; and after a *reply* to his objections, refers himself to the censure of the reader who is a *soldier*; not caring, in this cause, for the disallowance of any, who will bring a pound of antique usages and customs to weigh down only an ounce of true reason and fresh experience." Then he sets forth that *Brief Discourse of the best Order for repulsing foreign Forces*, &c. abovemention'd; which having been reprinted under the title of *England's Defence, a Treatise against Invasion*, Folio 1680, and under the name of *Thomas Digges*, as I have found in the copious library of a learned acquaintance; it is therefore ascribed to him above. That discourse of *Digges's* which in this *military discourse* begins at page 4, and ends page 13, is accompany'd in almost every article with our *respondent's* marginal notes, and attended at the end with a *reply* to the reasons therein; the whole winding up with the chief points of his former treatise, collected into brief notes.



manner, it must be in his *Discourses* of the original and fundamental cause of natural and necessary, arbitrary and customary, holy and civil wars; which tho' also publish'd several years after his death, have sufficient marks of genuineness upon them. There are other writings of his besides, which relate to this topick. But as war in them is treated of subordinately, and rather with respect to some national advantages wherewith it might have been maintain'd against our enemies as the posture of affairs then was, or the personal behaviour of some particular men, so we may think it more proper to speak of them under other divisions.

Among these, that which admits of his *Maritime Discourses*, may not perhaps be least observable, being a subject so scarcely handled by men of such learning and experience, yet of such importance to a people in our situation. And under this head, that which should here be perhaps first spoken of, tho' indeed one of the last pieces he wrote in this state of duration is, his *Discourse of the Invention of Shipping*, &c. <sup>b</sup> wherein he treats of the use, defects, and improvements

direction, as is above observ'd, which he had presented to some of the lords of the council in 1585; and which gave occasion to Digges his said *Brief Discourse* in or near the year 1588, and that produced this *Military Discourse* about or soon after 1590, including the same, and comprising the whole of the controversy. The Editor of this pamphlet, in his dedication to the Duke of Argyle, has these words to his Grace: "Having lately, among some other valuable papers of Sir Walter Raleigh, found the following dissertation in manuscript, I thought the publication thereof was a debt due to my country, as well as to the memory of that great man." And I have in the copy which the said gentleman communicated for my perusal, mark'd out near twenty passages and expressions, which so well agree with others in the life and writings of Sir Walter Raleigh, that I cannot think any other person to have been the author of those notes and reply. Such among the rest are his being in the wars of France and Flanders, particularly the battle of Moucuntor, and that of Rimenant; his perfect knowledge of Dover haven, and other incidents mention'd before in his life: besides his historical observations of other persons; which, with several reasons and arguments about landing of forces, and the unproportionable speed of marching up an army to keep pace with the sailing of a fleet, almost in the same words as we have before observed out of his *History of the World*, and his other writings.

<sup>a</sup> So I find two discourses of Sir Walter Raleigh's properly titled. The first is printed in his essays, 8vo. 1650, and has been reprinted in the *Three Discourses* of Sir Walter Raleigh 8vo. 1702, beginning thus: "The ordinary theme and argument of history is war; which may be defin'd the exercise of violence under sovereign command, against withstanders force; authority and resistance being the essential parts thereof." But in this last edition, improperly divided, and the last division entitled of *Ecclesiastical power*; whereas in the first edition, and the last 1<sup>st</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup>, which would have been page 40 had it been number'd, this new titled division appears only a continuation of the Original Cause of War; tho' indeed, through the papal power and dispensations, by that distinction which is called holy war. This division is also misplaced in the said last edition; for there is another discourse of unnatural or civil war interfering. This, tho' never before printed, I have also reason to believe genuine from some passages in it that might be parallel'd with others in his *History of the World* and elsewhere: but it should be placed or printed last, because the very first words of it are, "The last kind of war we shall treat of is the unnatural, otherwise called the intestine or civil war; and tho' it has the same motives of ambition, avarice or revenge as the arbitrary and customary war, yet is of a quite different nature, and must be otherwise defin'd, &c."

<sup>b</sup> This appears in several parts to be a genuine piece of our author, but incorrectly printed; as most of his posthumous works are, especially in the proper names. 'Tis the first discourse in a book call'd, *Judicious and select Essays and Observations of that renowned and learned Knight Sir Walter Raleigh*; printed in 8vo. 1650 1667, and (this *Discourse of Shipping*) reprinted again, among the *Genuine Remains* of Sir Walter Raleigh, at the end of an abridgment of his *History of the World*, 8vo. 1700. That book of *Essays* is dedicated, by the bookseller, to the much honoured Carew Raleigh, Esq; &c. And this first Discourse therein consists of 42 pages; yet seems an unfinished piece, and at the end, to our great regret, no more than the first chapter of a larger work. As the time when the Discourse beforemention'd of the causes of war was written, may be guess'd from that passage in it concerning the maritime controversy between *Edison* and *Edison* to the time when this *Discourse of Shipping* was

compos'd, may be likewise infer'd from Sir Walter's reference page 39, to a pamphlet call'd *The Trades Encrease*, which I have seen and observ'd to be printed, 4to. 1615: unless there was a prior edition. Of both these Discourses I have been oblig'd with two old manuscript copies by Nathanael Booth, of Grays-Inn, Esq; beforemention'd. They seem to have been corrected from the printed copies in some places, and indeed will not yield many considerable corrections of them in others. There may need no apology for the following extract from this last discourse of our author's observations on the Improvement of Shipping in his own Time; since he is affirm'd to his immortal glory, to have had himself so great a share in it.

"Whosoever was the inventor, we find that every age has added somewhat to ships, and to all things else. And in my own time, the shape of our English ships has been greatly better'd. It is not long since the striking of the top-mast (a wonderful ease to great ships both at sea and harbour) has been devised, together with the chain-pump, which takes up twice as much water as the ordinary one did. We have lately added the bonnet and the drabber. To the courses we have devised fludding sails, top-gallant sails, sprit sails, top-sails. The weighing of anchors by the capston is also new. We have fall'n into the consideration of cables, and thereby resist the malice of the greatest winds that can blow; witness our small Milbrook-men of Cornwall, that ride it out at anchor half seas over between England and Ireland, all the winter quarter: and witness the Hollanders, who were wont to ride before Dunkirk with the wind at north-west, making a lee-shore in all weathers. For true it is, that the length of the cable is the life of the ship in all extremities; and the reason is, because it makes so many bendings and waves, as the ship riding at that length, is not able to stretch it, and nothing breaks that is not stretch'd. In extremity, we carry our ordnance better than we were wont; because our nether-overloops are raised commonly from the water between the lower part of the port and the sea. In king Henry VIII's time, and in his presence at Portsmouth, the Mary Rose, by a little sway of the ship in casting about, her ports being within sixteen inches of the water, was over-set and lost, and in her that worthy knight Sir George Carew, cousin-germain to the lord Carew now living; and with him, besides many other gentlemen, the father of the late renowned Sir Richard Grenville. We have also raised our second decks, and given more vent thereby to their ordnance lying on our nether-overloops. We have added cross-pillars in our Royal ships, to strengthen them, which being fastned from the keelson to the beams of the second deck, keep them from settling or giving way in all distresses. We have given longer floors to our ships than in elder times, and better bearing under water; whereby they never fall into the sea, after the head, and shake the whole body or sink stern nor sloop upon a wind, by which the breaking loose of our ordnance or disuse of them, with many other discommodities are avoided. And to say the truth, a miserable shame and dishonour it were for our ship-owners, if they did not exceed all other in setting up of our Royal ships; the errors of other nations being far more excusable than ours: for the kings of England have for many years been at the charge to build and furnish a navy of powerful ships for their own defence, and for the wars only; whereas the French, Spaniards, Portugals and Hollanders, till of late, have had no proper fleet belonging to their princes or State." Thus far Sir Walter Raleigh, in his said *Discourse of Shipping*, p. 16, &c. And thus much of it may not be thought in pertinent in his *Life*, at least in this subsequent manner, since such improvements, as some of them



ments thereof; the strength and deficiency of the sea forces of *England, France, Spain and Venice*, with five causes of the rise of the *Hollanders*: his encouragement of a mutual *friendship* between *them* and *England*, as also of the *Newcastle* trade. This might lead us more particularly to his excellent *Observations and Notes concerning the royal Navy and Sea Service*,<sup>a</sup> which he dedicated to the prince of *Wales* as is before mention'd; therefore all we need observe more of it in this place is, that herein he discourses under distinct heads, of the *officers* of the navy, of some errors to be reformed in *ship-building*; and others, in *barboring* and *manning* the fleet; of furcharging them with great *ordnance*; the defects in *sheathing* and *calking*; the abuses in *viſtualling*; inconveniency of the *cook-rooms*; of *mustering* and pressing *mariners*; of *arms* and *munition*; and lastly, of *captains* to serve in his majesty's ships. With the second head or chapter in this tract, agrees his *letter* to prince *Henry* before spoken of, concerning the *model of a ship*.<sup>b</sup> And in his introduction to the said *Observations*, as was also said, our author mentions a *Discourse of a maritimal voyage, with the passages and incidents therein*,<sup>c</sup> which he had formerly written to that prince. This, if it is now in being, must, I think, remain still in manuscript; for no other knowledge of it have I elsewhere met with; therefore it has, I fear, endured the same fate with that other work, probably, more copious and considerable, and to which, as what might seem design'd to bring the others into practice, they may appear only preparatory. This work, tho' taken notice of by no other author who has written of him, is thus mention'd by himself. "Of the *Art of War by Sea*, I have written a treatise to the lord *Henry*, prince of *Wales*. A subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any Man ancient or modern: but God has spared me the labour of finishing it, by the loss of that brave prince; of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows: I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him: *Curæ leves loquuntur; ingentes stupent*."<sup>d</sup> This may lead us up to such of his discourses as represent this art in execution, particularly those two gallant naval actions wherein Sir *Richard Grenville* lost his life, and himself won a most signal victory, of which his own pen has preserved the faithful memorials in his *Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores*,<sup>e</sup> and his epistolary account of the *Action at Cadiz*; <sup>f</sup> both of them before abstracted into this work. Nor did his care terminate in the best advice for the regulation and maintainance of our *shipping*, or in recording some of the most notable *atchievements* perform'd therewith, but extended to the choice and reparation of the most convenient *harbours* for their reception; and that not only by his speeches in parliament, as we have already seen, but also by a *memorial* he presented to queen *Elizabeth* touching the port of *Dover* in particular; declaring how honourable and profitable to her majesty; how necessary and commodious for the *realm*, the rebuilding it would be; with the least expensive, and most perfect manner of performing the same.<sup>g</sup>

Geographical But if we advance to his more extensive pursuits and performances relating to that topick, they will lead us into a new *Geography*, into discoveries and descriptions of unknown countries, with the *Voyages* which himself and others under his charge and directions made to that purpose. And under this head would fall those papers and discourses of his, concerning the discovery, plantation, and settlement of *Virginia*, which were in the possession of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, as was before observ'd; <sup>h</sup> but whether now recoverable I know not, nor what is become of his *Trea-*

them seem to have a nearer relation to him, than, through his prudence, in the state he now was, or perhaps the notoriety of his share in these improvements, it was needful further to express; for I have read in the *Appendix to a History of the Inventors of Arts and Sciences*, printed 12mo. 1686. That we owe the serviceable model of our modern *ship building* to the inventions or directions of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. And to the same purpose of effectually employing this his superior knowledge in naval architecture to the safeguard and strength of the nation, we may presume those grants were made him by queen *Elizabeth* for *filling of Timber*; one whereof is extant, entitled a *Warrant to Sir Walter Raleigh for two hundred Oaks, to be taken in Sir Francis Englesfeld's woods*; and it is preserved in the *Ashmolean Museum* at Oxford.

<sup>a</sup> Printed 8vo. 1650, in the collection of Sir *Walter Raleigh's Essays* abovemention'd; consisting of 46 pages.

<sup>b</sup> Printed in Sir *Walter Raleigh's Remains*, 12mo. 1651, and the subsequent editions, containing between 3 and 4 pages.

<sup>c</sup> The *Observations on the Royal Navy*, p. 1.

<sup>d</sup> See *Walter Raleigh's History of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Of the *Report of the Fight about the Azores*, containing about two sheets, i.e. in this narrative of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* life, the abstract and references from fol. 60 to 63, add the note to the first reference in fol. 47. And see farther concerning the same, we may observe that it

seems to have given matter for an *heroick poem*; which was, a few years after the said *Report*, published: Entitled *The most honourable Tragedy of Sir Richard Grenville, Knt. 8vo. 1595, dedicated to the lord Monjoy by Jervis Markham*. 'Tis compos'd in *stanzas* of eight verses, and near ninety pages in length.

<sup>f</sup> This *Relation of the Cadiz Action*, contains near 7 pages, among the *Remains* at the end of an *Abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World*, 8vo. 1700, was then first publish'd by *Philip Raleigh, Esq;* and is apparently a genuine piece, as may be gather'd from those other accounts interwoven and agreeing with it, where it is (mostly) before inserted, fol. 95.

<sup>g</sup> This *Memorial touching Dover Port* is also before refer'd to, fol. 143. It consists of about two sheets in the pamphlet there mention'd, call'd *An Essay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety of England*, published by Sir *H. Shreve*, 4to. 1701. The publisher says, page 9, for the part ascribed to Sir *Walter Raleigh* goes no further; that he found this part of the *memorial* drawn up by Sir *Walter Raleigh* or Sir *Dudley Digges* among the rubbish of old papers, while he serv'd in the office of *ordnance*. But I think it could not be writ by Sir *Dudley Digges*, because the author directing himself to queen *Elizabeth*, speaks familiarly of things he had seen in the *Low Countries* in her time, when Sir *Dudley Digges* had not left the university.

<sup>h</sup> See fol. 12. of this tract.



*tise of the West Indies*, which seems to have been a very comprehensive work by the short sketch himself has given of its contents before quoted. <sup>a</sup> Better luck seems to have befall'n his writings upon *Guiana*; for we have at least four of his discourses on that country in being, tho' they, probably, are not all he writ thereon; as first, his *Considerations on the Voyage for Guiana*, which I never saw in print. <sup>b</sup> Secondly, his *Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana*, which he printed himself, and being, before, largely used and spoken of, the less need be said of it here. <sup>c</sup> Thirdly, his *Journal of his second Voyage to Guiana*. This remains still in manuscript, and perhaps should do so; it being unfinish'd and full of chasms, seeming to contain only notes and observations for his own memory, when he should have leisure at his return into *England* to digest and fill up the *particulars* in a continued discourse: accordingly it seems to have supply'd him therewith, when he wrote his *Apology for the said Voyage*. But as both these will be made use of in the subsequent part of our narrative, 'twill be then time enough to speak more distinctly of them. And there also will be mention'd the four or five *letters* we have of his extant concerning the said last expedition.

After his writings, becoming the character of an able commander both by land and sea, if we look for him as an author in the civil or *political* capacity, we may find him there also no less eminent; we may behold him in this light no less qualified to govern nations, than in the other to conquer and defend them. Some of his compositions under this distribution, are of a general nature; as that call'd the *Seat of Government*, shewing it to be upheld by the two great pillars of *civil justice* and *martial policy*; and how this is fram'd out of the *husbandmen, merchants* and *gentry* of the realm. The first of these ranks or degrees he calls the *fruit trees* of the kingdom; or those who gather the honey, yet hardly enjoy the wax: and as these *feed*, so the second sort *enrich* it; nourishing such trades as have assisted our kings with great sums of money, and great fleets, upon occasion; while the third sort, our *gentry*, he calls the *garrisons* of *good order* throughout the realm; or means rather they have been, or should be such, more than they were in these latter times, to agree with a *note* he has elsewhere dropt upon them. <sup>d</sup> But this little essay appears, by one expression towards the conclusion (mentioning something to be *hereafter prov'd*, which is not) to be no more than a fragment. <sup>e</sup> The like we apprehend of his *Observations concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities*, from a word in the very first paragraph, referring to *such* people as seem to have been before mentioned. <sup>f</sup> Tho' in the main this is a general discourse, it bears some particular references to a rude and barbarous people; and might possibly be the result of such considerations as must have engaged his mind, when those propositions were on foot for founding the *City of Raleigh* in *Virginia*, as was before intimated. In this little essay, after having spoken of the means to civilize and reform such a people, he proceeds, under distinct heads, to treat of the best *situation* of *cities* for safety and plenty; of the multitude of *inhabitants*, *religion*, *academies*, *courts of justice*, *artificers*,

<sup>a</sup> See fol. 91, of these sheets.

<sup>b</sup> The contents of this manuscript may be conceived from the words wherewith it begins, which are as follows: "Touching the voyage for *Guiana*, it is to be consider'd; first, Whether it be to be undertaken? secondly, The manner of subduing it; and lastly, The means how to subdue it, and annex it to the crown imperial of *England*." It consists of eight leaves in *quarto*, and is, I believe, a rarity; having no where met with it but among the magnificent collections of Sir *Hans Sloane*.

<sup>c</sup> After the extract from this treatise, of what more personally concerns Sir *Walter Raleigh*, before inserted in this list, from fol. 77 to 88, follows a *character* of his said discourse upon the *discovery* of *Guiana* from several authors; which might still be augmented from the further testimony of one of them, namely, *Robert Harcourt* of *Stanton-Harcourt*, Esq; whose voyage to *Guiana* in 1608, having met with, in his own edition, printed 4to. 1613, among the collections of that learned and worthy gentleman Mr. *George Sale*, I find a preface prefixed thereto, omitted in *Purchas*'s edition before used; in which captain *Harcourt*, having declared how *effectually* and *faithfully* Sir *Walter Raleigh* had publish'd what he then and there discover'd, recommends to the reader's perusal "This excellent discourse, proceeding, says he, from so wise and judicious an author; who, if some known fortunes (meaning his engagements at *Cadiz*, in the *Island* voyage, &c.) had not crossed his first intendments, for the prosecuting that enterprise, had, in all likelihood, long before this time, increased the honour of our nation, by the most famous and rich discovery and conquest that the world could afford." Besides the two editions in *English*, the last whereof publish'd by *Raleigh*, contains about 13

sheets, and the other in *Hakluyt*, about 9, also one in *Latin* before mention'd, printed in 4to. at *Noremburg* with a map: there are accounts of two editions of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s voyage to *Guiana* in *Dutch*, one 4to. 1612, which must be this of his *discovery*, and the other in 1619. *Edmund Howes*, in his *Addition to Stow's Annals*, says, it has been translated almost into all languages. But whether the exquisite translation into *Latin*, he says there is of it in one of *Theodore de Bry*'s volumes of *Modern Navigations*, is the same with the *Latin* edition in 4to. before mention'd, or any such there is among those valuable volumes, I am not yet certain; tho' I remember much in one of them, printed at *Frankfort*, Fol. 1590, relating to the first *Virginian* voyages; whereby it appears, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was a great patron and encourager of the said author, and which would have confirmed or embellished some passages in that part of these sheets which gives account thereof, had the intelligence, I have since been favour'd with by an honourable gentleman, arrived timely enough to have been admitted in its proper place.

<sup>d</sup> Deduced from a *Character* of the *Carthaginians*, in his *History of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 2.

<sup>e</sup> This *Seat of Government* was printed first, I think, in *Raleigh's Remains*, 12mo. 1651, and in the last or largest edition is not above 4 pages, beginning thus: *They say that the goodliest Cedars*, &c. as is in a note before quoted.

<sup>f</sup> These *Observations* were printed at the same time, in the same collection, and contain about 11 pages: Beginning thus: *That the only way to civilize and reform the savage and barbarous loves and corrupt manners of such people*, is, &c.



*privileges, and triumphs*; so concludes with those three causes of confirming a city in her greatness, *justice, peace and plenty*. Of a more extensive nature still is that treatise we have of his, called *Maxims of State*; <sup>a</sup> being a methodical compendium of government in all or most of its forms and branches; with many of its chapters *analytically* digested for the sake of brevity and perspicuity. Herein having explain'd and defin'd the words *government, policy, state* and the office of *sovereignty*, he proceeds to distinguish the several sorts of *monarchy, aristocracy, free state, tyranny, oligarchy, and commonwealth*. Then of the *founding a state*, with its parts, and of *preserving it* under those several forms, by *mysteries or sophisms, rules or actions*. Lastly, the *conversion of states*, general and particular, by foreign *invasion, domestick sedition, or alteration* without violence. Thus ends this treatise; to which is join'd, as a kind of corollary for the better use of the book, two or three passages in the story of *David*: from whence an inference is drawn, *that old age is not always unfit for government*; and also a defence of that prince for marrying *Abishag*: so closes with a portrait of *political nobility*, in the story of *Adonijah* aspiring to the kingdom; with observations of the marks to discern such practices; and another of the *political prince*, in a farther example of the said king *David*; who, tho' aged, deserted, and rebell'd against by many of his nobles, stir'd up himself to publick action, and thereby shew'd his vigor and sufficiency to manage the affairs of his kingdom. Herewith may be mention'd that larger treatise bordering upon these subjects, which is call'd *The Arts of Empire, &c.* <sup>b</sup> but handled in a different manner. It is divided into twenty-six chapters, defining *publick weals*, and differences of *sovereignty*; more particularly the three kinds of *monarchy*, and how to *perpetuate* them. Also of *councils and counsellors, officers, commissioners, magistrates and ministers of state*. Of *justice, treasure and war*. Of *neighbouring princes*. The character of an *excellent prince*. Art of *ruling*. Of princely *authority, power and force*. Of *conspiracy and treason, publick hatred, diffidence and dissimulation*. Of *war, defensive and invasive, law of arms, soldiers and their discipline*. Of *generals and commanders, councils of war, directions tactic and stratagemic*; with advice how to make an honourable *peace*. Of *civil war*; with the causes and remedies thereof. And the two last chapters contain a collection of *political observations, and maxims of state*; or prudential grounds and polemical precepts concerning all states and forms of policy, &c. confirm'd by select *narrations and historical parallels*.

But if we descend to those political writings of our author, which were occasionally compos'd; and with more particular regard to the exigents of state in his own time, through the virtues of a penetrating eye into the drifts of every neighbouring nation, and an undiscourageable heart for the security and interest of his own; we shall find them still more numerous. And these, as they most of them have a special regard to *Spain*, might proceed from the perfect knowledge he had of that kingdom and its tyrannical practices. One instance hereof we have in that discourse of *The Spaniards Cruelties to the English in Havanna*; which is ascrib'd to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with other tracts, in a volume among the manuscripts of a late person of honour. <sup>c</sup> His many other observations of this kind might well produce his *Consultation about the Peace with Spain*, and our protecting the *Netherlands*, of which some account has been before given; <sup>d</sup> as also that other treatise, *How War may be made with Spain and the Indies*, mention'd in the same place. Directions for such an enterprize may be easily presumed to have been effectually enough given by

<sup>a</sup> First publish'd under the title of *The Prince, or Maxims of State*. London, 4to. 1642, in 7 sheets, with Sir *Walter Ralegh's* picture before it; publish'd again in his *Remains*, 12mo. 1651, and all the succeeding editions thereof. *A. Wood* says, 'tis the same with *Aphorisms of State*, 8vo. Lond. 1661; publish'd by *John Milton*. It begins in this manner—*Government is of two sorts, &c.*

<sup>b</sup> This also had the same famous editor, being first publish'd with the title of *The Cabinet-Council, containing the chief Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State discabinated, &c.* By the ever-renowned Knight Sir *Walter Ralegh*: publish'd by *John Milton, Esq;* 8vo. 1658, who prefixed this motto, *Quis Martem tunica testum, Adamantina digne scripsit?* The editor's opinion of this book and its author, he farther offers to the reader in these words, "Having had the MS. of this treatise written by Sir *Walter Ralegh* many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other books and papers; upon reading thereof, I thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an author from the publick; it being both answerable in stile to other works of his already extant, as far as the subject would permit, and given me for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces *John Milton*." In the second edition it was titled, *The Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State discabinated, &c.* 8vo. Lond. 1692; containing 238 pages, and beginning with

these words, *A commonwealth is a certain sovereign government of many families, &c.*

<sup>c</sup> See a *Catalogue of the Library of a Person of Honour, &c.* with near a thousand choice manuscripts relating to the state of *England and Ireland*, 4to. without date, p. 10. This library was sold, in the former part of the late queen's reign, by *Christopher Bateman*, a noted bookseller, who once told me to whom those manuscripts did belong; and if my memory fails not, they were a part of *Henry earl of Clarendon's* vast collections, yet a different part, I think, from that which is in the possession of his grace the Duke of *Candor*.

<sup>d</sup> See before in these sheets, fol. 150, where there is a manuscript of this *Consultation* quoted; which in some places is more perfect than the printed copy, and is the property of the reverend and learned Mr. *Harbin*. It begins thus: *May it please your majesty: It belongs not to me to judge whether the king of Spain hath done wrong to the Netherlands, or the Netherlands have fail'd in allegiance towards the king, &c.* 47 pages in the printed copy, publish'd by *Philip Ralegh*, as was before observ'd, 8vo. 1702. That manuscript has, annexed to it, the *Determinations of the Council of War* in 1587, before mention'd fol. 39. A manuscript also of the said *Consultation*, there was in the library of the earl of *Arundel*; another in the *Harleian* library; another in that of Dr. *John Mort*, late bishop of *Ely*; another in Sir *Hans Sluys*'s, &c. &c.



the same hand that was also author of *The present State of Spain, with a most accurate Account of his Catholick Majesty's Power and Riches: also the Names and Worth of the most considerable Persons in that Kingdom*: a manuscript which I have not hitherto been so successful as to meet with. <sup>a</sup> Yet take it to be a different performance from that also written by our author, and entitled, *The present State of Things, as they now stand between the three Kingdoms, France, England, and Spain*; whereof there is a copy in being. <sup>b</sup> Further, it was this intimate knowledge he had in the state of all the *European* princes, which so well qualified him to give the approved advice he did in those two *Discourses* he wrote upon *The Match propounded by the Savoyan, between the lady Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont*: And that *between prince Henry of England, and a daughter of Savoy*, of which we have several manuscript copies, and, as I have heard, the original also extant. <sup>c</sup> The same knowledge likewise, enabled him so dexterously to eviscerate the corrupt doctrines, and pernicious designs of the papists, in his *Dialogue between a Jesuite and a Recusant*; shewing how dangerous their Principles are to Christian Princes. <sup>d</sup> Another excellent tract we have of his in this way of writing is, his *Dialogue between a Counsellor of*

<sup>a</sup> Anthony Wood tells us, this treatise, said to have been written by our author Sir Walter, is a MS. going about from hand to hand; and before him, Shirley, in his *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, calls it an excellent manuscript.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Harleian* library, N<sup>o</sup>. 38, B. 3. 'Tis a tract of about three sheets and a page in folio, copied, as appears, about the reign of king Charles I, and begins with these words, *The three great kingdoms, France, England, and Spain, as they now stand, may be compar'd to the election of a king of Poland, where there are three factions, and in the end, two of them join'd together, are able to overcome the third.*

<sup>c</sup> The first of these discourses by Sir Walter Raleigh on the Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth begins thus: *To obey the commandments of my lord the prince, I have sent you my opinion of the match lately desired by the duke of Savoy, &c.* It makes about five sheets and half a page in the MS. before me, which seems to have been a good old copy taken soon after this discourse was first composed by our author; tho' four of the leaves towards the beginning are now much damag'd. Join'd to this, is the second *Discourse, touching a Marriage between Prince Henry and a Daughter of Savoy*; beginning with these words, *There is no body that persuades our prince to match with Savoy for any love to the person of the duke, nor, as I hope, for his religion, &c.* and this, in the same hand, is about six sheets in length. They were both originally written in the ninth year of king James's reign; or anno Dom. 1611, as was before observ'd; and this copy of these discourses, was by the interest of a noble personage procured, for this use, from the collections of that worthy divine lately in these notes mention'd. There is a copy of this last *Discourse on the Prince's Marriage* among the MS. collections of Sir Hans Sloane; mark'd in his library, B. 612; and another in the library of Trinity college in Dublin. In the Cottonian library also, there is a copy of this last discourse, but I think not of the other. It was once a fair one, but scarcely so ancient as that above us'd, and by mistake, the amanuensis had ascrib'd it to Sir A. Gorges; for this name is struck out and Sir Walter Raleigh's inserted in the same hand. By another mistake, of the binder, there is but half of this tract to be found in one volume, the remainder being bound in that mark'd with the preceding number. See the said volumes under the bust of Vitellius, C. N<sup>o</sup>. 17 and 16. But the greatest mistake of all was, the suffering of women-servants to get up their linnen in rooms underneath those where the Royal library, with this of Sir Robert Cotton, were lately kept at Ashburnham-house, in Westminster; for thereby, a mantle-tree taking fire, (which lay across a stove-grate) on the 23d of October, 1731, it made such destruction among the said manuscripts, that of nine hundred forty-eight volumes, whereof the Cottonian library consisted, seven hundred forty-six only escaped the flames; a hundred fourteen being quite lost or intirely spoil'd, and ninety-eight damaged: so that this library now contains eight hundred forty-four volumes, intire and defective; as may be gather'd from Mr. Whiston's *Narrative of the said Fire*; printed in *A Report from the Committee appointed to view the Cottonian Library, and the other publick Records of this Kingdom. Published by Order of the House of Commons, Fol. 1732.* Now among those damaged volumes, were the two above mention'd, which contain this *Discourse* of Sir Walter Raleigh's, and which I have observed to be so burnt all about the margins, even into the writing, that I question if the sense, especially at the top of the leaves, can from thence be, every where, perfectly recover'd. The best is, that we may hope in the truth of an information I

have received from a gentleman who has great intelligence, as well as great collections of such like curiosities, that Sir Walter Raleigh's original MS. of one, or both these *Discourses*, is preserved in the noble family of the *Paulets*; tho' I have not yet had opportunity of requesting a sight, whereby to satisfy myself and others in the certainty thereof.

<sup>d</sup> This *Dialogue* (as has been before said) was first publish'd by Philip Raleigh, Esq; among the *Genuine Remains*, at the end of an *Abridgment* of his grand-father's *History of the World*, 8vo. 1700, &c. where it makes 43 pages, and begins thus: *My most reverend father, you are well returned into England, &c.* The conference herein is held, plainly, by two real persons, as may be gather'd from the historical particulars our author makes them deliver in some places of themselves; and in many places there are observations, almost verbatim, the same with several in others of Raleigh's writings. As the defeat of the *Hugonots* at the battle of *Moncouter*: The destruction of several millions of people in *Hispaniola*: The *Spaniards* never performing any enterprize against our nation by sea or land. Our driving away the *invincible armada* with *squibs*; arming all nations of *Europe* against ourselves, by the transportation of our iron ordnance; and, not to instance any further, his argument proving that, *he who commands the sea may command the world*, in the 60th page of these *Genuine Remains*, compared only with the 9th page of his *Discourse of Shipping* in the same collection, may prove sufficiently they were both written by one hand. The time when this *Dialogue* was written, might also be found in it; for it was, both after Sir George Somers's death, and the publication of *Anticaton*, a treatise against the *Declaratory Letter*, written to the queen regent of France, by Peter Coton, confessor to king Henry IV; in which letter he having apologiz'd for, or too gently and tardily reprov'd the king-killing doctrine of Mariana and other Jesuites, the said *Anticaton* was publish'd in French, and translated into English 4to. 1611, to prove them the authors of that execrable parricide the foregoing year on the said French king, by the bloody hand of *Ravillac*. Among the holy champions mention'd in this pamphlet, for the said doctrine of regicide, I find *Andreas Eudæmon Johannes Cydonius*, as he wrote himself in his books: but he was a French Jesuite, and his true name *Jean l'Heureux*. This father *John* publish'd in Latin, that same year the said king of France was stab'd to death in his coach, an *Apology* for father Garnet, and the powder-plotters, 8vo. Col. Agrip. 1610. And this was answered by the learned Dr. Robert Abbot, three years after in his *Antilogia*. But as there is a part in the said *Apology*, which touches upon Sir Walter Raleigh, he has taken care to answer that himself: for that Jesuite writing himself of *Cydon*, a town in *Crete*, Raleigh takes occasion, where he is giving the known character of the *Cretans*, not to except this *Eudæmon Jack Andrew*, as one of them, "Who, (continues our author) "in one of his late shameless libels, wherein he traduces "our king, religion, and country, with all the good "and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, "has, by inserting my name, twice belied me, in calling "me a puritan, and one that has been dangerous to my "sovereign. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so "diligent a supporter of treason, and architect of lies; "in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of *Creticism*, no less voluminous, than he in "multiplicity of names, is beyond any *Cretans*, in elder "times; who were always liars, evil beasts, and slow "bellies." *History of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 5. sect. 2.



*State, and a Justice of Peace*, better known in the printed copies, by the title of his *Prerogative of Parliaments*; dedicated with a true and generous spirit of wisdom and loyalty to king James.<sup>a</sup> These two dialogues will give a perfect taste of our author's manner in these his lesser compositions, and are answerable to the character before deliver'd of his *Consultation about the Peace*, abovemention'd. The last tract we have to speak of under this partition, except perhaps a short unprinted *Discourse of the Words Law and Right* also ascribed to him, and to be found in the *Ashmolean* library, is entitled, *Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander, and other Nations, as it was presented to King James; wherein is prov'd, that our Sea and Land Commodities serve to enrich and strengthen other Countries against our own*. But as there are some reasons to doubt whether Sir Walter Raleigh was the author of this treatise, I need say no more of it in this place; yet shall throw them into a corner of the page,<sup>b</sup> where they may least interrupt the progressive view of his remaining writings.

These

<sup>a</sup> This excellent *Dialogue* is, by some describers of its title, from certain manuscript copies that were in the libraries of Sir William Glyme, Bart. and the late bishop More, said to have been written by our author in 1610. But this I take to be an error that may be rectified by the very first speech in the said *Dialogue*, which is as follows. "Now Sir, what think you of Mr. St. John's trial in the star-chamber? I know that the bruit ran, that he was hardly dealt withal, because he was imprison'd in the Tower; seeing his dissuasion from granting a benevolence to the king was warranted by law." Whoever knows any thing of the parliamentary proceedings of these times can tell, that this Mr. Oliver St. John (afterwards lord Grandison, and lieutenant of Ireland) was imprison'd in the star-chamber 5000 l. in April, and made his submission in May 1615 for opposing that benevolence, moved in the foregoing session of parliament, which was so abruptly dissolv'd. This is enough to prove the said *Dialogue* was not written before that year; and, as our author, in his dedication to the king, mentions himself to be still under restraint, this will prove it was written in that year. The beginning of his address to the said king is as follows, according to the most correct copies I have seen of it. "Most gracious Sovereign, Those who are suppress'd and helpless, are commonly silent; wishing that the common ill might, in all things, sort with their particular misfortunes: which disposition, as it is uncharitable in all men, so it would, in me, be more dog-like, than man-like, to bite the stone that struck me, to wit, the borrow'd authority of my sovereign, misinform'd, seeing their arms and hands that slung it, are, most of them, already rotten. For I must confess it ever, that they are debts and not discontentments, that your majesty hath laid upon me; the debts and obligations of a friendless adversity far more payable in all kinds than those of the prosperous. All which, nor the least of them, tho' I cannot discharge, I may yet endeavour it. And notwithstanding my restraint has retrenched all ways, as well the ways of labour and peril, as of all other employments, yet has it left with me my cogitations; than which I have nothing else to offer on the altar of my love. Of those, most gracious sovereign, I have used some part in the following dispute between a counsellor of state and justice of peace; the one dissuading, the other persuading the calling of a parliament. In all which, since the Norman conquest, at least so many as histories have gathered, I have in some things, in the following dialogue, presented your majesty with the contents and successes." Upon collating an old manuscript of this *Dialogue* in the *Harleian* library, with the common printed copies, the most material difference I observed was, that these in print sometimes confound the arguments of the two speakers together, or blend one with the other, by not regarding the proper divisions of the colloquy. Whether the fault of an ignorant transcriber, or of a careless compositor at the press of the first edition, I cannot say, but we are pretty sure it was not printed before the author's death. The earliest edition I have seen, seems to be the first (however Anthony Wood mentions one to have been printed seven years before it) for it runs thus: *The Prerogative of Parliaments in England, proved in a Dialogue pro et contra between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace. Written by the worthy, much lacked and lamented Sir Walter Raleigh, Knt. deceas'd: Dedicated to the King's Majesty and to the House of Parliament now assembled; preserved, to be now happily, in these distracted times, published: printed at Middelburge, 4to. 1628.* I think it was also reprinted in the same size in

1642. In 1651 it was printed in 12mo. and remitted into the collection call'd his *Remains*; so has descended in the several editions thereof, and in the last makes about 4 sheets and a quarter. If this piece, or any other of Sir Walter Raleigh's writing, were to need a character, we might refer to that short, but shining one, which may serve for one and all, in bishop Nicholson's *English Historical Library*, where he says, "Sir Walter Raleigh has written, as he used to do upon all other subjects, most judiciously and accurately upon the prerogatives of our parliaments;" so refers to Sir Henry Spelman's *Glossary*, p. 451. From the noble endeavours to restrain all violent courses of administration, to heal the wounds of government, to cultivate a mutual harmony between prince and people, and detect the misapplications of his revenue by a few greedy and deceitful courtiers, wherewith this and other like writings of our author abound; we may account for the readiness which has been shewn so universally, even down to our times, of assuming the name of Sir Walter Raleigh when any character of a patriot, or person of a publick spirit was to be reviv'd or personated by our political writers for reforming erroneous measures in the state, or recommending advantageous ones to it. To this purpose we meet with him, in Andrew Marvell's poems, in Tom Brown's *Belgic Hero*; and his name subscrib'd to several *Epistolary Essays* in pamphlets, news-papers, and other like occasional writings, that animadvert upon the occurrences of the times. Not that his real character is perhaps always justly maintain'd, or he made to espouse the party he would really have sided with; for his name has been used to patronise the principles of opposite parties, and we sometimes meet with one rebuking the other, for making so free with such an honourable shelter. Thus among some *Poems on Affairs of State*, collected from the daily, evening and weekly papers, &c. 8vo. 1733, there is one, page 9, *To a Person who subscribes his Writings with the Name of RALEIGH*. Wherein that part which concerns our subject is as follows.

Hear you, who, fearless of the brand of shame,  
Subscribe your treasons with a Raleigh's name:  
He rose a blessing to Eliza's reign,  
And spread her glory o'er the land and main;  
O'er distant seas asserted England's sway,  
And fought New Worlds beneath the burning day:  
He toil'd unwearied for his Country's peace,  
To make her honour and her wealth increase;  
All mercenary views his soul despis'd,  
He bravely practis'd what he first advis'd.  
When his great Mistress from her throne retir'd,  
With the same ardor which his youth inspir'd,  
His part he acted on the world's great stage,  
Nor droop'd beneath the weight of cares or age;  
To the last hour was his allegiance try'd:  
Loyal he prov'd to him by whose commands he dy'd.  
Such Raleigh was—whose fame compar'd with thine,  
Is such as Milton's when compar'd with mine.

<sup>b</sup> Roger Coke, Esq; in his *Detection of the Court and State of England during the four last Reigns*, printed 8vo. the third edition, 1697, speaking of Raleigh page 80, fixes these *Observations on Trade and Commerce* upon him in these words: "While he was thus confined, he was the first who made publick the growth by sea of the Dutch, and the riches they deriv'd from their fishing upon the coasts of England and Scotland, and the consequence which would necessarily follow, not only to the loss of the king's sovereignty of the British seas, but to the trade and navigation of England otherwise." After



These we shall divide but into two parts, and then perhaps one of them may be best comprehended under the topic of *Philosophy*. This way seems to look, by its subject, that short *Treatise Philosophical of the Soul* ascrib'd to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, whereof there is a copy preserved among the *Asbmo-lean* manuscripts. It was never publish'd, I think, and I have not yet seen it; therefore can say no more, at present, of it. But we have in print, another treatise which may be admitted under this head, being built on the doctrine of *Pyrrho* the *Greek* philosopher, entitled, Sir *Walter Ralegh's Sceptick or Speculations*. This doctrine, shewing how much may be said for and against the same things; such an ingenious exemplification of it as this little tract contains, may, if discreetly used, prevent many rash, dogmatical determinations, and inure us to a wary or prudent suspense of judgment: for the *sceptick*, as our author describes him, does neither affirm nor deny any position, but doubts of it, and opposes reasons against that which is affirm'd or deny'd, to justify his not consenting; because he may report how things appear, but whether they are so he knows not. This little tract, as it is here handled, relates chiefly to our senses; a but another we have, upon a more dignified topic, as concerning our manners, or virtues and vices; therefore what might be more particularly subdivided under the distinction of moral philosophy; and it is call'd, *Instructions to his Son, and Posterity*. A treatise well becoming an author, who had seen the world in so many climates, and life in so many changes. It is written in a perspicuous style, with forcible arguments, and on the most practical subjects. These are interspersed with several memorable admonitions, the fruits of his particular experience therefore may claim a part in his personal history; and being apt to rivet in the mind, may prove of constant use and service; as touching upon the most incidental engagements in life. Thus, in his first chapter upon the choice of friends, he says: "Tho' I persuade thee to associate  
" with thy *betters*, or at least with thy *peers*; yet remember always, that thou venture not  
" thy estate with any of those *great ones* who shall attempt unlawful things; for such men  
" labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to impart with them in the  
" danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate at present, in hopes of a better  
" in future, is mere madness: besides, *great men* forget such as have done them service when  
" they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying, thou hast been a

" After that, one *Tobias Gentleman* set forth another  
" treatise of this nature, and how this *fishery* might be  
" carried on from the ports of *England*; and dedicated  
" it to the king. But the king, wholly giving himself  
" up to pleasure, neither minded one, nor regarded the  
" other." That *Gentleman* was a fisherman, or other like  
" sea-faring man, and I have seen his treatise; but publish-  
" ed long before this, I think, was, which that historian  
" ascribes thus to Sir *Walter Ralegh*. The first edition of  
" these *Observations* I could ever meet with in print,  
" is in 12mo. 1653, and it was bound up with the second  
" edition of *Ralegh's Remains*, 1656. Its anonymous pub-  
" lisher appears to be the bookseller; who had no other  
" authority for appropriating it to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, but  
" the opinion of a person who recommended it to him as a  
" genuine piece of his writing. 'Tis true, our author has  
" touch'd, after a different manner, upon the topick, in  
" some of his tracts, and particularly at the end of his *Dis-  
" course of Shipping*; where he laments " That strangers  
" should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and  
" importing both our own commodities, and those of fo-  
" reign nations." But I think no treatise of his will be  
" found that descends so much into minute examples, cal-  
" culations, &c. However, not to except at this, because  
" a treatise upon trade may require observations suitable to  
" the subject, it does not appear probable that the author  
" of these *Observations*, whose project was, as he tells us,  
" To erect twenty *huffs* in some sea-port town, so by  
" degrees to extend a thousand or two over the nation;  
" who was one that had traced this business, made his  
" endeavours known not only to the king, but his no-  
" blemen, merchants and others, who had made him  
" subscriptions to disburse large sums of money for building  
" up this great and rich *sea-city*;" should be a prisoner all  
" this while in the *Tower of London*. No, this projector,  
" further proposing to constitute a *state merchant*, for these  
" purposes; and praying, in the conclusion, that the king  
" would give him leave to nominate the commissioners for  
" conferring upon, and making report thereof to his ma-  
" jesty, seems to have been some manufacturing or mercan-  
" tile man, one ambitious of that office himself, and con-  
" sequently none of Sir *Walter Ralegh*. But if from the  
" subject before us, we bend our consideration to the time  
" when this tract was written, we shall find further objection

against entitling our author to it. For the very first words  
" of the dedication are, " According to my duty, I am  
" embolden'd to put your majesty in mind, that, about  
" fourteen or fifteen years past, I presented you a book  
" of such extraordinary importance for honour and pro-  
" fit of your majesty and posterity, and doubting it has  
" been laid aside, &c. I am encouraged to present you  
" with one more, &c." Now if we allow the first book  
" to have been presented in the very first year of the king's  
" being in *England*, then this second must have been pre-  
" sented in 1617 or 1618, when Sir *Walter Ralegh* was  
" out of *England*, or his thoughts far differently engag'd.  
" But the greatest objection of all is, that there are several  
" manuscripts of this treatise in the libraries of our nobility  
" and gentry (more ancient than the earliest edition in print)  
" which, as I have observ'd, do all entitle it to one *John*  
" *Keymer*, possibly the merchant or vintner of that name,  
" whom *Ralegh* many years before had licensed to retail  
" wine in *Cambridge*, as is related in the foregoing part of  
" this life. With one of these manuscripts (the most ancient  
" I have seen) among the collections of the late Mr. *Gran-  
" ger*, there was another, written also in the same little neat  
" old hand, ascribed to the same *Keymer*, and which I take  
" to be that first mention'd in his dedication last quoted;  
" and also to agree in its contents with *John Keymer's Ob-  
" servations made upon the Dutch Fishery, about the year*  
" 1601. *Demonstrating there is more wealth raised out of*  
" *herrings and other fish in his majesty's seas and the neigh-  
" bouring nations in one year, than the king of Spain bath from*  
" *the Indies in four: And that there were twenty thousand*  
" *ships and other vessels, and about four hundred thousand*  
" *people then set on work by sea and land, and maintained*  
" *only by fishing upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and*  
" *Ireland.* Printed 8vo. *London*. (from the original manuscript)  
" for Sir *Edward Ford*, in the year 1664. Whoever has  
" read these two pieces, will allow that one hand writ  
" them.

" Of this *Sceptick* I remember not to have met with  
" any copy in manuscript, nor any edition more ancient  
" than that in the first collection of our author's *Remains*,  
" 12mo. 1651: so has been reprinted in all the succeeding  
" editions thereof. 'Tis about 12 pages in the last and  
" largest edition.



“ means of their advancement, than acknowledge it. I could give thee a thousand examples ;  
 “ I myself know it, and have tasted it in all the course of my life.” From his next chapter, on the *choice of a wife*, we have before given extracts in this work. His third, against *flatterers*, ends with this reflection: “ Thou may’st be sure, that he, who in private will tell thee of  
 “ thy faults, is thy friend ; for he adventures thy mislike, and hazards thy hatred : few can  
 “ endure it, every man for the most part delighting in *self-praise* ; one of the most universal  
 “ follies which bewitches mankind.” From the fourth chapter on *private quarrels* we have already given a taste ; and here, the chief caution he further urges to prevent the inconveniencies thereof, is ever to beware of unadvised speech. “ He that cannot refrain from much speaking,  
 “ says he, is like a city without walls.” And a little further, “ In all that ever I observed  
 “ in the course of worldly things, I ever found, that mens *fortunes* are oftner *made* by their  
 “ *tongues* than by their *virtues*, and more mens fortunes *overtbrowen* thereby also, than by their  
 “ *vices*.” In the fifth chapter, among the rules recommended to *preserve an estate*, the most pressing is against *suretiship* ; advising rather to give a part of what a man has, than live in continual apprehension of losing both it and his friend. “ If thou art bound, says he, for a *stranger*, thou art a  
 “ fool ; if for a *merchant*, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim ; if for a *churchman*, he has no  
 “ inheritance ; if for a *lawyer*, he will find an evasion by a *syllable* or a *word* to abuse thee ; if  
 “ for a *poor* man, thou must pay it thyself ; if for a *rich* one, he needs it not : therefore from  
 “ suretiship as from a man-slayer or enchanter, bless thyself ; for the best profit and return will  
 “ be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become  
 “ thy enemy ; if thou shalt use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar : and believe thy father  
 “ in this, and print it in thy thoughts ; that whatever virtue thou hast, be it never so manifold,  
 “ if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised.” In the sixth chapter, upon *servants*, he has this advice : “ If thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his  
 “ accompt e’er thou sleep ; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then, afterwards, for tediousness  
 “ neglect it ; I myself have thereby lost more than I am worth. Whatever thy servant gains  
 “ thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn ; besides, ’tis the way  
 “ to make thy servants thieves, who else would be honest.” The seventh chapter is only a word or two against exceeding in the bravery of *gay garments*, “ as what will soon wear out  
 “ of fashion, when money in the purse will always be in fashion.” The eighth is upon *riches* (and as it seems by the beginning, should follow the fifth) Herein exhorting against the attainment of them by *base* or *evil* means, he charges his son, as, never to destroy any man for his wealth, so, by no means further to impoverish the poor ; but above all things, to exercise compassion towards them, as the best way to prosperity and peace of mind. “ Use, says he,  
 “ thy poor neighbours and tenants well ; pine not them and their children, to add superfluity  
 “ and needless expences to thyself. He that has pity on another man’s sorrow, shall be free  
 “ from it himself ; he that delights in, and scorns the misery of another, shall, one time or  
 “ other, fall into it himself.” The ninth is against the inconveniencies of delighting in *wine*, as being the greatest enemy to health, trust, honour and preferment ; and the last chapter begins thus : “ Now for the *world*, I know it too well, to persuade thee to dive into the *practices*  
 “ thereof ; rather stand upon thy own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may  
 “ practise upon thee in thy *conscience*, thy *reputation*, or thy *purse* ; resolve that no man is wise  
 “ or safe, but he that is honest.” So concludes with advising him to make God his *director* in all his *actions*.

With these *Instructions to his Son*, which have, I think, been oftner printed <sup>a</sup> than most other of our author’s lesser pieces ; there is usually join’d, in all the editions I have seen, *The dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father*. ’Tis a religious and rhetorical exhortation to prepare for his latter end ; written in a general manner, but how probably by our author, or by either of his sons, it is left to the critical and discerning reader. <sup>b</sup> All the works I have met with

<sup>a</sup> Four editions of this tract, call’d, *Instructions to his Son*, were publish’d before the first collection was made of *Raleigh’s Remains*. The earliest edition of it I have met with, was printed 12mo. 1632, in a larger character than we have it in the modern editions. The fifth edition (and in the title to be) corrected and enlarged according to the author’s own copy, is printed in the said collection of his *Remains*, 12mo. 1651, and has been reprinted five or six times at least since with those *Remains*, that is, in 1656, 1660, 1664, 1675, 1679, &c. and 1726. It fills, in this last edition (which has a letter or two of our author’s more than the others) about 20 pages. And begins thus : *There is nothing more becoming any wise man than to make*

*choice of friends, for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art.* We are informed there is a MS. of Sir Walter Raleigh to his son, which I take to be these *Instructions*, in the library at Grays Inn. *Vol. Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ. Fol. Oxon. 1697. tom. 2. part 1. page 255.*

<sup>b</sup> This *Dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father* was printed also in 1632, with those *Instructions*, and with them admitted into *Raleigh’s Remains*, 12mo. 1651. From which time it has been reprinted in the succeeding editions thereof, and makes about a dozen pages. Beginning thus : *Sir, I humbly beseech you, both in respect to the honour of God, &c.*



further ascribed to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, bearing any affinity with this class, are two manuscripts, which might be distinguished under the branch of *Natural Philosophy*. The first is his treatise *Of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals*; a subject on which he very probably might write, both from his own observations in the *West Indies*, and those engagements he might also have in his native county of *Devon*, with his brother Sir *Adrian Gilbert*, who first, in queen *Elizabeth's* reign, begun to work the long-neglected mines in *Comb-Martin* (whence king *Edward III.* had supply'd his wars against *France*) and was followed by Sir *Beavis Bulmer*, who from those mines recover'd a great quantity of *silver*, out of which, he caus'd two massy goblets to be made; one whereof was presented to the earl of *Bath*; and the other, weighing one hundred thirty-seven ounces, to the lord mayor of *London* in the 35th of the queen's reign. <sup>a</sup> So that what *Cicero* says to his friend of this island, that it yielded not a drachm of that metal, was false in *Ralegh's* time, and what he could not be sure was true in his own. <sup>b</sup> But whether the said treatise is so particular as to mention any thing of this I know not, having never seen it. <sup>c</sup> The second manuscript is Sir *Walter Ralegh's* *Collection of Chymical and Medicinal Receipts* for fixing *Mercury*, preparing *Antimony*, and for the Cure of several diseases. <sup>d</sup> His application to studies of this kind, may perhaps be somewhat accountable from the patronage, which, as in a note before cited, it appears he had shewn to *John Hester*, the famous chymist, with the conversation there might probably pass between them, and the knowledge he had learn'd from the *Guianians* of curing all manner of poisons, &c. 'Tis apparent, that he bestow'd some portion of his time upon the use of lembicks and crucibles while he was in the *Tower*, and seems to have had a kind of *laboratory* there for his said operations. A view of him in this light will explain the expression in a character of him given by Dr. *Joseph Hall*, the venerable bishop of *Norwich* (whom Sir *H. Wotton* calls the *English Seneca*) where he speaks (among other things, which will be hereafter observ'd) of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* *philosophical experiments* in the *Tower*. And other authors might be produced, who, in their character of him, also refer to his profound knowledge in the mysteries of nature, or his investigations thereof, through the *animal, vegetable, and mineral world*, for the benefit of his countrymen, notwithstanding some memorable attempts to advance their prosperity in the *political world*, had met with much discouragement: as if, tho' he could not absolutely recover them from some indispositions or corruptions of the *mind*, he was hereby resolv'd to try how serviceable and successful he could be against the maladies of their *body*.

How elaborately soever many of these pieces are allowed by others to have been written, our author look'd upon them but as little excursions, or *fallies*, as he calls them, from his grand labour, I mean that *Ocean of History*, wherein he has out-done all that went before him, and <sup>Historical</sup> given such lights to futurity as must ever be grateful. A voyage, which, "If begun even in  
" the dawn of his day, when the light of knowledge first broke out upon his younger years,  
" and before any wound received, either from fortune or time, he might yet well have doubted  
" (as he observes himself) that the darkness of age and death would have overtaken him long  
" before the performance." <sup>e</sup> But being undertaken, as it was, in the evening of a tempestuous life, a life so far run out in travels and considerations of such opposite nature; for one under the soul-piercing privations of honour, fortune, freedom! One buried *alive!* to attempt such a *universal revival of the dead!* And, while his *body*, under all those pressures, was so long incarcerated, for his *brain* to be deliver'd of that *Minerva*, as one calls it, <sup>f</sup> his *HISTORY OF THE WORLD!* is an example, that might puzzle such an *Historian* even as *Ralegh* himself to parallel. For, beginning at the creation, he has given us the flower of recorded story down to the end of the second *Macedonian* war. Thus having reviewed the three first monarchies of the world, he leaves *Rome* in the fourth, triumphant, about a century and a half before the birth of Christ, comprehending a period of near *four thousand years*. This work was divided by our author into five books, who annexed to it a very copious and useful *chronological table*; and it was,

<sup>a</sup> *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, in the *Proem*, p. 2, 3.

<sup>b</sup> *Cicero ad Attic.* lib. 4. epist. 15.

<sup>c</sup> *Anthony Wood* ascribes it to our author: but he seems also not to have seen it.

<sup>d</sup> This *Collection of Chymical and Medicinal Receipts*—as was before noted, is an original, in the library of Sir *Thom. Sloane*. It contains about 70 leaves in 4to. and in the 63d leaf, as was also observ'd, Sir *Walter Ralegh* has written *Our Great Cordial*, with a line under it, which he usually drew under his own name. The list of ingredients which follows, may, I think, be discerned through the scratches made by some hand or other to

obliterate it: and may, perhaps, be the most genuine *Recipe* of that *Great Cordial*, extant in the world, notwithstanding it is supposed our author had written it more completely in the ensuing leaf which is torn out. For as to the *Recipe* in *le Febvre's Discourse* upon this *Cordial*, I have, upon a more diligent examination of that discourse, found, that he acknowledges at least a dozen more additions to Sir *Walter's Recipe* than is before taken notice of.

<sup>e</sup> See the preface to his *History of the World*.

<sup>f</sup> *Osborne's Memoirs of King James*.



with the further decorations of *maps, tables of genealogy, &c.* publish'd in the month of *April*, just before the meeting of the parliament, <sup>a</sup> in a large volume *folio*, 1614. The approbation it has met with since the author's death has been so universal, that if they are different *editions* of the book to which we may see different dates printed, we may venture to say, no work, of any author in *England*, has been so often reprinted that is of equal size and antiquity. <sup>b</sup> The several *characters* and commendations which have been bestow'd on this history as well by miscellaneous writers, who have frequently quoted it with great deference and respect, as by historians and criticks who have closely traced and thoroughly examin'd it; and as well in verse, as prose; would be too numerous to be here inserted, could they be recover'd. To provide therefore as well against the ignorance as the satiety of those readers who have not met with them, a few are presented in the annotation here directed to. <sup>c</sup> He took no ordinary care to deserve

<sup>a</sup> Camden's *Annals of King James*.

<sup>b</sup> Besides this first edition in 1614, printed by *W. Stansby* for *W. Burre*, I have seen copies by the same printer bearing date 1617. This edition, I think, has the picture of our author, grav'd by *S. Pasi*, and the frontispiece by *Ren. Elfrack*. Another is dated 1628; and perhaps there is one between those. Another in 1634; another 1652; another in 1656, printed by *Robert White, &c.* another in 1661, printed for *Robert White, &c.* *Anthony Wood* mentions one in 1666, in which edition, or perhaps in one or two before it, it was first printed in double columns. Another (now before me) printed for *George Dawkes* 1671; another in 1678; and another in 1687. After which, there was none, I think, till this last 1735.

<sup>c</sup> This may not perhaps be better introduced than in the reflection of bishop *Hall*, lately abovemention'd, who, in his ingenious book of *Consolations*, has these words, "A wise man, as *Laurentius* the presbyter observed well, does much in solitude. So may'st thou employ the hours of thy close retiredness, and bless God for so happy an opportunity. How memorable an instance has our age afforded us of an eminent person to whose imprisonment we are all obliged, besides many philosophical experiments, for that noble HISTORY of the WORLD now in our hands? The Court had his youthful and freer years, and the Tower his latter age; the Tower reformed the Courtier in him, and produced those worthy monuments of art and industry, which we should have in vain expected from his freedom and jollity. It is observed, that shining wood, when it is kept within doors, loses its light: it is otherwise with this, and many other active wits, which had never shin'd so much, if not for closeness." Thus in a treatise call'd, *Balm of Gilead; or, Comforts for the Distress'd, both moral and divine*, by *Dr. Joseph Hall*, bishop of *Norwich*, 12mo. 1652; afterwards reprinted under the title of *The Art of Patience, &c.* 8vo. 1684, and by a base plagiarism, ascribed to the author of *The whole Duty of Man*, who wanted not the reputation of this book; tho' he, from whom it is stol'n, had enough to spare. In the *Familiar Letters of James Howell*, Esq; speaking of this rare and renowned knight, he says, "His fame shall contend in longevity with this island itself, yea with that great World which he Historifies so gallantly." In another well-known book of his, call'd *Dodona's Grove; or, The Vocal Forest*, discoursing of *Raleigh*, and describing him to have been, "A cavalier of a spacious understanding and of no vulgar reach in policy; scientific, and full of abstruse notions;" he adds, "That tho' his body was under restraint, and coffin'd up so many years, yet he never travers'd more countries than then; for his brain ran over all the World, as appears by that famous Monument he transmitted to posterity and hung up in the Temple of Fame, while he was as it were buried alive." But in the *Life of the lord Stafford*, written by *Anthony Stafford*, Esq; 4to. 1640, this author goes so far as to say, "That if Sir *Walter Raleigh's History of the World* had been written in the Indian tongue, we should not have scrupled or avoided the pains of learning that language, only to read it. If we consult what character the historians give it, we may find many of them who never name it without some epithet or sentence in its praise. Thus *Dr. Heylin* in one place call it an excellent history; in another, the first or chief of histories. And thus in the preface of *Dr. William Howell's Universal History*, who must have had continual occasions of inspecting our author's, 'tis said, 'That Sir *Walter Raleigh is never to be mention'd without honour.* *Shidley*, in his *Life of our author*, gives it as his judgment

of his History, "That for the exactness of its chronology, curiousest of its contexture, and learning of all sorts, it seems to be the work of an age." And a little further, "That a man, who had been the greatest part of his life taken up in action, should write so judiciously, so critically, of times and actions, is as great a wonder as the book itself; and it still remains in doubt, whether the age he liv'd in was more oblig'd to his pen or his sword, the one being busy in conquering the new, the other in so bravely describing the old world." And *Mr. Echard*, in the preface of his *Roman History*, admires that part of *Raleigh's History* which treats of the *Roman* story, "Especially the last hundred years, which, says he, are written with very much spirit and judgment, and all of it with as much skill and clearness: yet that all before the first *Punick* war is not proportionably copious to the rest." But how duely it was consider'd by this particular historian, whether that was not a judicious disproportion in our general historian, may be left to the examination of others. If we search what the criticks have said of this History, we shall find their commendations exceed the rest. Among these we may mention *Degory Whear*, the first *Camden-Professor* of History at *Oxford*, who, speaking of such universal historians as are most worthy and before all others to be read; and having only named *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus* and *Polybius*, he goes on thus: *Hos autem sequi possunt nonnulli ex recentioribus: quos inter, principem locum obtinere meretur Gualterus Raulæus nostras, eques auratus, vir clari nominis, et ob singularem fortitudinem ac prudentiam, meliori fato dignus. Is universalem historiam ab initio mundi usque ad Macedonici imperii, sive tertiæ monarchiæ occasum, et probatissimis auctoribus coagmentavit; nostræ quidem gentis idioma vernaculo, sed accurato admodum judicio, methodo perspicuâ, stylo elegante ac virili.* *Methodus legendi historiarum*, 8vo. *Cantab.* 1684. p. 28. To this we may join the character of *Dr. Henry Felton* in his *Dissertation upon the Classics*, where he says, "Sir *Walter Raleigh's History of the World* is a work of so vast a compass, such endless variety, that no genius but one adventurous as his own, durst have undertaken that great design. I do not apprehend any great difficulty in collecting and common-placing an universal history from the whole body of historians; that is nothing but mechanick labour. But to digest the several authors in his mind; to take in all their majesty, strength and beauty; to raise the spirit of meaner historians, and to equal all the excellencies of the best; this is Sir *Walter's* peculiar praise. His style is the most perfect, the happiest, the most beautiful of the age he wrote in; majestick, clear and manly; and he appears every-where so superior rather than unequal to his subject, that the spirit of *Rome* and *Athens* seems to be breathed into his work."

Or if what the *Poets* have said upon this performance, may be more entertaining to the reader, some pains have been taken to do our author honour also by them. As to those copies of verses which were written upon this history in a fair MS. epitomy of it in 4to. which was among the collections of that remarkable virtuoso *Thomas Britton*, late of *Clerkenwell*, as we find in the printed catalogue of that part of his library which was sold towards the latter part of the late king *William's* reign; I never saw, nor knew where to recommend any one to the sight of them. But have, before me, a MS. collection of *Orations* and *Poems*, written mostly by a student of *New-College* in *Oxford*, about the middle of the last century (who was afterwards a person eminent in his profession) Among these, there is an elegy on his dear friend *Mr. George Franklin*; wherein, having



deserve these encomiums; for besides his own learning, knowledge and judgment, which many would have thought sufficient for any undertaking, he with that caution, wherewith we have beheld so many others of his great enterprizes temper'd, would suffer no part of this history to pass his own hand, before some of the most able scholars, whom he assembled, it seems, for this purpose, had debated the parts he was most doubtful of, and they most conversant in, before him. Thus in the *Mosaic* and *Oriental* antiquities, or fainter and more remote footsteps of time, he would sometimes consult the learned Dr. *Robert Burbill*.<sup>a</sup> In all parts of chronology, geography, and other branches of mathematical science, he wanted not the opinions of the learned *Harriot*, and the earl of *Northumberland's* three *Magi*,<sup>b</sup> long his neighbours in the *Tower*; and wherever he scrupled any thing in the phrase or diction, he would hear the acute and ingenious Sir *John Hoskyns*, sometime also resident in these confines; who viewed and reviewed the said history, as we are told, before it went to the press, and whom *Ben Johnson*, proud of calling others his *sons*, could gratify that humour in calling *father*.<sup>c</sup> Thus having spared for no labour, and neglected no means to bring this work to the perfection wherein we behold it, 'tis no wonder that some scribbler or other should, upon finding it so universally read, endeavour to raise himself a little profit or credit from it, by pretending that the *world* needed an *abridgment* of its history,<sup>d</sup> as if that wherewith Sir *Walter Raleigh* has presented us, either is, or was intended for any thing more. But this more specious kind of detraction

having elegantly describ'd his great proficiency in other sciences, the poet directs it as the highest compliment he could make to his perfection in this we are now speaking of, that

In UNIVERSAL HISTORY, 'twas clear,  
He had approv'd himself Great RALEGH's heir.

But among *S. Sheppard's Epigrams*, written about the same time, and publish'd 8vo. 1651, there is, in the third book, one, *On that incomparable Hero Sir Walter Raleigh*; which speaks of him and his history in the following words.

Like the *Athenians*, when with furious ire,  
Against learn'd *Socrates* they did conspire;  
After his death, themselves were like to slay,  
For sorrow they had made him so away;  
And, having carv'd his statue out in brass,  
Erected it within their market-place;  
And to him offer'd myrrh and spicery,  
Adoring him as if some deity;  
So we, while thou on earth with us did'st live,  
Slighted thy worth; not having hearts to give  
Thee thanks and honour for that Gift of thine,  
The lovely issue of thy brain divine;  
But now thou art not with us, we look on  
Thy book, and wonder at Thee being gone.  
Rest, sacred spirit, while thy work shall be  
Devoutly honour'd by posterity.

There is also in being, a picture of our author, drawn with a pen and ink, having an emblematical device with an epigram under it, which relate partly to his *History of the World*. That device, in an oval frame of laurel or bays, presents a globe supported by a sword, and a pen; the sword broken by a scepter in a hand on one side, and the *Tower* in prospect on the other: and these are the lines, as they are printed in *Phoenix Britannicus*, one word only restor'd, according to the author's original, of which I have obtain'd a sight.

O! had'st thou serv'd the *Heroine* all thy days;  
Had heav'n from storms of envy screen'd thy bays;  
Had'st thou still flourish'd in a warlike reign;  
Thy sword had made a conquest like thy pen!  
But nought to such untimely fate could bring  
The valiant subject, but a tim'rous king.

But that which of late years did much revive the public regard to this history was, the ingenious Dr. *George Sewall's* *Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh*, publish'd 8vo. 1719, and the much-admired character he has therein given of it. Considering under what disadvantages that dramatic performance appear'd, as written by a poet who had no practice or fame in this kind of writing; one insufficiently read in the personal story of his hero, to form that plot, and enliven it with those characters and incidents whereof it was capable; besides, acted at the *New- Theatre* in *Lincoln's-Inn Fields*, which then had less the favour of the town, especially for tragedy; and when another new play was at the same time acting at the *Old House* in *Drury Lane*. Considering all this, and, notwithstanding, how many nights this tragedy successively drew a noble and numerous audience, and how many editions of the copy soon passed the press; we may perceive, not only,

what general and grateful respect still survives towards the particular memory of this famous man, but also how inclinable we are to clear ourselves of the imputation many times thrown upon us of alienating our encomiums, and transferring the honours which are due to the worthies of our own island, upon examples out of *heathen* or *foreign* histories, which because less affecting to our passions, and less applicable to our instruction, are less meritorious of such celebration. In the last act of this tragedy, where the poet brings in his hero deliberating or reflecting upon this capacious work, his *History of the World* lying on a table before him; the sentiments are so well assembled, so noble and natural, that it has been doubted, whether there was so much of fiction in the *soliloquy*, at least the votive part of it, as truth: But it is as follows.

Now my long toil is done, my soul at ease  
Views her past travels through the various heap  
Of truth and fable. All that measur'd time  
Records of nations, governments and laws,  
Of heroes, conquerors and purpled kings,  
Lye here compris'd. O may the toilsome task  
Answer the labourer's care with due returns!  
May men grow wiser by their father's follies,  
Or learn to emulate the virtuous dead!  
And thou, my country, nearest to my heart,  
Dear land of liberty and heavenly truth,  
As thou survey'st the various models here  
Of earthly power, their rise and infant state,  
Their progress and their period; mark the flaws  
Of every frame, and value much thy own:  
Secure, while monarchy still bears the sway,  
And joyful subjects pay a free obedience.

<sup>a</sup> See *Anthony Wood's Account of Dr. Robert Burbill*, in *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2.

<sup>b</sup> *Idem*, in the *Life of T. Harriot*, vol. 1. col. 460.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* in his *Account of Sir John Hoskyns*, col. 615.

<sup>d</sup> The first attempt we have of this kind was by *Alexander Ross*, a Scotch divine, and schoolmaster at *Southampton*, in a book call'd, *The Marrow of History; being an Epitome of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World*, 12mo. 1652, &c. certainly a most unconnected, enervating, and injudicious performance. His fallacious argument for this unacceptable trouble "of a dwarf seeing further upon a giant's shoulders than the giant himself" may be his case in the stature of his wit, but not the advantage of his prospect. And there is as much reason for clipping of sterling money as such mens writings. 'Tis true, Sir *Walter Raleigh* has made some digressions in his history, but they are the digressions of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; by which the life, spirit, air and complexion of the author are known; and above all, the great design of this work, those examples and those documents wherewith he most strenuously endeavour'd to season that hopeful prince's mind for whom it was written. Therefore hath made apology sufficient for the same, where he says, "That seemg we digress in the ways of our lives, and that the life of man is nothing else but digression, I may the better be excus'd in writing their lives and actions." And indeed, men of such eminency, erudition and experience,



detracting meeting with no countenance, the author of it threw out another, of *Animadversions* upon this history; but as insignificant and no less disregarded than the other, being agreeable to that unhappy *spirit of contradiction* which ever harass'd him to oppose the greatest writers in his time.<sup>a</sup>

But that which is more considerable concerning this history is, whether our author ever continued it down to his own times; and whether, on some pretence that this first part did not meet with encouragement, he ever destroy'd the said continuation himself, as we have it in the mouths of every-body when they speak of him, but in the belief of no-body who knows any thing of his story or his character. All that he says himself, in the least glancing this way, is first in his *preface*, "That he propos'd to confine his discourse with this our renowned isle of Great-Britain." And "That he forbears to promise a second or third volume, which he intends if the first receives grace and good acceptance, for that which is already done may be thought enough and too much." Lastly, in the conclusion of the *history* he says, "Whereas this book by the title calls itself *The first Part of the General History of the World*, implying a *second* and *third* volume, which I also intended and have *been out*; besides many discouragements persuading my silence, it has pleased God to take that glorious prince out of the world to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and never-enough lamented loss has taught me to say with *Job*, *Versa est in luctum cithera mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium*." From hence it seems plain enough, that our author had only some plan, or perhaps a few rough draughts of some succeeding parts of the history at this time drawn up, and that he was discouraged from making any further progress in them. Allowing his mind might change, and that there was time enough to finish the remaining volumes between this year, and that of his death, which is scarcely allowable; yet as we know how most of that time was employ'd by him, it will admit of no room for any such performance. For in 1615, the year which followed that wherein he publish'd his history, two at least of his most elaborate tracts beforemention'd were written. The same year he was also busy, as we shall find, in writing letters and making other interest for his releasement, which he obtain'd before it was quite expir'd. After this, it will no less appear, that he made himself too eminently the subject of

rience, may well be trusted with such liberties, and thanked for taking them. But tho' when such prove *wandering guides*, it is more to our instruction than if they kept the straight and beaten road; yet they may be no patterns, in this particular, for writers of a private and inferior character. Another *Abridgment* we have of this *history*, in 8vo. 1700, &c. the author of it unknown; but the preface is written by Mr. *Echard*, who says, "The great knowledge and learning, the accurate skill in penetration, the sublime wisdom and piety, together with the curious remarks and observations, which so signally appear in Sir *Walter Raleigh's* History, have sufficiently recommended it to the judicious part of the world: yet that his too frequent and long digressions and observations, tho' several of them very fine and ingenious, are, too many, foreign to his subject: and yet that his moral and religious reflections, tho' sometimes long, are generally too excellent to need a vindication." But still "That these faults were the faults of the age, and have made many curious persons wish for an epitomy, &c." so *Ross's* attempt being executed with small skill and success, he recommends this. But those observations and digressions which these persons were so curious as to wish retrenched in this history, archbishop *Usher*, or the learned Dr. *Bainbridge*, had the curiosity to prefer, it seems, as matter of choicest note: as may appear by the *excerptions* made out of this history in a manuscript which has the writing of both those authors in it, and is preserved in the library of *Trinity-College* in *Dublin*. And such another preference, as the most delicate passages in this history, has lately been made by an ingenious hand in *London*, in a collection of many *Divine, Moral, and Political Reflections* out of it; which, if made with that choice, and brought into that order it is, capable of, will do our author more justice than all the *epitomes* of his *history* that the world shall be troubled with.

<sup>a</sup> Such as the lord *Bacon* and Sir *Thomas Brown* in philosophy; *Fernelius* and Dr. *Harvey* in physick; besides others. As for these *Animadversions* which the said *Ross* publish'd a few months before his death upon our author's *History of the World*, they are join'd to his *Leviathan drawn out with a Hook*, against Mr. *Hobbes*, 12mo. 1653; and were manifestly publish'd to help off his foregoing wretched performance, *The Epitomy*. They

contain about seventy pages, and about as many observations on our author's history; pretending to note his mistakes, and clear some doubtful passages therein. Tho' whoever shall examine them may find, that he has made more passages doubtful than he has clear'd; and as for mistakes, the greatest are those which himself makes of his author; sometimes perverting his sentiments; sometimes opposing his citations as his opinions; and at others, correcting his opinions out of the citations he had approv'd of. In some places, he is so poor a corrector as to fall upon his author for the lapses of his printer; in many, labours about things of no consequence; and in most, notes no mistake, nor clears any doubt, according to his title, but recites a passage only to make some superfluous additions to it, from his own bottomless fund of pedantry, or some reference to others of his own stupid writings. So that he seems throughout like some broker, who has all his life been storing his upper rooms with a great deal of old lumber, that he may be able, when any curious antique is produced, only to oppose others of a different form, how inferior soever in use or application, rather to puzzle the ignorant in what they should prefer, than convince them of what they ought to reject; having no opportunity so creditable to disclose the variety of his own trifles, or hopes of making them pass for something of value. This man might have swell'd out an article or two more in his said tract, from what *Raleigh* himself has observ'd upon his own *history* when it came from the press, could that critic have come at his remarks. For there is such a curiosity remaining in his family, as one of the first printed copies, which had been his own book. 'Tis printed on large paper, with the maps colour'd, bound in red leather, with gilt leaves, and his crest, the *Cap of Honour*, stamp'd on the covers. In this copy Sir *Walter* has made two or three corrections with his own pen; particularly in the 535th page of the *three last books*, there is one escape which has not been corrected in any of the following impressions, wherein I have particularly looked for it; where speaking of the *Roman* army which was to face *Hannibal*, *Raleigh* has, under the words *five hundred horse*, drawn a line; and, in the margin, written, "It must needs be *five thousand horse*; for shortly after, *Nero* carries with him a part of his army to his colleague, in which there was a *thousand horse*."



modern history, to be any further an author of that which is *ancient*. There is, indeed, a little intimation of the design he had upon some ancient part of our *English* story, preserved in a letter of his own, written it seems, tho' undated, before his great *work* was publish'd, to that acquaintance, whose library was most likely to accommodate him with those uncommon books which he wanted for his purpose. This letter is as follows. " Sir Robert Cotton, If you have any of these *old books*, or any *manuscripts* wherein I may find any of our *British antiquities*; if you please to lend them me for a little while, I will safely restore them, and think myself much beholden unto you: or if you have any old *French* history, wherein our *nation* is mention'd; or any else, in what language soever. (So subscribes himself) Your poor friend, *W. Raleigh*." <sup>a</sup> But this does not sufficiently assure us, whether the use of these books was to continue his *General History*, or furnish him upon some more particular subject, however, we may incline with the writer of Sir Robert Cotton's life to the former opinion. And as for the reasons of one ingenious author, *why Sir Walter Raleigh was the most proper person to write the history of his own time*; <sup>b</sup> and the opinion of another, " That his admirable performance already publish'd, sufficiently shews, that if he had attempted the *history of his own country*, or *his own times*, he would have excell'd even *Livy* or *Thucydides*; and that the *Annals* of queen *Elizabeth* by his pen, without diminishing from the serious, judicious *Camden*, had been the brightest glory of her reign; and would have transmitted his *History* as the standard of our language even to the present age:" <sup>c</sup> These are still no affirmatives that he did finish such a second part. So that his own intimations in the first part, reserv'd and inconclusive as they are, seem to have been the only foundation of that formal story, " How Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a few days before his death, sent for *Walter Burre*, the bookseller who had printed his first volume, and taking him by the hand, asked him, how that work of his had sold? who answer'd, so slowly that it had undone him; hereupon *Raleigh* stepping to his desk, reach'd out the other part of his history, which he had brought down to the times he liv'd in, then saying, with a sigh, Ah friend! has the first part undone thee? the second volume shall undo no more; this ungrateful world is unworthy of it; so stept to the fire, threw it in, and set his foot on it till it was consum'd." But, as we observed before, *Raleigh* had no leisure to finish such a *second part* of his *history* down to his own time. In the next place, 'tis no ways probable that he, who, in regard to the first part, could follow the rule of *Seneca*; that he, who having satisfied his own conscience, could disregard the censure of others, should sacrifice so great a part of his labours, or any part, in such a rash and inconsiderate manner, to the sudden representations of a bookseller, without ever suspecting any mercenary ends in him. Further, it does not appear true that the first part did sell slowly, for there was a second edition of it set forth by that very bookseller, within three years after the first, as we have in a note before observ'd; and lastly, the first man we can meet with who reports the same, is a trifling and superficial writer, who produces no authority for his assertion. <sup>d</sup>

As to the unfinish'd parts he might have of such a continuation, to admit that they were thus destroy'd would, moreover, in no wise agree with an account we have more satisfactorily attested of that great quantity there was in being of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* unprinted writings, several years after his death. For it is affirm'd to us, " That the famous Mr. *Hamden*, a little before the *civil wars*, was at the charge of transcribing three thousand four hundred fifty two sheets of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* manuscripts, as the amanuensis himself told me (says my author) who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to deliver

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh* to Sir *Robert Cotton*, the original; in the *Cottonian* library, *Julius C* 3, at the top of this letter there is a list of the old authors, above a dozen in number, which in the beginning of the letter we see, as above, he refers to. And for the satisfaction of the curious, they are here set down as follows. *Sigebert's Chronicles*, *Vincentis Speculum Historiale*, *Gerwastus Tilsherinus*, *Phillip Bergomus*, *Natalis Talipes*, *Amandus Zirexens*, *Caius Londinius*, *John Major de gestis Scotorum*, *Leffabius of Henault*, *Alex. Evesham*, *Brute Book*, *Chronicle of Teucherry*, *Peter de Icham*. This is the letter which Dr. *Thomas Smith* made use of when he was speaking of the great men who sought the assistance of Sir *Robert Cotton's* library; and having selected from the rest, as most worthy of note, Sir *Francis Bacon* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, goes on thus: *Quorum hinc, carceris in turri Londinensi panem latus, in secunda universitatis historiarum parte antiquitates Britannicas indagaturus, ut quosdam codices tum typis impressos, tum manu exaratos, sibi utendos dare vellet Cotto-*

*nus, literis petit. Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, fol. 25.*

<sup>b</sup> See the *Paradoxes* of Dr. *John Donne*, in the more enlarged edition, among his *Essays*, as I remember, printed 12mo. 1651, at least in several MS. copies of them; one whereof was in the library of *Basil Earl of Denbigh*.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. *Henry Felton*, in his *Dissertation on the Classics*, as before.

<sup>d</sup> *Will. Winstanley's Worthies of England*, 8vo. 1660, p. 256, in the *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*; wherein it is true, as the author owns, there are most material errors, one whereof he rectifies in his table of *errata*; but leaves others as gross uncorrected. This writer, in another such like performance, call'd *The Lives of the English Poets*, 8vo. 1687, has repeated this story of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* burning the *second part* of his *history* in the same manner as above, and with equal probability, being here also silent of any authority for the truth thereof.



"him the originals, and take his copies as fast as he could write them." <sup>a</sup> Yet what is become of this treasure now, I have not been able to learn; for, if we suppose that Mr. Hamden would not be at the trouble and charge of transcribing any of our author's writings which had then been printed; and grant that all of his which have been printed since that time, as well as all we can hear of remaining in MS. which are allow'd to be his, were part of that collection or quantity, they will not, both join'd together, as might be computed from what is here observed of them, amount to a fourth part thereof, tho' we should admit two or three pieces more, also ascribed to him, which have not yet been named, and happen to fall under this historical division. The first of them is call'd, *A notable and memorable Story of the cruel War between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries: Gather'd out of Polybius and other authors, by that famous Historian Sir Walter Raleigh.* <sup>b</sup> Tho' this was indeed written by him, it is no different work from what he had before publish'd, but reviv'd during the civil wars, to reflect with some authority upon the distractions of those times. The other two pieces might seem to fall within the intended continuation of his *Universal History*; but the first of them, call'd *The Life and Death of Mahomet; the Conquest of Spain; together with the Rising and Ruin of the Saracen Empire*, ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh near twenty years after his death, by the bookseller who dedicated it to his son, <sup>c</sup> is, except a few leaves about that of Mahomet, no more than a translation of an epitomy made by some ignorant Spanish author, chiefly from what one of his own fabulous countrymen had written of a fictitious prince named Jacob Almanzor, <sup>d</sup> as I have been assur'd by a gentleman of great knowledge both in the Spanish and Oriental writers, whose answer, having satisfy'd me with the intelligence I was ambitious of procuring about this book, I here take the liberty of subjoining for the satisfaction also of the publick. <sup>e</sup> But the stile itself, so uncouth in some places, so meagre in others, and incorrect, especially in known things, places, and persons, might of itself exclude our author from having any hand in it. The other piece is stiled, *An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England; with the reign of King William I. entitled the Conqueror, written by Sir Walter Raleigh.* It was near fourscore years after his death before this was publish'd. Yet there are several old manuscript copies of it in the libraries of the curious, <sup>f</sup> which entitle him the author of it;

<sup>a</sup> *Observations on the Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation.* By David Lloyd, M. A. 8vo. 1665, p. 490.

<sup>b</sup> Printed 4to. 1647, and is no other than a transcript from the *History of the World*, lib. 5. cap. 2. &c.

<sup>c</sup> Printed 12mo. 1637, with Sir Walter's picture before it.

<sup>d</sup> There seems to be other translations of the life of this pretended prince than that which follows this life of Mahomet in the book ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh, as *Almanzor, the learned and victorious King that conquer'd Spain, his Life and Death; translated from the Spanish by Robert Ashley*, 4to. Lond. 1627. *La vie de Jacob Almanzor roi d'Arabie.* 8vo. Paris, 1638. *Almanzor's Life, with the Conquest of Spain by the Moors*, 8vo. 1693, &c.

<sup>e</sup> "Sir \* \* \* \* \* The greater part of this book, containing *The History of the Conquest of Spain*, and the *Life of the Caliph Jacob Almanzor*, in whose reign the author supposes that conquest to have been made, with an account of his immediate predecessor and successors, is said by the author, page 34, to be abbreviated out of two Arabian writers, translated into Spanish in the year 1606; both the authors living in the time of Almanzor; the one, a captain in that war, and the other for 20 years together of his chamber, and after his death a provincial governor in Arabia Felix. But it appears to be no other than an abstract, or translation of an abstract made in Spanish, of the first book of the first part, and the first book of the second part of Miguel de Luna's *History of the Loss of Spain*, entitled, *Historia verdadera del Rey D. Rodrigo*, &c. which history he pretended to have translated in 1589 (for that is the date of the first part) from the Arabic of Abulcacin Tarif Abuntarique, written in the year of the Hejra 140, who appears to have inserted in his work *The Life of the Caliph Jacob Almanzor*, written in the same language by another author, named Ali Abouqusan, vice roy and governor of the province of Duque in Arabia, in the year of the Hejra 110."

"Whether there ever were two such Arabian historians as these, is very uncertain; but certain it is, that de Luna's history can be no translation of any genuine Arabian writer, but must be wholly a forgery of his own: for there never was any such caliph of the Saracens in Asia as Jacob Almanzor; the whole account of him, his father, son and grandson, being a mere romance in every particular. Spain was conquer'd in

"the reign of Al Walid Ebn Abd' almalec, the VIth of the Arabian Khalifs of the family of Omeyya, who died in the year 96. The only Khalif in Asia who took the surname of Al Mansur, was the second of the family of Al Abbas, named Abu Jaafar Abdalla, and began his reign in the year of the Hejra 137, which is 35 years after de Luna's Almanzor is said to have died. Nor did any Arabian ever write in the manner of de Luna, or send such letters as he has inserted in his history; wherein tho' some particulars relating to the war and conquest of Spain may be true, yet whatever he says of the Arabians in Asia, or the Khalifs there, is utterly false, and without the least shadow of truth."

"As to the life of Mahomet, which takes up only the first 24 pages of this book, it was prefixed either by the translator or abbreviator, and extracted from the accounts given of that pretended prophet by christian writers; and being for the most part false and ridiculous, deserves little regard."

"I cannot think therefore, notwithstanding the opinion of the bookseller in his dedication, that a person of Sir Walter Raleigh's learning and judgment was ever any way concern'd in this book: we hear not, that any copy of it was ever found in his study, or that any MS. of it, ascrib'd to him, is preserved, as of his genuine pieces, in the libraries of the curious. And had the author or translator look'd ever so little into the Saracen history, even as given by the Byzantine historians, and the Latin writers of the middle age, he must have known better than to be impos'd on by so bare-fac'd an impostor. Whether the stile and language of this performance confirm my opinion or not, you \* \* \* \* \* &c."

I am,

SIR,

your most humble Servant,

G. SALL.

<sup>f</sup> As the Cotton library, Titus F 3, 17. that of Sir Kenelm Digby; the Harleian library; that of Dr. Thomas Gale, &c. But the copy from whence this book was printed in 8vo. 1693, being among the manuscripts of archbishop Sancroft, was committed to the press by Dr. John Moore, afterwards bishop of Ely, as I have it attested under the hand of Robert Keck, Esq; late of the Touz.



it ; but it was written at least two years before he publish'd his *History of the World*, because it is inscribed to a person who died so long before the said publication, in these words : “ I intend by the help of God and your furtherance, right noble earl of Salisbury, to write a brief history of *England* from *William* the first, entitled the *Conqueror*, to the end of queen *Elizabeth* of perpetual memory.” But by then his *History of the World* was finish'd, he was, as we have observed, also from his own words, discouraged from all continuation. To those discouragements might be added, the ungrateful treatment which was shewn to this *Part* he did publish, at its first appearance : for tho' we have observed what universal approbation it has met with since the author's death ; yet how it was receiv'd as soon as it came abroad and made its first visits at court, we are yet to relate.

THOSE, who thought the king must needs be a patron of authors because he was one of the number, have been ready to insinuate, that his favour encreased towards *Raleigh* in proportion to the proofs his pen had given of his abilities ; therefore, that his many excellent Writings, and especially this *History of the World*, were the most powerful intercessors for his releasment out of the *Tower* ; as if his majesty, in respect to his own honour, thought it in vain longer to confine his person, since no condition could confine his fame ; or, in regard to *Raleigh's* merit, that he had well deserved no place should be a barrier to his liberty, who had given such extraordinary testimony that no age could set a bound to his knowledge. *Sanderfon* has ascrib'd the freedom which not long after ensu'd, to one of those motives ; where he says, “ Sir *Walter Raleigh*, wearied with long imprisonment, and having there spent his time well in the *History of the World*, made his petition more passable to the king ; whose love to learning granted him now at last his liberty ; and, not long after, leave to wander after a design to the western world, where he had been in several climates before.”<sup>a</sup> But others, who seem to have known the matter much better, or have more ingenuously imparted it, assure us, that *Raleigh's* excellent talents were so far from ingratiating him with the king, “ that tho' his majesty had been intemperately praised by flatterers for some of the weakest of his own compositions, yet he could not forbear, out of an impertinent emulation, to affect Sir *Walter Raleigh* the less, because of the great repute which followed him for his excellent pen.”<sup>b</sup> Nay, we are elsewhere told, in answer to *Sanderfon* above, that *Raleigh's History of the World* gave the king so much displeasure, “ that at its first publication it was forbid ; and particularly, for some passages in it which offended the *Spaniard* ; as also for being too plain with the faults of princes in his *preface*.”<sup>c</sup> For it is, indeed, replenish'd with many remarkable examples of divine vengeance pour'd forth on princes of many other nations as well as our own, who strove to establish their thrones by oppression and iniquity. That passage in answer to *Sanderfon*, is so far from being deny'd by this writer, that he afterwards confirm'd it in contradiction to what himself had written as above, about *Raleigh's* petition being made more passable by his *History* ; where, after his gross manner of interpretation, he says, “ King *James* and all other princes had cause of complaint, because his whole book sets out the eastern monarchs with much glory, and exclaims against christian princes as most inhuman ; tracing all the *English* sovereigns from the conquest, especially *Henry* the eighth ; whom, for his daughter's honour, Sir *Walter Raleigh* might have spar'd from gall and bitterness.” And a little further, “ King *James* might perhaps observe more, to repress the wickedness of such a person, who, under pretence of taxing a vice in the father, intended cunningly to stain the whole race, &c.”<sup>d</sup> This objection against *Raleigh's* character of that king, is more particularly ascribed to king *James* by another writer also before-cited, who tells us, “ That after much scorn cast upon *Raleigh's History*, the king, being modestly demanded *What fault he found?* answer'd, as one surpris'd, *That Raleigh had spoken ir-*

in one of the printed copies of the said book in my possession. The said Dr. *Moore's* preface to this piece, however some have thought it father'd on our author, is in these words, “ This life of *William the Conqueror* writ by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was found in the library of a person of high quality. Whosoever has been conversant in the works of that accomplish'd knight, and a little acquainted with his great genius and spirit, and his manly unaffected style, will make no doubt but what here is presented unto the world was his genuine issue. For the comprehensive and penetrating thoughts, the lively imagination, and the mature exact judgment of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, do all manifestly appear in this small treatise. It may be matter of some wonder that a work fill'd with such a number of judicious reflections upon the nature of government in general, and so many wise observations relating to the particular state of our own country, should have been thus long condemn'd to obscurity, had not an ill

fate attended the learned compositions, as well as the brave actions of this renowned gentleman. But by what unhappy accident soever it has hitherto been confin'd to privacy, it was thought it would be an injury to the publick any longer to conceal a just and true account of the reign of *William the first*, wherein so many remarkable matters and great revolutions happen'd, and to which the writers of government and policy in our nation have very frequent recourse ; since the transactions of that time, unto which they so commonly appeal, are here related with that faithfulness, brevity and clearness, that become an exact historian.”

<sup>a</sup> *Sanderfon's History of King James*, fol. 459.

<sup>b</sup> *Osborne's Memoirs of King James* ; in his work, vol. 2. p. 111, 112.

<sup>c</sup> Observations on *Sanderfon's history*, 4to. p. 9, 10.

<sup>d</sup> *Sanderfon's Answer to the Observations on his history*, p. 9, 10.



“reverently of king Henry the eighth!”<sup>a</sup> as if he would have reflected a breach of gratitude upon our Historian towards his benefactors the late queen, in speaking such truth when he was to give a character of her father as, not only others who read it must concur in, seeing the Historian has so many proofs at his finger’s end to confirm it; but what that king himself, were he alive, on whom it was written, must also have allowed; since it is only a paraphrase upon his own dying confession, that he had been a Prince, who never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust. But if king James could thus object against Raleigh for one character, and pay him no thanks for another which follows in the same paragraph of that Preface, and in some parts of the History itself; this may perhaps best shew where lay the breach of gratitude. But however his majesty might think it a kind of blasphemy, that any below the dignity of princes should be the censors of them: yet that objection aforesaid seems not to be the natural cause, says our last-quoted author, of his dislike to this history, “since none ever exclaim’d more against that prince than usually king James himself did.” And others, more particularly still, are inclin’d to believe, that any liberty Raleigh may have taken with the characters of other princes, was not so much the real cause of such disgust in king James, as, through the insinuations of some mischievous sycophants about him, who well knew what humour might be most agreeably fed, that several parts of the history contained an oblique and artful exposure of himself and his ministry; as if, truly, the general *History of the World* was chiefly a secret History, or satire upon his Court; and Scotch faces were to be seen in it, stuck upon old Jewish, Babylonian or Assyrian shoulders. For, as one has observ’d, “There was a time, when one of our most renowned Historians could not comment upon a piece of the Old Testament, without being thought to write a libel upon his own times: and the king was almost led to fancy he saw his own features in the face of Ninias the son of queen Semiramis; but surely, if he could think his justice censured in the story of Achab’s taking away Naboth’s vineyard, and not commended in that of the French king’s conduct towards his judge and admiral of France; he must not only have been a very captious and self-tormenting reader, but have satiriz’d himself more sharply by engrossing of applications, or acquiescing in resemblances, than he could have been by that author, had he really intended any.”<sup>b</sup> But the truth is, that conscious minds can find in every example something to chastise themselves; and, to stomachs vitiated, through foul and unwholesome administrations, with evil habits, the most innocent diet is upbraiding. That Raleigh foresaw his enemies would make such perverse construction and misuse of his History, is evident enough in his own words; where, mentioning the choice he had made, as least exceptionable, of the elder times to describe, he yet anticipates this objection, “Against this choice also: Why may it not be said, that in speaking of the pass’d I point at the present; and tax the vices of those who are yet living, in their persons who are long since dead, and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, tho’ innocent; and certainly, if there be any, who, finding themselves spotted like the tygers of old time, shall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely.”<sup>c</sup> Yet such fault there was, we see, found; and so falsely was he accused. Thus the honour which should reward a publick benefit, is stifled by private prejudice.

We are therefore to seek some other mediator for Raleigh’s deliverance out of prison than his merit by this publick benefit; and that, we shall at last find to be his money, tho’ other causes in our common histories are also suggested, especially that which seemed most effectual, the offer he made of fitting out an expedition to secure, and possess for the crown, a gold mine in Guiana, which he had himself discover’d when he was formerly in that country, and which, since that time, had been by others so amply testified, that further confirmation was not now requir’d. So that Raleigh’s being deceiv’d by Keymis with ore of a golden complexion, which he brought from thence, or by any chymical tricks, such as secretly slipping real gold with the ore into the melting-pot, are foolish untruths.<sup>d</sup> Now that offer Raleigh had made at least three years before he obtain’d his liberty, with no unreasonable expectation of its being accepted, since king James had so publickly asserted and confirm’d the right of England to that Country, through Sir Walter Raleigh’s conquest and discoveries therein, with the submission he had gain’d from the chief lords thereof, as to have given commissions and patents for the possession of the same, that is to say, all from the river of Amazons to the Dessequibe, and all the islands for twenty miles about, in his majesty’s name; which were accordingly executed in all due form by captain Charles Leigh and captain Robert Harcourt, which last left a colony there of thirty

<sup>a</sup> Osborn, as before.

<sup>b</sup> A short review of the life of Sejanus, MS. inter Colla. P. Le Nov. tom. p. 11

<sup>c</sup> See the Preface to his History in the last page

<sup>d</sup> Wilson’s life of King James, in the Complaint History of England, vol. 2. fol. 127, and Camden’s history of King James, &c.



persons for three years, as may be read at large in the narratives of their several expeditions. <sup>a</sup> Besides, the publick invitations and encouragement which afterwards ensued, to all who would again settle and plant in that new-discover'd part of *America*, <sup>b</sup> gave the Discoverer himself no doubt, the greater hopes that his own propositions, being not for his private, but the publick benefit (yet at his own expence, and that of such friends as he should engage in the adventure) could not but be embrac'd. Add to this, the advantages of his further knowing the riches of this country, even while he was in prison, not only by the long conversation he had with those *Indians*, whom we find here with him in the former part of his confinement, but others who from time to time came over to him. For during this long imprisonment, he held constant intercourse with *Guiana*, and was at the charge every year, or every second year, of sending a ship or more thither, to keep them in hopes of being relieved from the *Spaniards*, <sup>c</sup> who had again encroach'd upon them, and cruelly massacred both several of the natives, and of his own men. <sup>d</sup> So that the number of Voyages he set forth for *Guiana*, was at least as many, if not more, than those he is before observed to have fitted out for *Virginia*.

But all this experience, which should have recommended his offer, serv'd at first only to render it unacceptable. For the Treasurer *Cecyll* being then alive, he, with two or three others who bore the sway at court, were resolv'd to discountenance it; not that they so much doubted the probability that such treasure might remain unpossess'd, or the knowledge and resolution of *Raleigh* to compass it, so much as his disposition towards themselves, if by a successful return he should purchase the king's favour. Therefore, to prevent such a rival as he might prove to Them, the advantage he propos'd to the State was neglected; nay, so deeply had they rooted prejudices in the king's breast towards him in this particular, as well as in others before mention'd, that when his majesty was sollicit'd by any person in *Raleigh's* behalf (and Royal solicitors he had) he, with that implicit reliance on other men's reports, which those in supreme station so often bury their own judgments and their justice in, would answer, *That his council knew him better than he did.* But after *Cecyll's* death, and now that Sir *Ralph Winwood* was secretary of state, <sup>e</sup> *Raleigh* reviv'd his proposal to him, and, in a letter, told him with relation to those two or three earwigs who were ever crawling about the king, and at the mercy of whose representations he had so long lain, that it was his only infelicity the king did not know him as well as those courtiers pretended to do: "For, had his majesty known me, says he, I had never been here where I now am; or, had I known his majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His majesty not knowing me has been my ruin, and his misknowing them has been the ruin of a goodly part of his estate. But they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his majesty's knowledge." We learn further out of the said letter, that both queen *Anne*, who had inform'd herself from the beginning of all that *Raleigh* had been accus'd with, and her brother the king of *Denmark*, at both times of his being in *England*, <sup>f</sup> were thoroughly satisfy'd of his innocency, otherwise they would never have moved his majesty in his behalf. And prince *Henry*, who had been curious in searching into the nature of his offences, had been frequently a mediator for him, as we have read before. Hereupon, says *Raleigh*, "The wife, the brother, and the son of a king, do not use to sue for men suspect; but since they all have done it, and with reference to me alone, you, strengthened by their example, may with the more hardiness do the like." Towards the end, *Raleigh* having acknowledg'd, that all he had remaining was owing to the king, and that he was ready to sacrifice it all in his majesty's service, concludes with this noble distinction, *To die for the king, and not by the king, is all the ambition I have in the world.* <sup>g</sup>

This and other like addresses to that new secretary, advanced not *Raleigh's* request so much, but he found it necessary to use stronger interest than what he was here making, and more substantial arguments than could flow from a pen. For whatever "pity of his sufferings, his merit and fame of learning now begat in many, or by whatever means of the *French* ambassador, with others of our own lords," it is pretended, in our common accounts of him, that "he got freedom of repairing for his health to his house at *St. James's*, a year or two before he procur'd his commission for his voyage to *Guiana*," <sup>h</sup> we are more positively and particularly told, "That Sir *William St. John* and Sir *Edward Villiers*, half-brother to the lady *Villiers*, afterwards dutchess of *Buckingham*, procur'd Sir *Walter Raleigh's* liberty, and had fifteen hundred

<sup>a</sup> In *Pocahontas's Pilgrimage*, vol. 4. and Dr. *Hoylin's* *Geography*, Ed. second edit. 1657. p. 1085, &c.

<sup>b</sup> See the *Journal* published at the end of captain *Robert* *Smith's* Voyage to *Guiana*, in 40. 1613.

<sup>c</sup> *History of Raleigh's Voyages*, 8vo. 1652, p. 52.

<sup>d</sup> *History of Raleigh's Voyages*, 8vo. 1652, p. 52.

<sup>e</sup> *History of Raleigh's Voyages*, 8vo. 1652, p. 52.

<sup>f</sup> *History of Raleigh's Voyages*, 8vo. 1652, p. 52.

<sup>g</sup> *History of Raleigh's Voyages*, 8vo. 1652, p. 52.

<sup>h</sup> *History of Raleigh's Voyages*, 8vo. 1652, p. 52.

March 29. 1614.

<sup>i</sup> In the last of those journeys made by the said *Christian* king of *Denmark* into *England*, he arrived the 21st of July, and departed August 1. 1614.

<sup>j</sup> In *History of Raleigh's Voyages*, 8vo. 1652, p. 52.

<sup>k</sup> *History of Raleigh's Voyages*, 8vo. 1652, p. 52.



“ pounds for their labour.”<sup>a</sup> It further appears, that these used their power with Sir *George Villiers*, the new rising favourite at court, and so obtained the king’s consent for *Raleigh* enlargement: for there is a letter of *Raleigh*’s acknowledgments to that favourite in these words “ Sir, You have, by your mediation, put me again into the world; I can but acknowledge it; for to pay any part of your favour by any service of mine as yet, it is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good part of the honour shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall shew myself exceeding ungrateful. In the meanwhile, and, till God discover the success, I beseech you to reckon me among the number of your faithful servants, tho’ the least able. *W. Raleigh*.”<sup>b</sup> This letter is dated only *March 17*, but probably written in this year last mention’d, 1615; because three days afterwards, as *Camden* has precisely remember’d, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was releas’d out of the Tower.<sup>c</sup> So that he thus purchas’d his liberty in the thirteenth year of his confinement; that is to say, after he had been (without intermission) twelve years, three months, and five days in the said *Tower of London*, besides near three months more at his first commitment thither, and during his arraignment at *Winchester*.

Releas’d out  
of the Tower.

At this time *Carr*, earl of *Somerset*, had been about four or five months in the said *Tower* with his countess, for the barbarous impoisonment of Sir *Thomas Overbury* about two years before in the same place, to which he had treacherously driven him, for only having obstructed the said earl’s vile and scandalous commerce with that lewd woman, while she was young *Essex*’s wife. “ These two accidents (at this time drew great notice) happening (as ’tis observed) in a tract ascrib’d to the lord *Brook*) so much beyond all expectation; that the one, being a special favourite of the king, the other a condemned man; the one imprison’d, the other set at liberty; gave great occasion of speech and rumour, and so much the more wonder and admiration, because of *Raleigh*’s wit and policy.”<sup>d</sup> *Raleigh* is further said by the same author, to have given *Somerset* many quips and taunts during his said imprisonment; and it may not be improbable, towards such an undeserving intruder upon his estate. But, as this earl of *Somerset* was convicted of felony for the said murder, whereby the two hundred thousand pounds he had heap’d up, and lands to the income of nineteen thousand pounds *per Annum* being again dispers’d;<sup>e</sup> and as the king had laid that heavy curse upon himself and his posterity which he did, if ever he pardon’d any of the said murderers, it might have been thought that *Raleigh*’s comparison of himself and that noble malefactor, would not have been spoil’d, when he said, *That the whole History of the World had not the like precedent, of a king’s prisoner to purchase freedom, and his bosom favourite to have the halter, but in scripture, in the case of Mordecai and Haman.* Instead of that, *Raleigh* is said, by the relator of this passage, to have been told, the king should reply upon hearing this observation, *That Raleigh might die in that deceit;*<sup>f</sup> and so he did, as this author truly says: for the king now sav’d the life of the one, as much to the astonishment of the world, as he afterwards put the other to death. But he could do no less, if his favourite was really a master of such secrets as are elsewhere spoken of.<sup>g</sup> And this is enough to resolve why the misfortunes of that earl, if they may be called such, which at the worst were more favourable than his merits in any wise deserved, were not equal to his crimes.<sup>h</sup>

*Raleigh* being thus at liberty, soon appears busy in making preparation for his voyage. To this purpose he called in the eight thousand pounds, which he had lent to the countess of *Bedford*, i reckon’d in king *James* his declaration, a competent satisfaction for *Sherborne*; tho’ it was afterwards valued by the state at 5000 l. *per annum*. But seeing that not sufficient to fit out a fleet in the manner he found necessary, his wife consented also to sell her house and lands at *Micham* in *Surrey*, for which he received twenty-five hundred pounds;<sup>k</sup> all which and more he expended in this expedition. And what frenzy could possess him, as he says himself, thus to dispose of his whole substance, and undertake such a toilsome and perilous voyage now that his constitution was impair’d by such a long confinement, besides age itself, sickness and affliction, were he not assur’d thereby of doing his prince service, bettering his country by commerce, and restoring his family to their estates, all from the mines of *Guiana*; and, says he, *if I myself had not seen them with my own eyes.*<sup>l</sup> I have not yet heard who was the purchaser of that estate at *Micham*; but there is a letter of *Raleigh*’s to a nobleman extant, which possibly

<sup>a</sup> Observations on *Sanderfon*’s history of king *James*, 4to. p. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh* to Sir *George Villiers*, from the original in the library of *James West*, Esq;

<sup>c</sup> *Camden*’s *Annals of King James*.

<sup>d</sup> The five years of king *James*, &c. by Sir *Faulstich*, late lord *Brook*, 4to. 1643. p. 67

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>f</sup> *Sanderfon*’s history of king *James*, &c.

<sup>g</sup> Dr *Welwood*’s *Notes on Wilson*’s history of king *James*, in the *Compleat History of England*, tom. 2. fol. 699. &c.

<sup>h</sup> *Osborne*, vol. 1. p. 156.

<sup>i</sup> Observations on *Sanderfon*’s history of king *James*, &c. p. 11.

<sup>j</sup> *Ibid.*, also Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s *Apology*, page 47

<sup>k</sup> *Ibid.*, page 48.



relates thereunto. It is to entreat him to make an impartial valuation of some lands to a rising favourite who was to be the purchaser, and is penn'd in the following words. "I humbly beseech your lordship to give me leave, and pardon too, if I need it, for the answering of those things which you were lately pleas'd to object against me; and that you will charitably also consider both of my demands, and of the reasons which embolden me to make them. Those answers go here, in a paper which is enclos'd, apart; and my letter shall say but thus much, that the gentleman, who is so greatly in favour, hath many fair fortunes before him, and we, nothing to look for but misery; and that he is better able to give us above the worth of the land, than we in condition to abate any part thereof. And therefore we humbly beseech your lordship, that your *compassion* and care of *honour*, may be the judge between his prosperous navigation, and our shipwreck: and that your *charity* for us, and your desire of *satisfaction* for him, may equal the ballance between us. I hope so heartily to find all just favour at your hands, as I will venture, upon this, to assure you, that I will do all my utmost to make my wife and son forget their misery in themselves, and to be ever mindful of their duty towards your lordship; to whom I hope they will be, as I am sure myself have been, and am, a most faithful, humble servant." <sup>a</sup>

BESIDES the *ten thousand five hundred pounds* which it cost Sir *Walter Ralegh* to put himself in equipage for this long-proposed voyage, a much greater sum than would have paid for his liberty of receding from it, or for a formal pardon, had he thought he needed, and had gone about to purchase it; there were many co-adventurers, who, by contributions to the expence thereof, entitled themselves to a share in the returns. But most of these are called by *Ralegh*, a company of voluntiers, who had never seen the sea nor wars; and, except some forty gentlemen, a very dissolute, disorderly, and ungovernable crew, "whom their friends thought it an exceeding good gain to be discharg'd of, at the hazard of some thirty, forty or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have lived a whole year so cheap at home." <sup>b</sup> There were, moreover, several merchants, not only in *England* but foreign parts, who contributed to this *Mine-adventure*; so confident were they that it was no *chimera*, no supposititious or airy treasure that was promised or pursued. One of these merchants, afterwards knighted, and very eminent for his dealings, was named *Peter Vanlore*, who so approved of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s undertaking, that he not only sent a letter to his brother Sir *Adrian Tibbaut* in *Amsterdam*, requesting him to engage another merchant there to communicate something he knew of the riches in *Guiana* to Sir *Walter Ralegh*; but made that request in *Ralegh*'s own manner of expression, from a copy which he drew up for him. This draught, as I have it from the said original, is as follows: "Brother *Tibotes*, There is a merchant in *Amsterdam*, that for the love he bears to my honourable friend Sir *Walter Ralegh*, is content to discover somewhat of importance unto him in *Guiana*, to which country Sir *Walter Ralegh* is now preparing to go; but he doth require assurance from Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that he himself may be assur'd to enjoy such part of the commodity discover'd, as he shall agree upon with Sir *Walter Ralegh* by his deputy Mr. *Henry Hovenar*. I do therefore pray you to speak with the party which Mr. *Hovenar* will bring unto you, and to know what assurances he will require, which to pleasure Sir *Walter*, I shall be willing to give; that is to say, to give him assurance that upon Sir *Walter*'s return into *England*, the charges being deducted, the discoverer shall receive from Sir *Walter* such part of the said merchandize as Sir *Walter* and he shall agree on; altho' there needs no such assurance to be given, because his majesty doth assure all Sir *Walter*'s partners by the *Great Seal of England*, That they shall truly and quietly enjoy all their parts and shares of what goods, merchandize or treasure soever shall be returned; out of which *Great Seal of England*, the discoverer shall have an assignment for so much as belongs unto him, to be deliver'd here in *London*, to whomsoever he shall appoint to receive it." Then in a new line he concludes thus: "To Mr. *Peter Vanlore*. This is the letter which I desire you to write to your brother in *Amsterdam*; and for any assurance you shall give, I will again put you in sureties to save you harmless. *W. Ralegh*." <sup>c</sup> This letter is dated *July 1*.

<sup>a</sup> See a *Collection of Letters made by Sir Toby Mathews*, 8vo. 1660, p. 66.

<sup>b</sup> See *Walter Ralegh's Apology*, p. 4.

<sup>c</sup> This copy of a letter for Sir *Peter Vanlore* to engage a Dutch merchant in Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s *Guianian* adventure, from the original draught of Sir *Walter*'s own hand, is in the possession of *Brown Willis*, of *Waddon-Hall* in *Essex*, to whom we are obliged for this communication. And a transcript appears to have been sent ac-

cording to Sir *Walter*'s request; for, after his death, his lady having commenced law-suits against the said *Vanlore*, this copy was produced in court, as appears by the following endorsement upon it: "This letter was shewn unto *Matthias Penevart*, at the time of his examination, on the part and behalf of Sir *Peter Vanlore*, kn<sup>t</sup> defendant, against Dame *Elizabeth Ralegh*, widow, complainant. 12<sup>th</sup> *June*. 1623. Signed *Martin Bapill*."



1616. And if *Raleigh* had his commission for that voyage before this time, as it appears he had, by his citing it, then it must be erroneously dated, being near two months after, in king *James* his *Declaration*.<sup>a</sup> Here again, that commission seems to have been given under the *Great Seal of England*; and also elsewhere:<sup>b</sup> In that *Declaration*, 'tis said to be under the *Privy Seal*. But there are other things observable of this commission as it is there printed, and in other places, as we shall see presently.

IN the mean while we may here observe a little opposition that was made to this voyage. And indeed some persons at court, who might remember what advances *Raleigh* had formerly made there, by the means of several exploits which he undertook at a distance from it; and others, admonish'd by conscience, that every friendly gale in his navigation would be splitting them upon a rock, might well be expected to obstruct, as far as they could, his progress: but none do we hear of so impatient and clamorous against it as the *Spaniard*. For there had been now in *England*, about three years, an agent from *Spain*, named *Diego Sarmiento de Acuna*, better known, but not till about the time of *Raleigh's* death, or perhaps after it, by the title of count *de Gondomar*; a man, who, if he gain'd that influence he did over king *James* purely by art, must be allowed a good share of dexterity in the mysteries of negotiation; but as he was adapted by nature to soothe and captivate him, no less than by the pretensions of his agency, it diminishes the wonders of his success in making that king such a subject to his enchantments, and keeping him so many years a prisoner as it were in the *Tower* he had heap'd up of airy and glittering promises: yet what reward was reserved, for all his services here, in his own country, and how this ardent slave to the will and pleasure of his master, was both executioner of his royal pride as well as other passions, and sacrifice also at last to them, must be left for those to display who have more leisure to dilate upon such retaliations of Providence. This was the man who (as he is represented in king *James's Declaration*) now "took great alarm," and is said to have "made loud and vehement assertions to his majesty in repeated audiences, that he knew, and "had discover'd the intention and enterprize of Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be but hostile and piratical, tending to the breach between the two crowns, and the danger and destruction of the king his master's subjects in those parts; protesting in a sort against it." To which that the king should answer, (as it is there said after *Raleigh's* death) "*He would send Sir Walter Raleigh with a limited commission* (but how limited it was will soon appear) and that "he durst not, upon peril of his head, do any such matter; and if he did, he would surely do justice upon him, or send him bound hand and foot into *Spain*, with all the gold and goods he should obtain by robbery and bring home, were they never so great."<sup>d</sup> Then the king by Sir *Ralph Winwood*, got both a solemn protestation from *Raleigh*, that he had no other intention but only to go to those gold mines; and also a close letter to his majesty (as it is here in his declaration justly call'd) confirming the same. This close letter was both written close to the purpose, or in such expressive terms as to have laid open the whole scheme of *Raleigh's* voyage; and also as a matter to be kept close, or with the utmost privacy; for 'tis said, that upon such communication, his majesty promised, *on the word of a king, to keep it secret*:<sup>e</sup> and it would have prevented all supposition of dissimulation, if this close letter had been fairly exhibited in that declaration, had it been when this was pen'd, in the king's possession, as it ought according to his royal promise. On the contrary, this seems to have been the very letter, by which, through the *Spanish* ambassador's means, his master the king of *Spain* was pre-admonished of *Raleigh's* whole enterprize, and had sent to *Guiana*, before he left the *British* channel, to prepare a greater force than his, to oppose him, as will hereafter appear. Nay, 'tis visible by what immediately follows in the said declaration, both that this close letter (how closely soever the contents of it are with-held) did reveal the particulars of *Raleigh's* naval strength, and that the king did divulge it to the *Spanish* ambassador; because it was so far from making him recede from his former jealousy, that he is discover'd to have objected thereupon against the number of ships *Raleigh* had prepared for the said voyage,<sup>f</sup> to which *Raleigh* then doubtless made as proper answer, as we shall find he did hereafter. But in short such a proposal, by one carrying the reputation of such an active, witty and valiant gentleman, especially of so great a commander at sea, as his enemies allow he had; <sup>g</sup> one who must be thought most wary above all others of incurring king *James's* displeasure, under which he had so long suffer'd; one who

<sup>a</sup> See a *Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight; as well in his Voyage as in his last Prison*, &c. 4to. 1618. p. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. *May's* *Constitution*, fol. 1086, &c.

<sup>c</sup> But see *Raleigh's* Apology, p. 53.

<sup>d</sup> Long *James's* Declaration of Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

*Demeanour*, &c. p. 5.

<sup>e</sup> *Howel's Letters*, p. 369. *Shirley's Life of the valiant and learned Sir Walter Raleigh*, Fol. 3d edit. 1687, p. 28. And also in the life of Sir *Walter Raleigh* in a collection of *Lives English and foreign*, vol. 1. 1704, p. 128, &c.

<sup>f</sup> King *James's* Declaration, p. 6.

<sup>g</sup> *Idem*, p. 27.



had given such publick attestations of his sincerity in the prosecution of this proposall ; and one who, as the greatest proof he could give thereof, was actually embarking his whole fortune as well as credit, together with those of his friends and relations, all finding security for their good behaviour, without any charge to the crown if they fail'd, and with prospect of great advantage if they succeeded, was so far from being overthrown by any remonstrances of the ambassador himself, or from being thought a most noble and generous overture by all other men; that even the king's honour is acknowledg'd, in his own *Declaration*, to have been engag'd, *not to deny his people the adventure and hope of so great riches.*<sup>a</sup> And yet what character of that king's honour towards his people, is expos'd in the same leaf of that very *Declaration*, where it is pretended, that *in his own princely judgment he gave no belief to it*, as being perswaded that in nature there were no such mines entire, or that the *Spaniards*, so industrious in the chace of treasure, would have so long neglected the same ; is left to the reader's distinction. But it may be best discover'd by the care taken to secure his majesty's dividend so clearly, and to express many other articles so doubtfully, in the *commission* itself, of which we shall now give an impartial abstract, whether it was from a magnanimous principle or a mercenary one, from upright policy or downright prevarication, that the same was granted ; being as follows.

“ *JAMES*, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, &c.  
 “ Whereas Sir *WALTER RALEGH*, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea  
 “ and shipping, to the *South* parts of *America* or *elsewhere* within *America*, possess'd and  
 “ inhabited by *heathen* and *savage* people ; to discover some commodities and merchandize  
 “ profitable for the subjects of our kingdoms, whereof the inhabitants make little or no use ;  
 “ whence may ensue, by commerce, some propagation of the christian faith and reformed  
 “ religion among those idolatrous people : and whereas there are divers merchants, &c. well  
 “ disposed to assist Sir *Walter Ralegh*, had they assurance to enjoy their due share of the pro-  
 “ fits returned, Sir *Walter Ralegh* being under the peril of the law ; and whereas divers other  
 “ gentlemen his kinsmen and friends, with several captains and commanders, are also desirous  
 “ to follow and venture their lives with him, if they might be commanded by none but  
 “ himself : We, upon deliberate consideration, desiring the benefit of our *subjects*, also to  
 “ give our princely furtherance to the said Sir *Walter Ralegh* and his friends, as well as to  
 “ encourage others in the like *laudable enterprizes*, advance the conversion of savages, and  
 “ encrease traffick by our subjects of this kingdom, have of our special grace, &c. granted  
 “ Sir *Walter Ralegh* full power to carry for the said voyage, so many of our subjects, or others  
 “ who will become our subjects, as shall willingly accompany him ; with sufficient shipping,  
 “ armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, powder, shot, &c. and all other things as he shall  
 “ think necessary for the *use* and *defence* of him and his company ; besides liberty to exchange  
 “ or otherwise dispose of his goods or merchandize ; also to return into this or other of our  
 “ dominions with such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, and they to be converted to  
 “ the proper use of the said Sir *Walter Ralegh* and his company : paying to us, our heirs,  
 “ &c. the full fifth part of all such gold and silver, bullion, and ore of gold or silver,  
 “ pearl and precious stones as shall be so imported ; withal such customs, &c. as shall be due  
 “ for any other goods whatever. Further to encourage Sir *Walter Ralegh* and the adven-  
 “ turers, we promise *in verbo regio*, that no gold, silver or other wares by them imported  
 “ from those parts so possess'd and inhabited, shall be seiz'd by us, our heirs, or any of our  
 “ officers, but that it shall remain (the fifth part of the said gold, silver, bullion, &c. as be-  
 “ fore, with all other customs and duties being truly paid) to the sole use of Sir *Walter Ralegh*  
 “ and his company. Further of our most special grace, &c. we constitute the said Sir  
 “ *Walter Ralegh* to be the sole governor and commander of all persons who shall travel or be  
 “ with him in the said voyage or in their return. And give him full power to correct,  
 “ punish, pardon, and rule them according to such orders and instructions as the said Sir  
 “ *Walter Ralegh* shall establish, as well in cases capital and criminal as civil, both marine  
 “ and other ; so that the said proceedings, as near as conveniently may be, are agreeable to  
 “ the laws of this realm and to the christian faith now profess'd in the church of *England*.  
 “ And because in such enterprizes great inconveniences have grown by mutinies and disorders  
 “ for want of sufficient authority, we give full power to Sir *Walter Ralegh* in case of rebel-  
 “ lion or mutiny by sea or land, to exercise martial law upon just and apparent necessity, in  
 “ as ample a manner as our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or our lieutenants in the coun-  
 “ ties of *England*. And we give Sir *Walter Ralegh* full power to appoint such captains and

His commission  
for a voyage  
to the *South*  
or *elsewhere*  
in *America*.

<sup>a</sup> King *James* his *Declaration*, p. 4.

“ other



“ other commanders and ministers under him as shall be requisite for the better ordering and  
 “ governing his company. We further command the wardens of the *cinque ports*, customers,  
 “ and other officers, quietly to permit Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and all who shall adventure with  
 “ him, to pass to the said *South* or other parts of *America*, possess’d and inhabited as aforesaid,  
 “ and to return with any goods whatever, and to sell or otherwise dispose of the same to the  
 “ only use of him and his company; paying the fifth part of all gold, silver, bullion, &c.  
 “ as before, imported, and other customs and duties aforesaid. And these presents, &c. shall  
 “ be to the said wardens, &c. sufficient warrant. And we grant to the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*,  
 “ that these our letters patents or the inrollment thereof, with all the grants, clauses, &c. therein,  
 “ shall be sufficient and effectual in law, any law, statute, &c. notwithstanding. Witness  
 “ ourselves, the 26th day of *August*, in the 14th year of our reign of *England*, *France* and  
 “ *Ireland*; and of *Scotland*, the 50th. *Per breve de privato sigillo.*”

THIS abstract is made from the said *commission*, as it is printed in king *James’s Declaration*,<sup>a</sup> and may agree with that which seems also to have been given us from the records.<sup>b</sup> Whether there was, originally, any preamble to it we cannot say. But there are authors who affirm, that in this commission king *James* called him his *trusty* and *well-beloved* Sir *Walter Raleigh*.<sup>c</sup> Tho’ these may be words of course in such like instruments, yet if some words were thus taken out in that recital aforesaid, it might give reason of inferring that by the same liberty others have been squeez’d in. Yet even as it is suffer’d there to appear, ’tis surely far from being so clearly penn’d in point of those limitations it is said in his majesty’s *Declaration* he promis’d the *Spanish* ambassador: for here is no limitation to any part of *America*, not only the *South* parts but *elsewhere* being authoriz’d, and all that are habitable, inhabited in some degree or other by heathen and savage people: so vague, so equivocal, and disputable is that distinction: not one word of *Guiana*, no owning of his own right, or the power he had lately given to *plant* there, no privilege for working any mine there, nor prohibition to meddle with the king of *Spain’s* subjects there or elsewhere, as another writer has well observ’d.<sup>d</sup> On the contrary, full liberty to carry what arms and ammunition they pleas’d for *defence*, if they should need it; and lastly, the royal assurance of enjoying unmolested whatever they returned with. In short, this commission must easily be observed to have been penn’d, how clearly soever pretended, as if king *James* did neither know of Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* intention for and at *Guiana*; tho’ a little before, he had the whole particulars thereof from *Raleigh’s* own hand, or that there were any *Spaniards* planted there; tho’ he appears to have known that also from the *Spanish* ambassador himself, whose own kinsman, as we shall hear, was sent, during *Raleigh’s* restraint, from *Spain*, to build and colonize upon that very spot to which *Raleigh* had now this *unlimited* commission, as we may rather term it, to go. For ’tis so much the reverse of that *close penn’d* letter wherein *Raleigh* had, so expressively, and so unreservedly, placed his whole trust of this voyage in king *James*, that it seems contriv’d, both to hoodwink the *Spaniard* till the action was over, tho’ the king betray’d it himself, and to secure loop-holes sufficient for the royal authority against his exceptions;<sup>e</sup> but they proved so large, that it was thought expedient, in the end, as we shall find, that the commission should not be insisted on to limit or restrain any body.

Whether this indistinct power in that commission made *Raleigh* more or less importunate for his pardon, we cannot say. Some indeed write, that he laboured mainly to obtain it; but they are led into that belief by the *declaration* aforesaid: whereas we find it expressly asserted in a letter of *Carew Raleigh’s*; that his father had overtures made him of procuring his pardon for *fifteen hundred pounds* by Sir *William St. John*, one of the persons of whom he purchas’d his freedom, therefore one whose interest was the less to be doubted in this particular; but that Sir *Walter Raleigh* conferring, a little before his departure from *England*, with Sir *Francis Bacon* (newly made lord keeper of the great seal, and not long after lord chancellor) upon this pecuniary pardon, he positively advised *Raleigh* against it in these words: Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is pass’d already, the king having, under his broad seal, made you  
 admiral

<sup>a</sup> From page 9 to 24.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Rymor’s Ford*, vol. 16. fol. 789.

<sup>c</sup> See *Raleigh’s Remains*, 12mo. 1651, and in the last edition, p. 200; where ’tis said, *Raleigh* afterwards plead these words in his commission, *To his trusty and well-beloved subject*, &c. as what imply’d a pardon: See also *Coke’s Four last Reigns*, p. 85. *Rapin’s late History of England*; where he says, this commission was dressed *a notre ami et fils Walter Raleigh*. Also Mr. *Tindal’s Notes* on the same place.

<sup>d</sup> See the first volume of *State Trials*, fol. 219, in the notes.

<sup>e</sup> *Roger Coke*, in his *State of England during the Four last Reigns*, observes, page 84, “ That this commission but ill agreed with the *treaty of peace* made with the king of *Spain* in the second year of king *James’s* reign.” And a little further, “ That in granting this commission, you see (says he) by what an undistinguish’d power covetousness governs the actions of princes as well as meaner men, against their honour and interest: for at that



admiral of your fleet; and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers.<sup>a</sup> But we are elsewhere told, that even for less than half that money beforemention'd, that is to say, "for seven hundred pounds, the said Sir William St. John, and also Sir Edward Villiers (before spoken of) offer'd Sir Walter Ralegh not only his full pardon, but liberty not to go his voyage if he pleas'd; and that he refus'd both; the rather because he was told by Sir Francis Bacon (as above) that his said commission was as good a pardon for all former offences, as the law of England could afford him."<sup>b</sup>

AND now, near seven months after the date of his commission, began his fleet to appear, or rather that part of it which lay in the *Thames*, and consisted of seven sail. From the *Survey* which was taken thereof by the appointment of Charles earl of Nottingham the lord admiral, on the 15th of March in the year last named, it appears, that the first of them, or admiral, a brave ship, as described by one who might probably have seen it, and built by Ralegh himself,<sup>c</sup> was named the *Destiny*, of 440 tons, and 36 pieces (or more) of ordnance; Sir Walter Ralegh general, and his son Walter captain: besides two hundred men, whereof fourscore were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, most of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards encreas'd. Second, the *Jafon* of London, 240 tons, and 25 pieces of ordnance; captain John Pennington vice-admiral, fourscore men, one gentleman and no more. Third, the *Encounter*, 160 tons, 17 pieces of ordnance; Edward Hastings captain: (no men more, except the master, mention'd) but he dying in the *Indies*, was succeeded in the command by captain Whitney. Fourth, the *Thunder*, 150 tons, 20 pieces of ordnance; Sir Warham Sentleger captain, six gentlemen, sixty soldiers, ten land men. Fifth, the *Flying Joan*, 120 tons, 14 pieces of ordnance; John Chidley captain, twenty-five men. Sixth, the *Southampton*, 80 tons, 6 pieces of ordnance; John Bayley captain, twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the *Page*, a pinnace, 25 tons, 3 rabnets of brags; James Barker captain, eight sailors.<sup>d</sup> But before Ralegh left the coast of England, he was join'd by as many ships more: so that his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, besides his own ship.<sup>e</sup> And tho' we cannot be so particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it, that one ship, named the *Convertine*, was commanded by captain Keymis;<sup>f</sup> another, called the *Confidence*, was under the charge of captain Woolaston; there was a *shallop*, named the *Flying Hart*, under Sir John Ferne; two *flyboats*, under captain Samuel King, and captain Robert Smith; and a *carvel*, with perhaps another named the *Chudley*, besides.<sup>g</sup>

WITH the former part of the fleet Ralegh set sail from the *Thames* on the 28th of March aforefaid,<sup>h</sup> which was in the year 1617, and was soon after ready to proceed at the *Isle of Wight*, when several little accidents fell out to retard his progress; for he stay'd there some days for Sir Warham Sentleger, whose ship, the *Thunder*, by the negligence of her master, was at lee in the *Thames*: also after Ralegh was got to *Plymouth*, captain Pennington was not come to the *Isle of Wight*, and when he did arrive, was forced to ride back to London to engage the lady Ralegh to pass her word for the money which was to redeem the bread for his ship, amounting to thirty pounds, without which he could not have gone forward; nor could Sir John Ferne proceed till Ralegh had supply'd him with a hundred pounds by his cousin Herbert, and procur'd him another hundred pounds of his friend Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, having furnish'd himself with a third hundred before he came from *Wales*. Ralegh tarried also for captain Whitney, who had a third part of his victuals to provide; and to assist him, Ralegh generously sold his plate at *Plymouth*, notwithstanding which, and Ralegh's having given him more countenance than any other of his officers, Whitney ran away from him at the *Granadoes*, and drew captain Woolaston with his ship after him: Ralegh had further the patience to wait ten or twelve days for captain Bayley, which he afterwards ungratefully requited by deserting also the fleet at the *Canaries*, for no apparent reason but Ralegh's refusing him a *French* shallop he took in the bay of *Portugal*; and yet after Ralegh had bought her for fifty crowns, that the *French* might have no cause of complaint, Bayley might have had her if he had desir'd it.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> that time the king granted this commission he was, by Sir John Digby, treating a marriage between prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, upon terms of two millions of money with her." But what put a stop to this match, may, in the same author, and others, be seen.

<sup>b</sup> Howell's *Familiar Letters*, 5th edit. 1678, vol. 2. pp. 371.

<sup>c</sup> Observations on Sanderfon's history of King James, page 10.

<sup>d</sup> Howell's *Letters*, vol. 1. page 5.

<sup>e</sup> *A True and Exact Survey of all Ships as were in the River Thames from 1615 to 1618, under the Command of Sir*

Walter Ralegh; and of their Names, Tonnage, and number of Men. Taken by certain Gentlemen appointed thereto by the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Nottingham, &c. At the end of a scarce pamphlet entitled, *Notes of Sir Walter Ralegh, &c. Sent from a Gentleman of his Fleet to a Friend in London*, &c. 4to. 1618.

<sup>f</sup> Howell's *Letters*, as before.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

<sup>h</sup> See Sir Walter Ralegh's *Apology*, 8vo. 1650, p. 22. 26, 24.

<sup>i</sup> Camden's *Annals of King James*.

<sup>j</sup> Ralegh's *Apology*, p. 7, 8, 9.



For these reasons he was forced to linger some months at *Plymouth*, losing thereby a fair wind, and indeed the season of the year. The mean while he publish'd in *May* following, such orders throughout his fleet, as gained him great applause, for the regularity and instruction they establish'd therein. A gentleman of his company, in a tract he wrote of this voyage, having express'd "how many ways Sir *Walter Raleigh* was moved to enterprizes of this nature "more than any other *Englishman* whatsoever; by his wisdom and learning, variety of conference, and experience of places he had formerly held; also how much greater his noble ends have been than any man's whatsoever of our nation who had attempted the like courses;" he proceeds "to the particular government of his fleet; which tho' others (says he) have in some measure observed, yet in all the great volumes which have been written, touching voyages, there is no precedent of so godly, severe and martial government; fit to be engraved in every man's soul that covets to do honour to his king and country in the like attempts:" then exhibits "a copy of the said laws, articles and commandments, which we at this present (says he) observe;" and of which, it may not therefore be unacceptable, hereunder to present the heads. <sup>a</sup>

Sets out for  
*Guiana*.

It was the end of *June* or the beginning of *July*, before all his company join'd him and he sail'd from *Plymouth*: then being encounter'd with a violent storm some eight leagues to the west of *Scilly*, in which captain *Chidley's Pinnace* was sunk, and captain *King* driven into *Bristol*, *Raleigh* held it, from experience as well as reason, the office of a commander of many ships, and those of different sailings and conditions, rather to take a port, and keep his fleet

<sup>a</sup> Bearing this title, *Orders to be observed by the Commanders of the Fleet, and Land Companies, under the Charge and Conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, bound for the South Parts of America or elsewhere. Given at Plymouth in Devon, 3 May 1617.* They first enjoin, That divine service should be read morning and evening, or, if interrupted by foul weather, once a day. That all swearing and blasphemy shall, after admonition, be fined. That no man refuse obeying his officer in all things commanded for the benefit of the journey, or refuse to wait his turn as directed, the sailors by the master and boatswain, the land men by their captains, lieutenants and others. Two captains of the watch in every ship to choose two soldiers every night to search between decks that no fire nor candle-light be carried about after the watch set, nor burning in any cabin without a lanthorn: Tobacco forbidden all men but upon the upper deck. Land men to learn the names and places of the ropes, to assist the sailors upon deck. Sailors to be trained as they do land men, so that all may be esteemed sailors or soldiers, as there is occasion: not to chase or board any ship without order of the general. To take nothing from any in league with his majesty; but, in extremity, to agree for the price. Every night to fall astern the general's ship and follow his light, and receive instructions of the course to be held, every morning. If separated by storms, to open their sealed billets, first on this side the *North Cape* if needful; secondly, at the *South Cape*; third, after 23 degrees; and fourth from the height of *Cape de Vert*. Upon discovering any sail at sea, either to windward or leeward of the admiral which he cannot discern, if she be large and single, to strike main top-sail and hoist it again so often as they judge it to be 100 tons burden, as if 200, to strike and hoist twice, &c. Upon discovering a small ship, to do the like with fore-top-sail; but if many great ships appear, both to strike the main-top sail often, and hang out the ensign in the main top. If they go large before wind, to stand as they do, till it may be judg'd the admiral had seen the said signs and standing. But if you went large at the discovery, to hale the sheets after a while, then go large again: so if they have their tacks aboard, and you yours aboard at the discovery, bear up a little and hale your sheet off again, to shew us what course they hold. If you discover a sail by night to windward of you, and you windward of the admiral, bear up to acquaint us: if you think you might speak with her, keep aloof, and fire a piece to give us knowledge. None to fire any ordnance but in discovering a sail by night, in danger of enemies, fire, or sinking. If you fire by day we shall know 'tis to make a ship strike, if by night we shall know you see more sail than your own; if you think we hear not, in a quarter of an hour fire again. If you are in present danger by a leak, shoot two pieces soon after one another; if by fire, three in like manner. In foul weather every ship to follow her sails to keep company with the rest, and not to run to far a head by day but it may fall astern the admiral at night. If attack'd by sea, the captain to appoint sufficient assistance to the gunner, and, if needful, the cabins be-

tween deck to be taken down; all beds and sacks employ'd for bulwarks. Musketeers of every ship to be divided under captains for the forecattle, the waist and the poop. Gunners not to shoot great ordnance at other distance than point blank: officers to see no loose powder be carried between decks near in stock, or match in hand. Hog-heads sawed in two, filled with water ready on the decks, and wet blankets against fire. Carpenters to be divided, in the hold and between decks, with leaden plates, plugs, &c. at hand. Proper numbers of sailors to be appointed to every sail under proper commanders: so that all knowing their charge and places, may do their duty without confusion or noise, none being to speak but the officers. No man to board a ship of the enemy without order. Every ship under lee of the enemy, must labour to recover the wind, if the admiral endeavour it; or if the enemy be to leeward, the whole fleet to follow the admiral or other leading ship within musket shot of the enemy, giving so much liberty to the leading ship after her broad-side deliver'd and her sail trim'd; then the second ship to give her side; so the third and fourth all taking as the first, and giving the enemy the other side, shall keep him under a perpetual volley: And thus to the windermost ship of the enemy, till it be batter'd to pieces or forced up to intangle the rest. If the admiral chace and is headmost, the next ship to take up his boat, unless otherwise ordered; the like to be done by those that follow other chasing ships. The divided Musketeers not to deliver their shot but at such distances as their commander directs. Ships to be kept clean between decks. Ordnance not cloy'd with trunks and chests. Provisions to be delivered to the steward. Apparel to be in cloak-bags, except some few chests that will not pester the ships. Fire-arms to be kept clean; if out of order, the officer to order the armorer to amend them. No feasting or drinking between meals; or drinking healths on the ship's provision. Every captain, by his purser or other officer, to take weekly accounts of the victuals. No candles to be delivered by the steward to any private man or private use. Whoever steals apparel, victuals, &c. to be punish'd as a thief and murderer. No man to strike any officer on pain of death: private men striking one another to be punish'd by court martial. Players at cards or dice for apparel, arms, &c. to be dismissed and made swabbers. Cowards upon any landing or otherwise, to be dismissed and made labourers to carry victuals for the rest. None to land in foreign parts without order from some chief commander; and where they land, none to force either christian or heathen women on pain of death. When landed in the *Indies*, not to eat meat unknown, and such not eaten by birds on the tree, or beasts under it. Not to sleep on the ground, or eat of flesh till fasted two or three hours. To swim in no river but where the *Indians* do, and to use them with civility. Other orders on the land to be establish'd by general consent when they should arrive there. A flag on the mast through of the admiral, was to be the signal for summoning the officers to council. See a tract call'd, *Academy of Sir Walter Raleigh*, &c. 4to 1618: from page 19 to 20 together,



together, than to endanger the loss of his masts and rigging, or the advantage which enemies might take, or the loss of more time in attending another rendezvous, by the danger of a separation. Therefore he put into *Ireland*, and was oblig'd to stay seven weeks there: so that the winds only were to be accused now (as he observes) for their delay. And here, tho' by his credit he procur'd fifty oxen, which he distributed among his fleet, some of the crew spared not, at his return, to defame him with having taken care to revictual himself and none of the rest. On the 19th of *August* he set forward from *Cork*.<sup>a</sup>

WHEN he arriv'd at the isle of *Lancerota*, on the 6th of *September*, *Raleigh* sent a request to the governor, that he might be admitted to treat for some provisions: the governor sent back word, that he would confer with *Raleigh* himself, if he would come attended but by one gentleman, and armed only with their rapiers. *Raleigh* taking with him lieutenant *Bradshaw* met the governor, who agreed, that if he would send up an *English* factor, whose ship then rode in the road, whatever the island afforded should be deliver'd at a reasonable rate. *Raleigh* sent the factor, but the governor procrastinated, and at last sent word, that unless he would embark his men which lay on the sea shore, the islanders were so jealous they durst not divide from one another to supply him. *Raleigh* comply'd, but when half his men were got aboard, the islanders began to offer violence upon the rest. They slew one, and sent the factor to tell *Raleigh* they would part with nothing to him, for that they believed his company to be the *Turkish* fleet which had lately destroy'd *Puerto Santo*. The *English* hereupon would have gone and helped themselves, but *Raleigh* considering what displeasure it might give at home, how the merchants might suffer, and the poor *English* factor be ruin'd, complained to the governor of the *Grand Canaries*; of whom he also desired leave to take water undisturb'd; but instead of answer, when he landed some hundred men in the desert part of the island where they found fresh water, there ambush was laid, by which one of his men was wounded to death, and more had been slain had not captain *Thornburst* and lieutenant *Hayman*, two valiant gentlemen, seconded by Sir *Warham Scutleger* and young captain *Raleigh*, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From this unavoidable fray, *Bayley* found pretence to turn tail and go home again.

IN want of water they sail'd to *Gomera*, one of the strongest and best defended of all these islands, and the best port. The *Spaniards*, being seated upon the very wash of the sea, roughly saluted the fleet at its first entrance with their cannon, and the *English* returned their salutation. But as soon as *Raleigh* recover'd the harbour, and commanded there should be no more firing, he sent a *Spaniard* he had with him, ashore, to assure the governor he had no intention to make war with any of the *Spanish* king's subjects; and if any harm had been done by his great ordnance to the town it was their fault, who, by shooting first, gave the occasion. The governor answer'd, he thought they had been the *Turkish* fleet aforesaid; but having been certified they were christians and *Englishmen*, and sought nothing but water, he was willing to let them take what they pleas'd, if he might be assur'd they would make no attempt upon the town-houses, or their gardens and fruits. *Raleigh* reply'd, that he would give him his faith, and the word of the king of *Great Britain*, his sovereign, that if the people of the town or island should lose so much as an orange or a grape by any one of his men without paying for it, he would hang him up in the market-place. And *Raleigh* kept his men in such good discipline, that the governor in divers letters (for he wrote to him every day) acknowledg'd how punctually *Raleigh* kept his faith with him, in regard to the inoffensive behaviour of his company; and also how much himself was beholden to him for his particular civilities. For his countess, who was of *English* extract, being a *Stafford* by the mother's side, and of the house of *Horne* by the father, having sent *Raleigh* some presents of fruit, sugar and rusks, he return'd others of greater value.<sup>b</sup> The earl moreover, gave him at his departure, on the 21st of *September*, a letter to *Don Diego Sarmiento* the *Spanish* ambassador in *England*, testifying how honourably *Raleigh* had comported himself to the *Morisco's* in these *Canary Islands* during the fourteen days that he was among them. Before he set sail, he discharg'd a bark of the *Grand Canaries*, taken by one of his pinnaces, coming from *Cape Blanc* in *Africa*; who complaining that his men had eaten of their fish to the value of six duckets, *Raleigh* gave them eight.

After having weather'd through a violent hurricane and some vast showers of rain, besides dangers no less fearful within; sickness now beginning to visit his ship, he arriv'd on the 2d

of

<sup>a</sup> See *Walter Raleigh's Journal* of his (last) voyage to America, the original manuscript, fol. 1.

<sup>b</sup> And the presents *Raleigh* return'd to this governor, are not mentioned in his *History*, whence his properties are chiefly collected; I find, in his own *Journal* and of the presents, that they consisted of an *excellent*

of *amber*, *ambergreece*, a fine cut work *rusk*, a very excellent picture of *Mary Magdalen*, and a good quantity of *red-seeds*, which was of great value and esteem in these parts.

<sup>c</sup> Whereof there died, his provost marshal *W. L.* on the 21st of *September*, his master surgeon *N. C.* on the 25th,



At *Bravo*.

of *October* at the isle of *Bravo*: and here also underwent great hazards and hardships; besides the sickness daily spreading among his men. For whereas all those who navigated even between *Cape de Vert* and *America*, were wont to pass between fifteen and twenty days at most, he found the wind so contrary to him, and indeed to nature, so many storms and showers, that he spent near six weeks in the passage from hence; by reason whereof, and the burning heat of the climate, he was in great distress for water. Here losing anchors, cables and water-cask, besides two more of his company,<sup>a</sup> he was driven after two days, by a kind of *turnado*, from this island; which, as well as the others he touch'd at, before mention'd, he has well describ'd in his *Journal* of this unfortunate voyage. After his return home, detraction did not spare to give out, that he went to *Cape de Vert* knowing it to be infected, and thereby lost many of his men; whereas he was a hundred and sixty leagues from that *Cape*, according to his own account, in his *Apology*; and had threescore men ill in his own ship before he came to *Bravo*, as we find it in his *Journal*; tho' if he had gone to that *Cape* now, after the rains which had fallen, there had been little danger of any such infection. All places that lie near great rivers, in low and moorish grounds, do indeed, as he rightly observes, subject their inhabitants to fevers and agues; as even along both sides of our own river *Thames*; and other infection is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Africa*, except when the easterly wind or breezes are excluded and kept off by some high mountains from the valleys, whereby the air wanting motion, stagnates, and becomes exceedingly unhealthful, as at *Nombre de Dios*, and some other places. But, says he, *as good success admits of no examination, so the contrary allows of no excuse.*<sup>b</sup>

Hence they proceeded, on the 4th of *October*, towards *Guiana*. But the sickness revisited and destroy'd many of those whom the storms spared, carrying off numbers of his ablest men both for sea and land, no less than forty-two of his own ship ending their voyage with their lives,<sup>c</sup> mostly in this month, at least before they reach'd the coast.<sup>d</sup> About the 12th of the same month, when their sickness began to be at the height, and they at the greatest distance from any shore, they were many other ways also distress'd; for when they began to be in scarcity of water, they were also becalm'd; yet ever threatened with extremity of tempestuous weather, from the strange and unusual alterations in the atmosphere. One while the horizon muffled as it were in such thick and fearful darkness, that they were forced to steer a day or two by candle-light. At other times, arched and overshot with gloomy discolorations; so that watery rainbows were continually invading their eyes, or heavy showers their bodies, and dead calms retarding their ships. Afterwards at *Trinidad*, *Raleigh* observed, besides two *water-galls*, no less than fifteen rainbows in one day, and one of them bent as it were both ends together, making a perfect circle; and these were ever followed with wet weather; for as he also noted, especially of the morning rainbow, it did not here produce a fair day, as in *England*.<sup>e</sup> But one good effect ensu'd, that when their water was so scarce, near the latter end of this month, that the ship's crew was reduced to half allowance, they saved some hogsheds, which fell from the clouds, and all quenched their thirst with great cans of this bitter draught, as *Raleigh* describes that rain water to have been. On the last day of this month, as he was raised abruptly out of his bed in a sweat, by the noise which a sudden great gust had occasion'd in his ship, he got a cold, which turned to a burning fever, and cast him down for twenty days together; in which time he receiv'd no other sustenance than a few stew'd prunes, but drink, every hour, both day and night; and sweated so excessively, that he was forced to shift three times every day, and as often at night.<sup>f</sup> At last the violence of his disease was abated, by the oranges and other fruits he had received at *Gomera* of the governor's lady; which he had carefully preserved in sand to his great refreshment; and without which, as he owns himself, he could not have lived:<sup>g</sup> But it was double the time before he could recover in any tolerable degree from this sharp visitation.

At *Wiapoco*.

In this slow and sickly manner they arriv'd at last, on the 11th of *November*, at the north cape of *Wiapoco*. And here *Raleigh* sent for his old servant *Leonard*, the *Indian*, who had

10th; and on the last day of this month, died his son's lieutenant, *Holcroft*. Sir *Walter Raleigh's Journal of his last Voyage to Guiana*.

Lieutenant *Allen*, who died the 2d of *October*, and the cape merchant *Keymit*, who died the day following.

<sup>a</sup> *Raleigh's Apology*, p. 18, 19.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's letter to his wife from Caliana*, the 14th of *November*, in his *Remains* (the last edit) p. 165.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. *John Howard*, ensign to captain *North*, died the 6th of *October*. Also Mr. *Fowler*, Sir *Walter's* principal telmer. His servant *Cord*, died the 8th; and all his other servants were to ill, he had not any but his pages to

attend on him. Captain *John Piggot*, *Raleigh's* lieutenant general by land, died the 13th: also "Mr. *John Talbot*, " who had lived (says *Raleigh*) with me eleven years in " the *Tower*; an excellent general scholar, and a faithful " true man as liv'd." Then also died Mr. *Gardner*, and Mr. *Mordant*; besides his own cook, *Francis*. Captain *Jennings* died the 16th, and his cousin, lieutenant *Pexton*, the 18th of the same month; besides many others of less note. *Raleigh's Journal*, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's Journal*, as before.

<sup>f</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>g</sup> *Raleigh's letter in his Remains*, as aforesaid, p. 167.



been in *England* three or four years with him ; but he was removed so far up in the country, there was no pursuing him. <sup>a</sup> Therefore he stood away for *Caliana*, which is in 5 degrees, on the coast of *Guiana*, at the first discovery call'd *Port Howard*, <sup>b</sup> where the cassique was also his servant, and had lived with him in the *Tower of London* two years. There he arrived in a day or two, having passed the island noted for its multitude of birds and silk-bearing trees, and from thence sent for his servant *Harry*, the *Indian*, who, with other cassiques, came and brought him great store of *Cassavi* bread and roasted mullets, with plantanes, pinas, pistacias, &c. But *Ralegh* ventured not to eat of the pinas, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a day or two's airing on the shore in a tent which was there pitch'd for him ; then he also eat some armadillo and a little pork, and began to gather strength. Here also he landed his sick men, and recovered many ; and here he buried captain *Edward Hastings* (the lord *Huntington's* brother) who died ten days or more before, and with him his serjeant major, *Hart*, and captain *Henry Snedale* ; the charge of whose ship *Ralegh* gave to his servant captain *Robert Smith* of *Cornwall*. <sup>c</sup> Here he also set up his barges and shallops which they brought from *England*, in quarters, cleansed his ships, trim'd up his cask, and supply'd them with water ; fix'd up a forge, and made such iron works as they wanted. Thus on that shore, and this river they employed and refresh'd themselves for about three weeks ; during which time, *Ralegh* was very much caref'd by the *Indians* of his old acquaintance aforesaid, and the other natives of this place, who cherished him daily with the best provisions that the country yielded, and offer'd him all kind of obedience, even to the making him their sovereign prince and ruler, if he would abide and settle among them ; so fresh continued his memory, and such unanimous impressions of homage and respect had his former behaviour still left upon them ; which offer he mentions with the greatest modesty and indifference in the dispatch he now sent to *England*. For in this interval, captain *Peter Alley*, one of his company, who was much troubled with a vertiginous disorder in his head, having got leave to return home, and the opportunity of a *Dutch* vessel which lay there, *Ralegh* among other letters, sent one by him to his lady, dated from *Caliana* the 14th of *November*. Herein, says he, " I cannot write to you but with a weak hand, for I have suffer'd the most violent calenture for fifteen days that ever man did, and lived ; but God that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, has also now strengthened me in the hell-fire of heat. We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which forty-two have died, and there are yet many sick ; but having recover'd the land of *Guiana* this 12th of *November*, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men, and the rest of our fleet are reasonably strong, strong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London* to make our strength known to the *Spanish* king by his ambassador, has not taught the *Spanish* king to fortify all the entrances against us. Howsoever, we must make the adventure, and if we perish, it shall be no honour for *England*, nor gain for his majesty, to lose, among many others, an hundred as valiant gentlemen as *England* hath in it." Then having spoken of *Bayley's* running away from him, the unnatural weather they had laboured through, and their tedious passage, with the present of fruits which had so much relieved him, as is before observed, besides the death of some principal officers, and recommendation of himself to some friends in *London*, especially his son *Carew*, he concludes thus : " To tell you that I might be here king of the *Indians* were a vanity ; but my name hath still lived among them ; here they feed me with fresh meat, and all that the country yields : all offer to obey me." <sup>d</sup> At this time also, a gentleman of his company having drawn up a discourse in praise of *Guiana*, and in honour of this adventure ; especially of the principal discoverer *Ralegh* himself, it being dated from *Caliana* *November* the 17th, sent it also into *England* by the same bearer ; <sup>e</sup> and it was printed the following year. <sup>f</sup>

At Caliana.

Offer'd to be made king in these parts.

On the 4th of *December* they left this river, and came next day to the *Triangle Islands* ; but were all in danger of leaving their bones upon the shoals before they got thither. For they were laid aground, especially *Ralegh's* larger ship, for the space of twenty-four hours or more ;

<sup>a</sup> *Ralegh's Journal*.

<sup>b</sup> *Ralegh's Apology* for his Voyage to *Guiana*, p. 21.

<sup>c</sup> See *Walter Ralegh's Journal*, and his *Apology*, p. 22.

<sup>d</sup> *Ralegh's Remains*, (last edit) p. 166.

<sup>e</sup> This captain *Peter Alley* arrived in *England* the latter end of *January* following ; for *Camden*, in his *Annals* of *James*, says, that on the 31st of the said month, he printed (to the State) that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was very ill, and that several volunteers died of their sickness.

<sup>f</sup> Under the title of, *News from Sir Walter Ralegh : with the true Description of Guiana ; as also a Relation of*

*the excellent Government, and much Hope of the Prosperity of the Voyage. Sent from a Gentleman of his Fleet, to a most special Friend of his in London ; from the River Caliana, on the Coast of Guiana, November 17, 1617. By R. M. Ato. 1618.* With a wooden cut of Sir *Walter Ralegh* in the title page, in band and collar, and black (velvet) doublet lac'd with silver, much like that graven on copper, before the old editions of his *History of the World*. For this scarce tract, among others, I have been much beholden to the courtesy of Sir *Hans Sloane*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ralegh's Journal*, &c



and had it not been fair weather, would never have got off the coast, having not above two fathom of water. Here, after a few days, when all the fleet was gather'd together, it being consider'd in a general consultation, that *Raleigh* himself who had grappled with the sickness for six weeks, and was now rather so much relaps'd than recover'd, that he could not move otherwise than as he was carried in a chair, \* they resolv'd that there was no thoughts of his undertaking the passage up the *Orenoque* in person. And further, tho' they could never understand by *Keymis*, who was the first of any nation that had enter'd the *main mouth* of that river, nor by any of their mariners, who had traded there many years for tobacco, what certainty the water was of; yet having found by experience, that ships at *eleven* foot water, lay aground three days in passing up; therefore there was no attempting it with *Raleigh's* ship, which being heavier, and charged with near forty pieces of ordnance, drew seventeen foot. Nor would his son with the rest have ventured, with the provisions they had, through any other person's assurance or resolution of staying to relieve them at a place appointed, against the forces expected to approach, but that of his father and their general. <sup>b</sup> So it was resolv'd by all, that the five larger ships should ride at *Punta de Gallo* in *Trinidad* under *Raleigh*, to secure their retreat, and the five lesser (for this was now the whole number of his fleet) with five or six foot companies of fifty men each, should enter the river. According to this determination, the fleet was here divided; that is to say, captain *Whitney* in the *Encounter*; *Woolaston* in the *Confidence*; *King* in the *Supply*; *Smith* in a *Pink*, and *Hall* in a *Carvel*. The companies had for their leaders, captain *Charles Parker*, and captain *North* (brothers to the lord *Mounteagle* and the lord *North*;) young *Raleigh*; captain *Thornburst* of *Kent*; captain *Pennington's* lieutenant, who seems to be another *Hall*, and captain *Chidley's* lieutenant, *Prideux*. Sir *Warham St. Leger*, *Raleigh's* lieutenant, who had the charge of these companies, fell sick at *Caliana*; so it was confer'd on *George Raleigh*, Sir *Walter's* nephew, who had served with great commendation in the *Low Countries*; and captain *Keymis* had the chief charge for their guidance and landing within the river. <sup>c</sup> But *Keymis* having laid down the plan of his intended attempt upon the mine, and undertaken to discover it with six or eight persons in Sir *John Ferne's* shallop, *Raleigh*, upon consideration, disliking that method of procedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his instructions in the following words.

Divides his fleet at the Triangle Islands.

His Instructions to Keymis.

“ *Keymis*, Whereas you were resolv'd, after your arrival into the *Oronoque*, to pass to the mine with my cousin *Herbert* and six musketers, and to that end desired to have Sir *John Ferne's* shallop; I do not allow of that course; because you cannot land so secretly, but that some *Indians* on the river side may discover you, who giving knowledge thereof to the *Spaniard*, you may be cut off before you recover your boat. I therefore advise you to suffer the captains and companies of the *English* to pass up westward of the mountain *Aio*, from whence you have no less than three miles to the mine, and to encamp between the *Spanish* town and you, if there is any town near it; that being so secured, you may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, and whether or no it will answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the *Spaniards* begin to war upon you, then let the serjeant-major repell them, if it is in his power, and drive them as far as he can: but if you find the mine is not so rich as to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy his majesty that my design was not imaginary but true, tho' not answerable to his majesty's expectation; for the quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor could. On the other side, if you shall find any great number of soldiers are newly sent into the *Orenoque*, as the cassique of *Caliana* told us there were, and that the passages are already enforc'd, so as without manifest peril of my son, yourself and the other captains, you cannot pass towards the mine; then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men you have, and I would not for all the world, receive a blow from the *Spaniard* to the dishonour of the nation. I myself, for my weakness, cannot be present, neither will the company land except I abide by the ships, the galleons of *Spain* being daily expected. *Piggot* the serjeant-major is dead, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, my lieutenant, without hope of life, and my nephew, *George Raleigh*, your serjeant-major, now, but a young man: it is therefore on your judgment that I rely; who, I trust, God will direct for the best. Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall find me at *Punta de Gallo* dead or alive; and if you find not my ships there, yet there you shall find their ashes; for I will fire with the galleons if it come to extremity, but run away I will never.” <sup>d</sup>

\* His letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, in his *Remains*, last edit. p. 1.

<sup>b</sup> See *Raleigh's Apology*, p. 25, 26.

<sup>c</sup> *Raleigh's Journal*, &c. <sup>d</sup> *Raleigh's Apology*, p. 26.



WITH these instructions those five ships set forward, parting from *Raleigh* and the rest of the fleet at the islands aforesaid, with a month's provision, on the 10th of *December*.<sup>a</sup> But when they found a new *Spanish* town, call'd *St. Thome*, consisting of about 140 houses; tho' lightly built, with a chapel, a convent of *Franciscans*, and a garrison erected on the main channel of the *Orenoque*,<sup>b</sup> about twenty miles distant from the place where *Antonio Berreo*, the governor taken by *Raleigh* in his first discovery and conquest here, attempted to plant; *Keymis* and the rest thought themselves oblig'd, through fear of leaving the enemy's garrison between them and their boats, to deviate from their instructions, which enjoin'd them, first to carry a little party to make trial of the mine, under a shelter of their own camp; and then to deal with the *Spanish* town as it should give cause, by permitting or offering to prevent them. So they concluded to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town;<sup>c</sup> whereby, tho' themselves were something stronger, their boats were subject to the same exposure, and the mine left untry'd contrary to *Raleigh's* order. For, about three weeks after their departure, landing, by night, it seems, nearer the town than they suspected, and meaning to rest themselves on the river-side till morning, they were, in the night-time, set upon by the *Spanish* troops, appriz'd of, and fore-arm'd for their coming, as we shall see. This charge was so unexpected, and struck the common soldiers with such amazement and confusion, that had not the captains and some other valiant gentlemen made head, and animated the rest, they had all been cut to pieces. But the rest, by their example, soon rallying, made such a vigorous defence against the *Spaniards*, that they drove them to a retreat, till in the warmth of their pursuit, the *English* found themselves at the *Spanish* town before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed afresh upon them, being assaulted by the governor himself *Don Diego Palameca*, and four or five captains at the head of their companies; against whom, captain *Walter Raleigh*, a brave and sprightly young man, now twenty-three years of age, but fonder of glory than safety, not tarrying for the musketers, rush'd foremost, at the head of a company of pikes, and having killed one of the *Spanish* captains, was himself shot by another; but pressing still forward, with his sword upon *Erinetta*, probably the captain who had shot him, this *Spaniard* with the butt-end of his musket fell'd him to the ground, and after these words, *Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your enterprize*, young *Raleigh* spoke no more. Hereupon *John Plessington*, his serjeant, thrust the said *Spanish* captain through the body with his halbert. Two<sup>d</sup> *Spaniards* more of the *Spaniards* were at the same time slain, one by *John of Morocco*, another of young *Raleigh's* company: and lastly the governor himself also lost his life in the said engagement;<sup>e</sup> which happen'd, as *Camden* reckons, the second of *January*.<sup>f</sup> The leaders being thus all dispatch'd, and many of their soldiers, the rest fled and were disper'd, some to shelter about the market-place, from whence they kill'd and wounded the *English* at pleasure; so as they saw no way left to be safe, but by firing the town about their ears, and driving them to the woods and mountains, whence they still keep the *English* waking with perpetual alarms.<sup>g</sup> Others were more careful to defend the passages to their mines, of which they had three or four not far distant, than they had been to defend the town itself.<sup>h</sup> But for the magazine of tobacco, which one writer, among other erroneous representations of this voyage, thought might countervail the charge of it, could it with some other things have been preserved,<sup>i</sup> it seems not to have been consumed by the *English*; because *Raleigh* had enough thereof soon after to have paid for the victualling of his fleet, if there had been occasion, as himself has related.<sup>j</sup>

ALL obstructions seeming thus removed, captain *Keymis* had now a fair opportunity to make what trial he pleas'd at the mine; and that he did attempt the discovery will appear by the consequence, as his preparations do in the letter he wrote to *Raleigh* six days after the action aforesaid, tho' it came not long after to his hands. Herein having open'd in as gradual and discreet a manner as he could, how gallantly his son fell in this exploit, and observed, that if

<sup>a</sup> *Sir Walter Raleigh's Journal*.

<sup>b</sup> *Heylin's Cosmography*, p. 1084.

<sup>c</sup> See *Raleigh's Apology*, p. 29; and his *Letter to the Lord Carew*, touching the action at *Guiana*; printed at the end of the said *Apology*, p. 64.

<sup>d</sup> See *Raleigh's Apology*, p. 30, 31; and his *Letter to his wife*, in his *Remains* (the last edition) page 178. (where there is an egregious error of the press, viz. I saw five of them slain at the entrance of the town; as if *Raleigh* had been present at the action) See also, for young *Raleigh's* last words, captain *Keymis's* letter from the *Orenoque* to *Sir Walter Raleigh*, in his *Apology*, p. 33. The said *King James's Declaration*, p. 34, that young *Raleigh*, in quest to know his father's secret, when he led his soldiers upon this town us'd these or the like words.

"Come on my hearts, here is the mine that we must expect, they that look for any other mine are fools." As if *Raleigh* was at so much toil, hazard and expence only to break the peace, and drive a pack of poor *Spaniards* out of a worthless town. Nor does it seem likely, that if young *Raleigh* knew this to be his father's secret, that he would thus disclose it; but rather if he did utter such an expression, that he suddenly invented it to give his men hopes of booty, knowing that would best excite them to bravery.

<sup>e</sup> *Annals of King James*.

<sup>f</sup> *Raleigh's Apology*, p. 31.

<sup>g</sup> *Raleigh's Remains*, (last edition) p. 178.

<sup>h</sup> *Howell's Letters*, 5th edition, p. 6.

<sup>i</sup> *Raleigh's Remains*, p. 176.



" his extraordinary valour and vigour of mind had not led them all on, it had never been at tempted, nor performed as it was, to his surviving honour : " having also observed, that " four of the best houses in the town belonged to refiners ; tho' he had seen no coin or bullion " but only a little plate ; " he adds, " Now I propose, God willing, to visit the mine, no " eight miles from the town ; sooner I could not go by reason of the murmurings, the discords " and vexations wherewith the serjeant-major is perpetually tormented." Concluding with these words : " I have sent your lordship a parcel of scatter'd papers, and reserve a cart-load ; one " roul of tobacco, one tortoise, with some oranges and lemons ; praying God to give you " strength and health of body, and a mind armed against all extremities. I rest ever to be " commanded, this 8th of January, 1617, your lordship's, *Keymis*." <sup>a</sup>

At Punta de Gallo.

INDEED *Raleigh* had need of those prayers, on his own part, at this time, not only in his sickness, but even in the intervals he had of recovery ; for here to give some account of him in this time of their separation, we may observe, that he lay with the five larger ships under himself, captain *John Pennington*, his vice-admiral, one of the most sufficient gentlemen for the sea, that *England* has, says he ; Sir *Warham St. Leger*, another valiant and worthy gentleman, Sir *John Ferne*, and captain *Chidley* of *Devon*, <sup>b</sup> mostly at *Punta de Gallo*, and other ports about *Trinidad*, no less than a hundred and fifty miles from the rest of his fleet, making the adventure up the *Oronoque*, yet in daily apprehensions of meeting with the *Spanish* armadas sent purposely to lay wait for and destroy him ; which it would probably have done, after the great sickness which had so much weakned his men, and under this disadvantageous division of his ships, but that the enemy luckily waited for him in a wrong place. Besides, it having been falsely rumour'd in his fleet, that he brought out of *England* twenty-two thousand broad-pieces of gold with him, some of his crew traiterously conspir'd to sail away, while he was gone ashore in his barge, to take views and make discoveries of the country, <sup>c</sup> which he was sometimes wont to do, as at *Terra de Brea*, or the *Pitch-land*, as he calls it, from the bitumenous substance which so remarkably issues there, as he has well describ'd ; and when he travers'd some woods to seek the trees that yield that precious *balsam* whereof he got a small quantity, which smelt like *angelica* ; <sup>d</sup> so to have left him a prey to famine, wild beasts, or the no less unmerciful *Spaniards*, by whom he might have been flea'd alive, as other *Englishmen*, who came but to traffick, had formerly been. Add to this the many provocations he received from the *Spaniards* who were in any of the ports where his men landed, only to exchange a few commodities for tobacco or other products of the country, not only by the most opprobrious language, but discharging sometimes a volley of twenty muskets at a time upon them, whereby Sir *John Ferne* had some of his men kill'd. <sup>e</sup> And lastly, the uneasiness he was continually in, that he could hear no tidings of the rest of his fleet thus detach'd upon the adventure. And tho' some *Indian* spies were brought to him in the beginning of *February*, by one of whom, who could speak the *Spanish* tongue, he was first inform'd, that the *English* in *Oronoque* were reported, by some *Tivitivas* he had spoken with, to have taken *St. Thome* and slain *Diego de Palameca* the governor, with captain *Erinetta*, and captain *John Rues* ; that the rest fled, and that two *English* captains were likewise kill'd : Tho' the same was soon after also asserted, with other particulars, by another *Indian* ; yet *Raleigh* would not set them down, till he knew the truth ; which afterwards endeavouring to compass of other *Indians*, said to have been at the taking of that town, whom he sent in pursuit of, they escaped, and he was not certified in the report, even near the middle of this month, for so far his own *Journal* extends. <sup>f</sup>

In the mean while *Keymis* made an attempt for the mine, and had set forward with captain *Thornburst*, Mr. *W. Herbert*, Sir *John Hamden* and others ; but at their first approach, near the bank where they intended to land, he received, from an ambuscade of *Spaniards* in the woods (who had probably gather'd there with expectation of his coming that way to the mine) a volley of shot, which slew two of his company, hurt six others, and wounded captain *Thornburst* so dangerously in the head, that he languish'd thereof three months after. <sup>g</sup> This blow first stagger'd the resolution of *Keymis*, who then, as he reflected more upon the state of their condition, was more over-power'd with doubts and discouragements ; insomuch that tho'

<sup>a</sup> Raleigh's *Apology*, p. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Raleigh's *Letter to Hincocod*, in his *Remains*, (last edit.) p. 171.

<sup>c</sup> Raleigh's *Apology*, p. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Raleigh's *Journal*.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>f</sup> This *Journal* of Raleigh's last voyage to *Guiana*, written with his own hand, consisting of seven sheets of paper,

tho' written mostly on one side, only with intention perhaps of enlarging some of the particulars afterwards, seems incomplete both at the beginning and the end : for it begins but at the 19th of *August*, when he set sail from *Cork*, and ends at the 13th of *February* 1617, before the rest of his fleet returned to him from the *Oronoque*. It is preserved in the *Cottonian* library, under *Titus*, B. VIII.

<sup>g</sup> Raleigh's *Apology*, p. 31, 32.



the *English* under him might have been informed of two or three mines more, besides this which *Keymis* had undertaken to lead them to, by a *Mulatto*, who had waited on the late governor in his chamber, and, as he has written in his letter beforemention'd, knew all things that concern'd his master.<sup>a</sup> This servant, afterwards, by no other means than courteous usage, discover'd the same to *Raleigh* himself; and not only the places where those mines lay, but more particularly, that two of them, gold ones, were in the possession of *Don Pedro Rodrigo de Parama*, and *Hermian Frontino*; and a silver one, in the possession of *Francisco Fasardo*; and that the cause of their remaining unwrought was, that they wanted *Negroes* to work them: for, by a law of *Charles* the emperor, the *Indians* could not be constrain'd, and the *Spaniards* neither would nor could endure the labour.<sup>b</sup> Yet did the *English* now decline all endeavour, either to be directed to these, tho' but few miles distant from the town, or proceed to possess that which *Keymis* was to conduct them to, tho' within a few hours march. Nay, when the ships were upon their return, and they had sailed down the river as far as the country of *Carapana*, one of the natural lords, who had reserved that part of *Guiana* to the late queen; and, having heard that the *English* had abandon'd *St. Thome*, and left no forces, as he hop'd they would have done, had sent a great canoo, laden with store of fruits and provisions, to the captains; also by one of his men, who had learn'd the *Spanish* tongue during his long slavery under the *Spaniards*, had offer'd them a rich gold mine in his own country, to engage their stay; further proffering to leave sufficient pledge for any *English* person they should send to examine it; and, when captain *Leak* with another of the company, named *Molineux*, offer'd themselves to go, the greater part nevertheless refus'd to suffer them. This declension of his offer, so heightned *Carapana's* desire to make it acceptable, that he sent again, leaving one of his men still aboard, who entreated to detain them but two days, and *Carapana* would himself, aged as he was, bring them a sample of the ore; who, tho' still rejected, and the ships under sail, yet sent once more a boat after them up to the mouth of the river, in hopes to the very last of retrieving them, as the said captain *Leak*, *Parker*, *Molineux*, and half a dozen officers more, are, by *Raleigh*, nominated to attest.<sup>c</sup> But the adventurers, among other dissuasives from all temptation to continue there any longer, harbour'd a notion that the *Spaniards* had secretly agreed with, and employ'd those *Indians* only to trepan the *English*; which appear'd but a weak and ill-grounded apprehension to *Raleigh*; for such treachery might have been easily prevented, had they waited the arrival of the old *Indian* chief, who would have brought the ore to their very ships. And what advantage in betraying them, says he, could there be, when the *Guianians* offered to leave hostages, six for one? Moreover, one of the *Indians*, whom the *English* found in fetters when they took *St. Thome*, and brought with them aboard, could have told them, that the very cassique, who sent to shew them the gold mine in his country, was unconquer'd and at enmity with the *Spaniard*; and could have assur'd them withal, that such mines were in that country possess'd by the said cassique.<sup>d</sup> But no intreaty or invitation would retain them, and so they return'd, about the middle of *February*, to *Punta de Gallo*, after the fleet had been thus divided, and they absent above two months from Sir *Walter Raleigh*, as himself has informed us;<sup>e</sup> whereby it appears, that the fleet united at, or very soon after, the time he discontinued his *Journal*; and it ap-  
The fleet united.

pears no-where in that *Journal*, that any inhuman offer was made to remove from *Punta de Gallo* to the *Charibes*, many leagues off, where he knew famine must over-take the land soldiers before they could over-take him, as his enemies suggested: <sup>f</sup> besides, he cleared himself in such a solemn manner of this aspersions at his death, as leaves not the least stain of cruelty any where but upon their characters who slander'd him with it.<sup>g</sup>

'Tis possible that *Keymis* might, at his first return, be favourably received, and as familiarly admitted to *Raleigh's* table as before; <sup>h</sup> for a disappointment of this consequence was not to be too readily broach'd on one side, nor reprehended on the other. Besides, as some mitigation of their ill success, and inducement to further hopes, *Keymis* produced two ingots of gold which had been reserved at *St. Thome*, as the king of *Spain's quinto*, or proportion; together with several other valuable spoils of the governor.<sup>i</sup> *Keymis* also brought with him a large quantity

<sup>a</sup> *Keymis's Letter to Raleigh*, in the said *Apology*, p. 33; and the *Apology*, p. 42, 43.

<sup>b</sup> *Idem*; and *Raleigh's letter to Winwood*, in his *Remains*, (last edit.) p. 174.

<sup>c</sup> See his *Apology*, p. 45.

<sup>d</sup> *Idem*, p. 46, &c.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* p. 41.

<sup>f</sup> In *King James's Declaration*, p. 36.

<sup>g</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's Answer* to some things at his death, at the end of his *Apology*, p. ult. also in his *Dying Speech*.

<sup>h</sup> *King James's Declaration*, p. 37.

<sup>i</sup> Among the rest, one, that was more curious in its nature, than costly in its materials; being only a bottle made of a *serpentine stone*; but it had a rare sovereign quality of giving any wine or water infus'd therein for twenty-four hours, the taste and operation of the *Spa water*, and to make the same of singular efficacy in expelling the gravel, and curing all disorders of the spleen; for which it was highly esteemed by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and, several years after his death, also by *Richard earl of Cork*; who, having been made acquainted, by Sir *Walter's*



His enterprize  
betray'd.

quantity of papers, letters, memorials, schemes, plans and maps found in the said governor's study; which gave some singular lights into the state and condition of *Spain*, with respect to many of the *American* plantations. Among these papers were found four letters, which plainly discover'd, not only *Raleigh's* whole enterprize to have been betray'd, but his life thereby put into the power of the *Spaniards* themselves; and by whom, even to the breaking of that peace, if any was broken, for which he was afterwards exclaim'd against. *Raleigh* himself has related: <sup>b</sup> for he thought this such black and cruel usage, that he forbore not, in a letter which he wrote, about a month after this time, from the isle of *St. Christopher's*, to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the secretary of state, to shew his sense of it in these words: "It pleased his majesty to value us at so little, as to command me, upon my allegiance, to set down under my hand, the country and the very river by which I was to enter it; to set down the number of my men, and burden of my ships, and what ordnance every ship carried; which being made known to the *Spanish* ambassador, and by him sent to the king of *Spain*, a dispatch was made and letters sent from *Madrid* before my departure out of the *Thames*." <sup>c</sup> By the contents of those *Spanish* letters it further appears, that three hundred *Spanish* soldiers, and ten pieces of ordnance, were commissioned to be sent from their respective garrisons against the adventurers up the *Orenoque*; that is, a hundred and fifty men from *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, under the command of captain *Antonio Musica*; and another hundred and fifty from *Puerto Rico*, to be conducted under *Francisco Zanchio*. There was also prepared an armada by sea, to set upon *Raleigh* himself and the ships with him; "by which, says he, we had not only been torn to pieces, but all those in the river had also perished, they being of no force for the sea fight; for we had resolved to have burnt by their sides, and to have died there, had the armada arriv'd; but, belike, they stay'd for us at *Margarita*, by which they knew we must pass towards the Indies." In another letter, which he wrote the next day from the same island to his wife, *Raleigh* says, "Never was poor man exposed to slaughter as I was." Then having related the particulars of the forces beforemention'd, sent to destroy him, through the communication of his scheme to the court of *Spain* by the *Spanish* ambassador, he concludes this part with these words: "It were too long to tell you how we were preserved; if I live, I shall make it known."<sup>d</sup>

BUT the indignation which *Raleigh* must have conceived at the sight of these letters, was not a little heightened, when he came to hear that *Keymis* had made no actual trial at the mine, and the reasons he gave for having relinquish'd it. He alledg'd indeed, that after the fallay of the *Spaniards* upon them from the woody banks, which had disabled several of his men at their first attempt to land, he began to consider, they had not then able men enough left to work the mine; tho' indeed, it lay not so deep, as to need all those pioneers and implements, which, in king *James's* Declaration, *Raleigh* is objected against for not carrying with him, as may appear by the first discovery of this mine, in the former part of these sheets. *Keymis* also argued, they had not men enough to keep this mine, tho' they should escape further danger in the difficult passage to it, which he feared much they should not; the *Spaniards* being more careful to preserve it, as was said, than the town; and the ways to it, *Aspera y Fragosa*, as *Raleigh* has observed; agreeable to that infertility and unaptness for cultivation, which *Acosta* and other naturalists, have describ'd in those grounds which are impregnate with such treasures. *Keymis* urged further, that they wanted sufficient provisions for the number remaining, having been much longer up the

page, with its virtues and value, performed several notable cures thereby, and at last made an acceptable present of it to Sir *Henry Wotton*, then provost of *Eton-College*, who was troubled with one, or both of those infirmities. See the earl of *Cork's* Letter to Sir *Henry Wotton*, in *Reliquie Wottonianæ*, 12mo. 1651, p. 497.

<sup>a</sup> The king of *Spain's* first letter, sent to *Guiana* by a bark of *Avila*, to arm the *Indians* against *Raleigh's* coming, was dated 19 March 1616, at *Madrid* (which letter, says *Raleigh*, in his to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, I have, here enclosed, sent you, the rest I reserve; not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not). The second of that king's was dated 2d of May 1617, sent also by a caravel to *Diego de Palameca*, governor of *Guiana*, *El Dorado* and *Trinidad*. The third of his majesty's, was sent by the bishop of *Puerto Rico*, and delivered to that governor the 15th of July following; and the fourth was sent from the farmer and secretary of his customs in the *Indies* at the same time. Thus *Raleigh's* letter to *Winwood* (from *St. Christopher's*) in his *Remains* (last edition) p. 172. compared with some manuscript copies of it in the *Harleian* library, &c. Others tell us, these advertisements and preparations were the cause of all the resistance that was made at *St. Thome*; that *Raleigh's*

whole design, under his own hand, was delivered by king *James* to *Gondomar*; and that his own letter (thereof to king *James*) was found in the governor of *St. Thome's* closet; which letter he brought back, and shewed to the lords of the council. See *Observations on Sanderfon's History*, p. 13. Thus also in the *State-Trials*, vol. 1. p. 219; and in Dr. *Wetwood's* *Memoirs*, it is said, *Raleigh's* plan, which king *James* promised to keep secret, was sent by *Gondomar* to *Spain*, and thence to the *Indies*, before *Raleigh* left the *Thames*; and the very original paper was found in the *Spanish* governor's closet.

<sup>b</sup> Tho' *Raleigh* has charged this matter of betraying him to the *Spaniards* in plain terms, both in his letter to the secretary of state, which follows as above, and in his *Apology*; one, or both of which king *James* had certainly read, it is yet observable, that this topic is not so much as touch'd upon in his majesty's Declaration, but entirely sunk in silence.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, from *St. Christopher's*, dated 21st of March 1617, printed in his *Remains* (the last edition) p. 172.

<sup>d</sup> See his Letter to his wife, in (the same edition of) his *Remains*, p. 179, &c.



river than they expected; and that they could not carry enough from the town up the mountain, their company being divided, the greater part, in the town itself, and those too weak to defend it. That he further found all regard to order and obedience broke through, as soon as captain *Raleigh* was dead; and feared the fatal news of his death, would either not find his sick father alive, or hasten his end: that to attempt the discovery, and fail through any of these discouragements, he thought would be more detrimental than wholly at this time to decline it: that to discover it for a pack of profligates and mutineers, was more than they deserv'd; and to discover it for *Raleigh* himself, not likely to live, and unpardon'd, was, as whisper'd in the company, for a man *non ens* in the law. Above all that, it would therefore be a greater error to find it for the *Spaniards*, than to pretend it could no where be found. Lastly, that these arguments, approved of by the majority, were confirmed by the alarm they received at the discovery of the letters (afore said) in the governor's closet; whereby they were led, every moment, to expect a fresh enforcement of the enemy against them from each end of the river; therefore separate as the fleet was, and not able to make resistance, they all agreed to return.<sup>a</sup>

HOWEVER specious these arguments, or some of them, might be, *Raleigh* was in no-wise pacified with them. He utterly disavowed the whole conduct of *Keymis* before several of his company, and the ignorance he had pretended to them; told him, that a blind man might have found the place, by the marks and directions himself had set down under his own hand; and that his care of losing more men in passing the woods was but feigned; for, after his son's death, it was known he had no care for any man surviving, and therefore, had he brought home but one hundred weight of ore, tho' with the loss of as many men, it would have given the king satisfaction, preserved his reputation, and encouraged a return the next year, with greater force, to have held the country for his majesty, to whom it belong'd; for the riches and fruitfulness whereof, himself had formerly so largely attested.<sup>c</sup> But since he had suffered his wilfulness, in spite of his knowledge, to defeat their whole undertaking, he should indeed be glad if *Keymis* could make those reasons, for not opening the mine, passable with the state, but that he himself could not justify the neglect. *Keymis* grew deeply discontented hereat, and continued so several days. "Afterwards he came to me in my cabin (says *Raleigh*) and shewed me a letter he had written to the earl of *Arundel*, excusing himself for not discovering of the mine, using the same arguments, and many others, which he had done before; and prayed me to allow thereof." But *Raleigh*, no way satisfied, declared, that as *Keymis* could plead no ignorance, he could admit of no excuse, being wounded in his credit with the king past all recovery, and that this could admit of no reparation. *Keymis*, seeing *Raleigh* resolved not to favour his folly, retir'd as one knowing not what course to take, yet expressing, perhaps, also some design of giving further satisfaction; "and went out of my cabin into his own," says *Raleigh*, where having shut himself in, *Raleigh* soon after heard a pistol go off, and sending up to know who discharg'd it, *Keymis* made answer, he fir'd it himself, because it had been long charg'd. About half an hour after, his boy going into his cabin, found him dead, with much blood by him, having a long knife thrust through his left pap into his heart, and his pistol lying by him; with which it appear'd, that he had shot himself, but the bullet being small, and having only crack'd a rib, he dispatch'd effectually with the knife.<sup>d</sup> And this, as I compute, happen'd about the latter end of *February* afore said, or perhaps the former part of *March*, because *Raleigh* mentions it in the letters he wrote this month into *England*, before refer'd to; therefore the death of *Keymis* could not happen in the following summer, as one author mistakes.<sup>e</sup> And whereas some had given it out, that *Keymis* slew himself through remorse that he had seduced and deluded so many gentlemen with an imaginary mine, *Raleigh* will not allow that to have been the cause; but ascribes it entirely to his own positive and passionate temper, and says, that "he would not have laid violent hands on himself for any

<sup>a</sup> The postscript of *Raleigh's* letter to his lady, from *St. Christopher's*, 12 *March*, in his *Remains* (last edition) p. 177, 178. Also his letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, *idem*, p. 181: and his *Apology*, p. 35, 36.

<sup>b</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>c</sup> *Keymis's Relation* of the second voyage to *Guiana*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. 3. fol. 683.

<sup>d</sup> The Letters in the *Remains*, afore said, p. 178, 181. And the *Apology*, p. 39. *James Howell* says, that captain *Keymis*, the main instrument for the discovery of the mine, pistol'd himself in a desperate mood of discontent in his cabin in the *Convertine*; which not being *Raleigh's* ship, would remove *Keymis's* death still further from all turne that he had any such foul play done him to prevent

telling of tales, as *Sanderfon* and other prejudiced writers have maliciously insinuated. The *Observer* on his *History* of king *James*, calls it a *bale aspersiō*; and *Sanderfon*, in his *Answer*, instead of producing any authority in his own justification, is for meddling no further with it; so refers to his *History*, as a matter too large to be interred again. But what entirely clears the affair, is king *James's Declaration*; for had there been the least shadow of suspicion that *Raleigh* had been any way concerned in *Keymis's* untimely end, we may be well persuaded, that *Declaration* would not have been silent thereof, which has amass'd and aggravated to many frivolous circumstances in this voyage against him.

<sup>e</sup> *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 1. col. 455.



“man’s opinion; nor when he did, adds *Raleigh*, could he have said unto me, that he was ignorant of the place, and knew of no such mine; for what cause had I then to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge?” Further urging, “that several captains,” whom *Raleigh* names, “might be put to their oaths, whether or no, *Keymis* did not confess to them, coming down the river, at a place where they cast anchor, that he could, from thence, have gone to the mine in two hours.”<sup>a</sup>

At St. Christopher’s

AFTER this accident it was determined, in a council of the officers, to make for *Newfoundland*, to repair and refresh their ships; but before, as well as after, they arriv’d there, great disorders arose: some took to courses of their own head, and ran away from him, as was before-mention’d; and many others proved so refractory and ungovernable, that, when he came to the isle of *St. Christopher’s*, he was forced, under the conduct of his cousin, Mr. *Herbert*, to ship them home. Of whom, tho’ he had shewed some uncommon generosity to some of them, he says, in the letter he wrote from thence to his wife on the 22d of *March*, “I know they will not spare to wound me;” and further declares, “There is never a base slave in all the fleet that hath taken the pains and care that I have done; that hath slept so little, and travell’d so much: my friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not.”<sup>b</sup> In another letter he sent from hence at the same time to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, he writes to the same sense, and further adds: “But these being gone, I shall, says he, be able, if I live, to keep the sea till the end of *August*, with some four reasonable good ships;” for to that number was his fleet now reduced. By the time here propos’d of continuing at sea, there might have now been thoughts of some course to qualify the misadventure of the mine, and enable them to re-attempt it; perhaps by some little trading voyages: but how probable that he should design any thing so far as the *East Indies*, or that with such small force he intended to go for the western islands, to attack the *Mexico* fleet, and surprise the carracks, as in the king’s *Declaration* is laid to *Raleigh’s* charge,<sup>d</sup> we shall leave for others to decide. ’Tis plain that nothing of this was put in practice; for when they came to *Newfoundland*, the company in his own ship fell to mutiny, and those who were for staying abroad, whom *Wilson* calls the major part, made *Raleigh* take an oath, says he, not to go home but by their allowance.<sup>e</sup> But the *Declaration* says, that the greater number were for returning to *England*; and that *Raleigh* getting on the sea bank, put it to the question; whereupon the voices divided *starboard* and *larboard*; and that when he perceived the greater number vote for their return, he went to that side and voted so too;<sup>f</sup> but manifestly to the hazard of his life was his voting on either side.<sup>g</sup> In the same *Declaration* we are further led to believe, he afterwards “offer’d his own ship, which was of great value, to his company, if they would only set him aboard a *French* bark, and that he made the same offer to some of his officers, when he was come back to *Ireland*, as not knowing how things would be construed, and being loth to put his head under the king’s girdle;”<sup>h</sup> but he did, and we shall see the consequence of it.

At Newfoundland.

By the time that *Raleigh* arrived on the coast of *Ireland*, the sacking of *St. Thome*, the firing of the town, and the slaughter of the *Spaniards* to the number of four or five hundred men, were largely descanted on by his enemies, as by his friends were his own more particular misfortunes in the long and dangerous sickness he had endured; his disappointment in the mine; the consumption of so much treasure; the loss of his gallant son; the violent end of his old servant captain *Keymis*; and above all, the general disorder, defection, and dispersion of his whole fleet. All together, it became not so much a national as a universal topic of discourse and attention; every one censuring or commiserating as their interest or affections mov’d. It is remember’d, by *Camden*, that captain *John North*, brother to the lord *North*, a valiant gentleman, and who was much esteemed by *Raleigh* for his faithful conduct under him throughout this voyage, was the first who related the deplorable news of this unfortunate expedition to king *James*, on the 13th of *May*, 1618.<sup>i</sup> He seems to have done it in a very just and pathetical manner; and it might have had a good effect, had that king’s pity been as easily touch’d as his fear. Among authors, some, who had been for registering this commission of

<sup>a</sup> *Raleigh’s Apology*, p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> The postscript of *Raleigh’s* letter to his lady, from *St. Christopher’s*, 22 *March*, in his *Remains* (last edition) p. 180.

<sup>c</sup> See his letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood* in those *Remains*, p. 182, which is but a postscript to his letter to the same person, printed page 169, and should have followed it as such at the end of page 175, as I find in a good old MS. copy of it; where it bears date from *St. Christopher’s*, one of the islands of the *Antillas*, *March* 21, 1617.

<sup>d</sup> Page 38.

<sup>e</sup> *Wilson’s History of King James*, in the *Complete History of England*, vol. 2, p. 713.

<sup>f</sup> The king’s *Declaration*, p. 39, 40.

<sup>g</sup> “If I had a purpose to have turned pirate, says *Raleigh*, why did I oppose myself against the greatest number of my company, and was thereby in danger to be slain or cast into the sea, because I refus’d it?” His *Apology*, p. 47.

<sup>h</sup> The *Declaration*, p. 38, 40.

<sup>i</sup> *Camden’s Annals of King James*.



king *James* with that granted by *Alphonso* king of *Naples* to *Bertram* his captive *Moor*, whom he entrusted both with his liberty, and a large sum of money to buy him some fine horses in *Barbary*, for which his jester gave him a prime place in his fool's chronicle; were now, upon the expectation of a return, ready, with the same jester, to blot out the king, and enroll the captive for a fool: but others look'd upon this action of *Ralegh's* in a nobler and more elevated light, and as what, for the integrity of acquitting his fiduciary pledges, was rather to be compared with the generous act of that brave *Roman* consul, *Attilius Regulus*; who, to keep his promise and his faith, returned to his enemies, the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been a prisoner; tho' he knew that he went to inevitable death.<sup>a</sup>

AND now the *Spanish* ambassador having, by special advertisements, gain'd the earliest intelligence of all that had passed at *Guiana*; and how, among the rest, his own kinsman, the governor, had been slain, broke into the king's presence in a turbulent manner, and bawling out for his majesty's audience, only of one word, assaulted him with the abrupt and repeated exclamation of *Piratas! Piratas! Piratas!* At last he found breath and words to enlarge upon the matter so effectually, as what tended not only to the infringement of his majesty's promise, but that happy union between the two crowns in their royal progeny, now the match between prince *Charles* and *Dona Maria*, with all the advantages it was pregnant with, was in such a hopeful degree of maturity, even to the involving of both nations in the most durable and dreadful hostilities, that the pacific king of *Great Britain* was ready to do any thing in the world to appease him, and hush it up. To this purpose, his royal proclamation was forthwith published on the 11th of *June*; setting forth, that "Whereas we gave liberty to Sir *Walter Ralegh* and others, to undertake a voyage to *Guiana*, where they had pretended a probability of discovering gold mines, &c. We did, by express limitation and caution, restrain and forbid them from attempting any act of hostility upon any territories or subjects of foreign princes with whom we are in amity; and more particularly, those of our dear brother the king of *Spain*, in respect of his dominions in that continent, which, notwithstanding, they have, by hostile invasion of the town of *St. Thome*, &c. broken and infring'd. We have therefore held fit to make publick declaration of our utter dislike and detestation of the said insolencies; and for the better detection and clearing up of the truth, we charge all our subjects, that have any understanding or notice thereof, to repair to any of our privy council, and make known their whole knowledge, that we may thereupon proceed to the exemplary punishment and coercion of all such as are found guilty of so scandalous and enormous outrages."<sup>b</sup>

THE next thing to be thought of was, a proper and plausible instrument for the apprehension of Sir *Walter Ralegh* when he should come ashore; such a one was Sir *Lewis Stucley* soon found to be (and not Sir *John*, as one writer erroneously christens him<sup>c</sup>) who was vice-admiral of *Devon* (not lieutenant of the *Tower*, as the same negligent author mistakes again.) One who, tho' *Ralegh's* countryman, and, as all others but *Stucley* say, his kinsman too, yet most officiously undertook that charge, through the sordid prospect of profit; "so unnatural," says *Wilson*, and servile is the spirit when it hath an allay of baseness; there being many others fitter for that employment."<sup>d</sup> However, his orders were to bring up this great malefactor in a fair and courteous manner, according to his majesty's gracious and mild course, as it is call'd in his *Declaration*. And tho' we are told, by one, otherwise misguided in his account of this expedition, by some distorted representations of it in those times, "That the world much wonder'd, so great a wise man as Sir *Walter Ralegh*, would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as it was fear'd he would;"<sup>e</sup> nevertheless, as we are assured, by captain *Samuel King*, an old officer of *Ralegh's*, who bore him company all this while, and has left us a particular *Narrative* of whatsoever occur'd in their journey from their landing now at *Plymouth*, to their final arrival at *London*, that he no sooner put into the harbour, and heard of the proclamation aforesaid against him, than he resolved to surrender himself voluntarily into his majesty's hands; and to that intent, both moor'd his ship and sent his sails ashore the first day he landed; which I take to have been in the beginning of *July*, and after he had been absent upon this voyage a full twelve-month. Moreover, tho' he soon met here with several discouraging reports also, concerning the *Spanish* ambassador's stay at *London* only for his coming up, to prosecute him, as my said manuscript author has

<sup>a</sup> *Howel's Letters*, vol. 1, p. 6; and vol. 2, p. 372.

<sup>b</sup> See *Rymers's Fæderæ*, tom. 17, fol. 92.

<sup>c</sup> *Aulius Coquinarie*, p. 94.

<sup>d</sup> Reign of king *James*, in the *Compleat History of England*, vol. 2, p. 713.

<sup>e</sup> *Howel's Letters*, vol. 1, p. 7.

<sup>f</sup> Captain *Samuel King's Narrative* of Sir *Walter Ralegh's Motives and Opportunities for conveying himself out of the Kingdom. With the Manner how he was betray'd.* MS. two sheets, fol. 1618, p. 2.



it; *Raleigh* still continued firm in that resolution. The said ambassador is, in some common memoirs, said to have been sent for over to *Spain* at this time; and in some again, that his commission was expir'd; but others think, that impatience to deliver the success of his negotiations spur'd him away, according to instruction, when he had got full assurance that *Raleigh* should be dispatch'd at some rate or other; whatever he could say for himself: for he departed for *Spain* three weeks before *Raleigh* came to *London*, having left the remainder of his business in the hands of some *espanioliz'd* partisans at court, whom he had made sure.

However,

\* Here, since we are to take our leave of this *Don Diego Sarmiento*, the following remarks upon him may not be thought very digressory, since they mostly tend to the further illustration of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* story. His first coming into *England*, tho' omitted by our imperfect historians of king *James's* reign, is remember'd, by Sir *John Finet*, in his *Observations touching Foreign Ambassadors*, to have been in 1613; being aged then, as I compute, from a date upon one of his pictures, 45 years. Therein he further appears with short, thin, black hair, of a tall, meagre stature, with a longish visage, and a close, austere aspect; which made his open and jocose humour so much more taking, that 'tis said, he could perfectly *rawish the heart* of our *Caledonian Solomon*, with the little jests, tales and fables he would so readily apply upon all occasions. In the author aforesaid, may be read this ambassador's wearisome scruples against the state's ambassador, Sir *Noell Carone*, about right-hand and left, upper-hand and lower, chairs and stools, with such like weighty and indispensable points of honour among these sovereign ministers. As to his carriage against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, it appears sufficiently above, in the body of this narrative. But if he was related to that *Don Pedro Sarmiento*, a famous sea commander, before mention'd to have been *Raleigh's* prisoner, that accident might somewhat sharpen the said ambassador against him; but much more this new one of *Diego de Palameca's* being slain at *St. Thome*, who was his near relation, as captain *King* tells us. However his persecution of *Raleigh* appears with so much fury and intemperance throughout, as little agrees with that dexterity of management or *circumvention* which *Osborne* calls the business of an ambassador; and for which, among other things, he thought this such an incomparable agent. But indeed, it may not argue great strength of abilities to carry a great sway in the orb of government, no more than great strength of sinews to remove huge bodies in that of matter, so much as the great weakness or sequacity of those elements wherein they are centred or supported; and, as an ingenious writer observes, the power of the almighty is often evidenc'd by the weakness of the very instrument. There needed not the monsters of *Africa* to correct the sins of the *Egyptians*, a swarm of locusts could do it, and vermin formed out of the very dust; and tho' a whole country were destroy'd by such, will you argue, says he, they must needs have had the craft of foxes or the courage of lions? Some have intimated, that the *Spanish* ambassador could not, with all his worrying and baiting of king *James*, prevail so effectually for the destruction of Sir *Walter Raleigh* (how easy and tempting soever it might be to trample over the fence that is already broken down) but that he was forced to belabour the point with *Spanish* gold, among those creatures who had the greatest influence at court. For, as one writes, "The bargain was made, and *Raleigh* was devoted for a sacrifice before they knew whether he was successful or not; and, if we may believe the accounts that are left upon record of that part of history, the king of *Spain* gave a good sum of money for his head. Some have gone so far, as to tell us who had the money, at least a good part of it. If this be true, the *English* court had in it, at that time, some of the most infamous people that were ever concern'd in any administration. As to those who reprove the king himself with it, I shall say no more than this, they ought to have been very sure of the truth of it, before they recorded a thing of a *British* king so much beneath the character of any monarch in the world, viz. to take money from an enemy for the blood of their own subjects, and of such subjects too as were most dangerous to the very enemy they were sold to; which is neither less nor more, than selling their own safety, as well as innocent blood." See *An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 8vo. 1719, p. 38. However it was, the *Spanish* ambassador seems to have left the *English* court well satisfied on the 16th, and embark'd for *Spain* on the 20th of *July* 1618, having first emptied all the prisons in *England* of *Romish* priests,

many of whom he carried with him home, further to grace his triumphs. Yet all true *Englishmen* conceived hopes that the late action under *Raleigh* at *Guiana*, and a tumult lately happening at the *Spanish* ambassador's house in *Barbican*, upon the murder of a boy, would frustrate the match. But this ambassador return'd to *England* in the beginning of *March* 1619, under pretence of pursuing that delusive negotiation, and was lodg'd, not without murmurs, at the bishop of *Ely's* house in *Holborne*. He was also trick'd out with titular honours, the usual reward of such services as his were; being newly made *Conde de Gondomar*, as Sir *John Finet* observes; otherwise, in the whole, not so substantially rewarded at home, as the slavish pains he took abroad to please his prince was thought to deserve. The train of his other titles may be read in a pamphlet, not long after his return, dedicated to him here, call'd *The Spanish English Roses or English Spanish Pomegranate*; by a most fulsome flatterer, named *Michael Du Val*, who has further bolster'd him out, as well as Sir *John Digby*, newly created baron of *Sherborne*, (another precious promoter of the match) with such extravagant additions of false honours, as both disparage and discredit those which were real. As for the pernicious practices of this *Spanish* ambassador in *England*, which might gain him those airy gratuities, they are unfolded in another tract, entitled *Vox Populi or News from Spain*; translated according to the *Spanish* copy; which may serve to forewarn both *England* and the *United Provinces* how far to trust to *Spanish* Pretences. Printed 4to. 1620, reprinted, thirty-nine years after, with the title of, *A choice Narrative of Count Gondomar's Transactions during his Embassy in England*; (in this edition, said to be) written by Sir *Robert Cotton*. The editor, *John Rowland*, had no other reason for ascribing it to this renowned antiquary than his having treasur'd it up in manuscript, and that he died heart-broken: whereas he was not so much as heart-grieved when the first edition was publish'd; tho' in the *Second Part*, hereafter mention'd, he is said to have made heavy complaint against *Gondomar*. Nevertheless, the said editor, *Rowland*, may have observed justly enough in his dedication of it to Sir *W. Pastons*, "That *Gondomar*, with his facetious words and gestures, could pipe king *James* asleep; that he did sometimes hold the helm himself, and was near running the ship aground, or to have split her upon the rocks: That the influence of his ill aspect, and eclipsing the sun beams, is hardly over unto this present age: That his successor, *Don Carlo Colonna*, was thought, by many judicious men, to be more prudent; and that *Gondomar* was but a buffoon compared to him." In the treatise itself, *Gondomar* is represented in a *Spanish* council lately held at *Avagen*, and delivering his chief services to have been, 1<sup>st</sup>, His working a dislike between king *James* and his *House of Commons*, persuading him to rule by his prerogative; and as for money, to furnish himself by the marriage with *Spain* and by domestick projects, without any subsidy: also that he hereby kept *England* from furnishing its navy. 2<sup>dly</sup>, His shewing only a colourable resistance of our *East-India* trade, as being rather hurtful than helpful to the state, by carrying out our solid treasures, and bringing home spice, silk, feathers and toys; besides wasting our mariners. 3<sup>dly</sup>, His opposing our *West-Indian* voyages most strenuously, as what would raise another *England* to withstand their *New Spain* in *America*; therefore that he cross'd all the undertakings for *Virginia* and the *Bermudas*, causing the recusants, who were sharers, to withdraw their ventures and discourage the work. 4<sup>thly</sup>, That by this means likewise, he kept the voluntary forces from *Venice*, till it was almost too late to succour them. 5<sup>thly</sup>, That he stickled hard for the *Cautionary Town*, which the late king *Philip* called the keys of the *Low-Countries*. And 6<sup>thly</sup>, That the last, and not the least service he did was, in overthrowing Sir *Walter Raleigh's* voyage, and pursuing him, "I need not say almost to death," says he, if all things *hit right* and *all strings hold*." Further, that his commission would not let him tarry to be a spectator of his execution, "which I desired the rather

(says



However, before he left *England*, an excellent letter seems to have been written by *Raleigh* in his own defence, and conveyed to the king; which, as we have it in print, runs thus: "May it please your most excellent majesty, If in my journey outward bound I had my men murder'd at the *Islands*, and yet spared to take revenge; if I did discharge some *Spanish* barks taken, without spoil; if I did forbear all parts of the *Spanish Indies*, wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns on the sea-coasts, and did only follow the enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where, without any directions from me, a *Spanish* village was burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the mine; by your majesty's favour, I find no reason why the *Spanish* ambassador should complain of me.

"If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder twenty-six *Englishmen*, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword; and it may not be lawful for

"(says he) that by concession, I might have wrung from the inconsiderate English an acknowledgement of my master's right in those places, punishing him for attempting there, tho' they might prescribe for the first foot. And this I did to stop their mouths hereafter, and because I would quench the heat and valour of that nation, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy as to look out at sea, or breathe upon our coast: and lastly, because I would bring to ignominious death that old pirate, who is one of the last, now living, bred under that *English Virago*, and by her flesh'd in our blood and ruin. To do this I had many agents; first, divers courtiers, who were hungry and gaped wide for *Spanish* gold: secondly, some who bore him at heart for inveterate quarrels: thirdly, some foreigners, who having in vain sought the *elixir* heretofore, hope to find it in his head: fourthly, all men of the *Romish* faith, who are of the *Spanish* faction, and would have been my blood-hounds to hunt him or any such to death willingly. And lastly, I left behind me such an instrument, compos'd artificially, of a secular understanding and a religious profession, as he is every way adapted to screw himself into the closet of the heart, and to work upon feminine levity, who in that country have masculine spirits, to command and pursue their plots unto death."

How much soever this may be called a fictitious speech, it is founded on such matters of fact, that *Rushworth*, and others of our most serious historians, have admitted the substance thereof as perfect history. The same year this pamphlet was first printed, there was written another, call'd *Vox Spiritus*, or *Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost*: being a Conference between *Sir Gondomar*, his majesty's ambassador of Spain; the Frier Confessor, and Father Baldwin the Jesuite, at Ely-House in Holborne, Nov. 20, 1620. For so I noted the true title to be, in a good old MS. copy of this conference, communicated to me, some time past, by Dr. Thomas Short, an eminent physician, at *Sheffield* in *Yorkshire*. It has lately been printed in *Phœnix Britannicus*, from another good copy in the library of a very worthy gentleman, under the title of *Protopopæia*: or *Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost*, &c. but dated as tho' written two years later, which is a mistake, as any one would soon find who is acquainted with the history of those times. The purpose of this tract is, further to disclose *Gondomar's* mischievous transactions in *England*; as how he lull'd and deceived king *James*, perverted some noblemen to the *Papish* religion, and corrupted the prelacy to a toleration of *Catholics*; how the navy was neglected; what money was expended upon one survey, to know in whose possession were the *abbey-lands*; how much a search cost of our harbours and havens; and how much to enumerate the well-affected to their religion: till the ghost of *Raleigh* rising, detects their devices under these five heads. 1. The propagation of the *Catholic* religion. 2. The exaltation of the pope's supremacy. 3. The glorification of the *Spanish* monarchy. 4. The extenuation of the *Low-Country's* glory. 5. The abuse of *England's* simplicity; and the whole, finally, to decry the match with the *Infanta*. In 1622, about *Easter*, *Gondomar* committed a gross *solecism* in politicks, by suffering his ungovernable passion so to expose his leiger honour, by striking *William Lithgow*, the *Scotch* traveller, whom he had long deceived with promises of reparation for the imprisonment, tortures, and robberies committed on him by the *Inquisition* at *Malaga*, as may be read in the book of his *Travels*; that the said ambassador got his ears soundly box'd by him before a numerous crowd of noble witnesses. "His *fistula*, says *Lithgow* (meaning, I think, his cane, tho' alluding to his disease) was contrabanded by a *fist*; and for victory, favour lent me authority." He was imprison'd for it nine weeks

in the *Marshalsea*; "whence I returned (says he) with more credit, than he left *England* with honesty." In June following, as *Camden* tells us, *Gondomar* was reported to be imprison'd in *Spain*, for so much promoting the match; and that the *Infanta* was to be marry'd to the grand duke of *Tuscany*. Two years after, came out *The second Part of Vox Populi*, or *Gondomar's appearing in the Likeness of a Machiavel in a Spanish Parliament*: wherein are discover'd his treacherous and subtle Practices to the Ruin as well of *England* as the *Netherlands*. Translated out of the *Spanish* copy: Printed at *Gorcum*, 4to. 1624. Dedicated to *Frederick* and *Elizabeth*, king and queen of *Bohemia*, and *Maurice*, prince of *Orange*, count of *Nassau*; by T. S. of V. alias *Thomas Scot*, as the late *Thomas Rawlinson*, Esq; was rightly of opinion; with pictures of *Gondomar*, his litter, and bottomless chair, &c. "Herein (says the author to one of those princes) you shall perceive the curtain drawn from before the *Spaniard*, that the world may, for certain, see he is not so beautiful as many of our *English*, who so long have doated on him, would make him to be; nor on the other side, so terrible that your *Dutch* need fear him, how grim soever he looks upon them." It would be too tedious to recite the particulars of his deluding and defrauding the *English* nation recorded in this pamphlet; how he wrested presents and pensions from the *Catholics*, no less than ten thousand pounds from *Sir Robert Cotton's* friends and acquaintance; and from several ladies great sums of money, to be repaid when *Dona Maria* arrived in *England*, or to prefer them at court under her; selling the place of groomes of the stole to six several ladies; and many other such like profound acts of policy. But above all, that his compassing the secret of *Sir Walter Raleigh's* voyage and transmitting it to *Spain*, and procuring his death, drew the special notice and thanks of his royal sovereign, as the crown and matter-piece of his negotiations. Much paper might be also employ'd in repeating the jests, stories, and sayings of this *Gondomar* while among us, which have been treasur'd up by some rare politicians of those times; in most of which he was more witty than wise, exposing in some his narrow spirit in matters of gratitude; and in others, frequently ridiculing the very religion he profess'd. Two years afterwards, the court was haunted with another pamphlet, call'd *Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost*; or *England's Forewarner*. Discovering a secret Consultation newly holden in the Court of *Spain*. Together with his tormenting of Count de *Gondomar*; and his strange Affrightment, Confession, and publick Recantation: laying open many Treacheries for the Subversion of *England*, &c. 4to. *Ulrich*, 1626: which I shall here say no more of having before quoted it in these sheets; nor of another book besides, call'd *Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost*; printed in 8vo. several years after; because written on a subject which concerns not this ambassador. We may refer *Gondomar's* disgrace in the *Spanish* court, with the sending over of his son by the king of *Spain*, a beggar of reward in king *Charles's* court, for the services of his father, to the honour of *Spanish* history; and conclude the little, of much that might be here said more of him, in the words of an observant contemporary; who relating how the hypocritical archbishop of *Spalato* was made away with by poison, &c. adds, "That the statesman *Gondomar*, was requited in like sort, notwithstanding all his services for the church of *Rome*, his sollicitations against *Sir Walter Raleigh*, his catechizing of *Spalato*, &c. For, by way of gratitude, he had, as is reported, given him a *Spanish* fig, or else, tho' ever a merry man, died at last for very grief." See *James Wadsworth's* further Observations of the *English Spanish Pilgrim*, concerning *Spain*, 4to. 1630, p. 28.

" your



“ your majesty’s subjects, being charged first by them, to repell force by force ; we may  
 “ justly say, O miserable *English* !

“ If *Parker* and *Mecham* took *Campeachy* and other places in the *Honduras*, seated in the  
 “ heart of the *Spanish Indies* ; burnt towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said  
 “ unto them at their return ; and myself, who forbore to look into the *Indies*, because I would  
 “ not offend, must be accus’d ; I may as justly say, O miserable *Raleigh* !

“ If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffer’d by sickness, and otherwise a world  
 “ of hardships ; if I have resisted with manifest hazard of my life, the robberies and spoils  
 “ with which my companions would have made me rich : if when I was poor, I could have  
 “ made myself rich : if when I had gotten my liberty, which all men and nature itself do  
 “ much prize, I voluntarily lost it : if when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again : if I  
 “ might elsewhere have sold my ship and goods, and put five or six thousand pounds in my  
 “ purse, and yet brought her into *England* ; I beseech your majesty to believe, that all this  
 “ I have done, because it should not be said, that your majesty had given liberty and trust to  
 “ a man, whose end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your majesty’s  
 “ trust.

“ My mutineers told me, that if I returned for *England* I should be undone ; but I be-  
 “ lieved in your majesty’s goodness, more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am the  
 “ first that being free and able to enrich myself, yet hath embraced poverty and peril ; and  
 “ as sure I am, that my example shall make me the last. But your majesty’s wisdom and  
 “ goodness I have made my judges ; who have ever been, and shall ever be, your majesty’s  
 “ most humble vassal, *Walter Raleigh*.” <sup>a</sup>

WHEN *Raleigh* had settled his affairs in the west of *England* he began his journey for *Lon-*  
*don*, pursuant to his first resolution : but before he came to *Ashburton*, twenty miles from  
*Plymouth*, he was met by Sir *Lewis Stucley* ; who said, “ he had orders for arresting him and  
 “ his ship.” *Raleigh* answer’d, “ he had saved him the labour, and done it to his hands.”  
 And tho’ at that time *Stucley* had no warrant, as our MS. author aforesaid goes on, for such arrest,  
 either from the king, or the lords of the council, “ for it seems that his haste was so great,  
 “ and his heart so set upon some supposed purchase, that he could not stay for a warrant ;”  
 yet *Raleigh*, being told by him, that he had such a verbal commission from the secretary, did  
 in no wise resist even that authority. So they went back together to *Plymouth*, and lay at  
 Sir *Christopher Harris* his house ; where Sir *Walter Raleigh* was so little watch’d, that he was  
 sometimes two or three days without seeing Sir *Lewis Stucley*. And *Raleigh* himself says, that  
*Stucley* left him nine or ten days to go where he listed, while he rode about the country. <sup>c</sup> How-  
 ever, as we learn from captain *King*, it did, at last, come into *Raleigh*’s mind (whether upon  
 some private advices, how insuperably the prejudice of his enemies was working against him ;  
 or any suggestions of his own, how he might work a reconciliation more successfully from  
 abroad, it is not said, but contrive he did) to convey himself out of the kingdom. There-  
 fore, while they were at *Plymouth*, he employ’d our author, the said captain *King* to provide  
 him a bark that would carry him over into *France*. King *James*’s Declaration says, *Raleigh* dealt  
 for a bark, as for a friend, and proffered twelve crowns for the passage : <sup>d</sup> *Stucley* says, he  
 dealt with two captains of *French* barks : <sup>e</sup> the Declaration says, *Raleigh* was then under no  
 guard, and *Stucley*, that he was then under his keeping. But leaving these inconformities to  
 others, I here follow captain *King*, who informs us, that himself procur’d the vessel, which is  
 most likely, and that he detain’d it nigh four days, riding at anchor beyond command of the  
 fort. The first night, about one of the clock, they secretly took boat to have gone aboard,  
 but before they reach’d the bark, *Raleigh*, whether through some more prevailing thought  
 that might arise of a generous reliance upon the king, or a more confident dependance upon  
 the justice of his cause, or for any thing he left behind, or would have first left either in  
 writing or otherwise, does not yet appear ; but certain it is he changed his resolution, and  
 returned to his lodging unsuspected by any one. The next day, he sent money to the master  
 of the bark, to retain him one night more ; and yet *Raleigh* never went nigh him  
 afterwards.

It has been objected, as captain *King* goes on, (who does not say by whom, but I find it  
 in the king’s Declaration <sup>f</sup>) that *Raleigh* was obliged to return, because the night was so dark

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh* to king *James*, after his return  
 from *Guiana* ; printed in his *Remains*, and compared  
 with some manuscript copies.

<sup>b</sup> Captain *King*’s Narrative, &c. MS. as before.

<sup>c</sup> *Idem*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*’s Dying Speech.

<sup>d</sup> The Declaration, p. 41, 42.

<sup>e</sup> *Stucley*’s Petition and Information, &c. p. 5, 6.

<sup>f</sup> King *James*’s Declaration, p. 42.



that he could not find the vessel: "but I (says the captain) who was with him, will take my oath, that if he had been only willing to have rowed a quarter of a mile further, he might have seen her. Besides, if that night would not have served, one of the other three would, the wind being fair, and the tide falling out conveniently.

AFTER this, says captain King, *Stucley* received a warrant to bring up *Sir Walter Raleigh*, but with no more speed than his health would permit; and he took to his assistance, one *Manourie*, a French quack, "upon what occasion (says King) I here willingly omit, as well because I would not meddle with any *instrument of state*, as because I, little suspecting what followed, was somewhat careless in the observance of their carriage."

IN their journey they baited and lodg'd at divers gentlemen's houses of *Raleigh's* acquaintance upon the road, from some of whom hearing, more distinctly the nearer he approach'd it, what a storm his enemies had brew'd at court, he began to regret his having neglected the opportunity he had at *Plymouth* of retiring; which he discoursed of to his lady and to me, says captain King, who told him, "He could blame none but himself." But after that peremptory warrant which a pursuivant brought down for the speedy bringing up of his person, he began again to meditate upon a retreat; tho', as he grew more desirous, it grew more difficult. Therefore, when he had made such inland advancement on his journey as to have no means left that would favour him by water, "He once more employed me (says captain King) who was always ready to do any thing that might procure his safety; being well assur'd in my own conscience, tho' he sought to absent himself till the Spanish fury was over; yet, as he always said, *That no misery should make him disloyal to his king or country*. And altho' *Manourie*, in his Declaration, sets down that *Sir Walter Raleigh* should, to him in private, speak ill of his majesty; yet I must protest till my last hour, that in all the years I followed him, I never heard him name his majesty but with reverence: I am sorry the assertion of that man should prevail so much against the dead."

The particulars of captain King's employment for this second escape, we shall respite a while, to make way for those, which, according to the due course of time, must now be recur'd to out of that *Frenchman's Declaration*, as captain King calls it above, and shall do it with such justice as not to omit or disguise any of the ill words, against his majesty, ascribed to *Raleigh* therein. But can only do it from that which was suffer'd to appear after *Raleigh's* death, annexed to king *James's Declaration*; and thereby chuse rather to hazard a trespass upon the patience of some readers, who may think it a detail of improbable, at least insignificant objections, than incur the censure of partiality from others in omitting it; since king *James*, and consequently his council, thought it would pass for matter of such importance, by their making it so great a part of what was hoped would justify his proceedings against *Raleigh*; and of such authority, as to need no other evidence: not that it is there too expressively or positively call'd *Manourie's Declaration*, or his confession or examination upon oath, but by a pretty, light, pliable phrase, 'tis said, "The story himself reporteth to have pass'd in this manner."

UPON Saturday, the 25th of July, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, *Sir Lewis Stucley*, and the said *Manourie* went to lie at Mr. *Drake's*, where the letters of commission from the privy council were brought to *Sir Lewis Stucley*, and that *Raleigh* hereat changing countenance, exclaimed with an oath, *Is it possible my fortune should return upon me thus again?* This hastening their departure, they advanc'd on Sunday morning nearer to London about four miles, and baited at Mr. *Horsey's*. That here *Raleigh* first caus'd *Manourie* to be sounded what was in his heart (suspecting, apparently, that he was designed as a spy over him) by his old domestick, captain King; who, discoursing *Manourie* upon *Raleigh's* calamities, said, *I wish we were all at Paris*. *Manourie* answer'd, *I would we were all at London; what should we do at Paris?* Because, said King, as soon as we come to London, they will commit *Sir Walter* to the Tower, and cut off his head. *Manourie* said, he hoped better things, and that, according to his ability, he was ready to do him all honest service. After dinner they set forward for *Sherborne*; and here *Raleigh* is said to tell *Manourie*, *All that was his, and the king had unjustly taken it from him*. *Manourie*, and *Raleigh's* retinue lay in the town that night; but *Raleigh* himself and *Stucley*, at old Mr. *Parbam's*. On Monday they got to *Salisbury*, where, as *Raleigh* was walking on foot down the hill, and had found, by enquiry, that *Manourie* had got some physick about him, he desired him to prepare a vomit against morning. "For I know," said he, (as he is here represented, with a surprising faith already in such a man) "'twill be good to evacuate bad humours; and by this means, I shall gain time to work my friends, order my affairs, and perhaps pacify his majesty: otherwise, as soon as I come to London, they'll have me to the Tower, and cut off my head, which I cannot escape without coun-



"interfering sickness, which your vomits will effect without suspicion." Accordingly that, at *Salisbury*, he complained of a dimness of sight, with a dizziness in his head; and, when he was conducted towards his chamber, that he stagger'd, and struck himself with such violence against a pillar in the gallery, as made *Stucley* think he was sick indeed; and in that belief, *Manourie* left him for that time. On Tuesday morning, *Raleigh* sent his lady with the greatest number of his servants forwards to *London*; and now it was he also sent captain *King* thither, on the expedition aforesaid (whom we shall meet with there, prepared for the same, as soon as *Manourie* is brought to an end of this same story.) Then comes a servant of *Raleigh*'s, into *Stucley*'s chamber, and declares his master was out of his wits, that he left him in his shirt, upon all four, scratching and gnawing the rushes on the planks. *Stucley* sent *Manourie*, who found him in bed; and asking "what he ail'd?" he answer'd, "Nothing; but that he did it on purpose." That then *Raleigh* asked for the vomit, and took it without any hesitation. At *Stucley*'s entrance, that he fell a raving; and, before his vomit operated, had such strong convulsions upon him, that *Stucley*, and all the help he could get, were not strong enough to prevent the contraction of his sinews as fast as the company could draw them straight, insomuch that *Stucley* caused him to be chaf'd and fomented, but that *Raleigh*, truly, afterwards laugh'd at it to *Manourie*, and said (such a confident is he now grown!) *he had made Stucley a perfect physician.*

In the next place, *Raleigh* must be observed to take some repose; so *Manourie* is shut into the room with him, and having dissuaded him from a more violent vomit, because his first did not yet work, *Raleigh* ask'd, if he knew not of some preparation which would make him look ghastly and irksome outwardly, and not affect the vitals, or make him inwardly sick. After a pause, *Manourie* assur'd him he could furnish him with a harmless ointment, which would yet soon make him all over like a leper. "Whereby, we are told, *Raleigh* said, "the lords would be afraid to approach him, and that it would move their pity besides." Soon after he had been thus anointed on the brows, arms and breast, the blisters rose so successfully, and so soon ripen'd to their full discolourations, that *Stucley*, at his next visit, perceiving *Raleigh*'s body all broke out in purple spots with yellow heads, and the rest of his skin so inflamed with heat, concluded he was struck over with the plague, and that it was highly contagious. But asking *Manourie*'s opinion, he truly concealed all, for that, as yet, he knew nothing of *Raleigh*'s intended flight; but thought it was only to gain time to satisfy his majesty. However, away went *Stucley* to the grave bishop *Andrewes*, then upon the point of his translation to *Winchester*, and soon made known what a frightful figure Sir *Walter Raleigh* was become; described all the tokens upon him, and, in the end, return'd with two doctors, and one batchelor of physick. All their skill could not enlighten them with one spark of knowledge in the nature of his distemper; but they gave their opinion in writing, that the patient could not be removed into the air without manifest hazard of his life; and *Manourie* set his hand to it.

HERE, *Raleigh* is describ'd to have been much delighted that matters went on so prosperously, especially that the vomit worked so thoroughly in the presence of these learned doctors. But having apprehended they would inspect his water, he directed *Manourie* to rub the urinal with a certain drug, which turned all to such a dismal colour, and such a disagreeable scent, that if heaven did not prescribe, the patient must perish; for nothing could the physicians do but pronounce the disease mortal. Further, that he then made *Manourie* bind his arm about with the black silk ribband which he took from his poniard; but that not distempering his pulse agreeable to expectation, he had more blisters raised the next day. By this time his physick having opened his stomach and made him hungry, he got *Manourie* secretly to buy a leg of mutton and three loaves, which he fed upon in private, and by this subtilty, was thought to have fasted three days, that is to Friday the last of July, ever feigning great indisposition and uneasiness in company; but when alone, for to get the opportunity of being so was the chief source of all the artifice he did here really put in practice, he wrote his declaration or *Apology*, and is said to have got *Manourie* to make him a transcript of it; which was, as the penman of this story further says, since presented to his majesty. But by an expression of that ambiguity and latitude, whether we are designed to understand it was before or after *Raleigh*'s death; that penman, intelligent enough in other parts of *Manourie*'s said story, and the rest of the king's Declaration (for they were both of them visibly cast in one mould) might think it not necessary to be so here. It was surely a most vexatious stratagem, that *Raleigh* should unexpectedly make such a provoking vindication of his voyage, and thereby defeat the preparations that were



were making to cut him off for it: but however it may, in the opinion of posterity, have cleared his innocence; among his contemporaries, it could not secure his safety.

THE same night, as the story goes on, apparently to raise inflammations beyond his own person, he insinuated to *Stucley*, that he thought he had taken poison at Mr. *Parham's*, for that he was a *Papist*, and kept a priest in his house; but desired, and particularly to *Monsieur*, that it might not be spoken of. A while after, being in his bed-chamber undress'd, and no body present but his friend *Manourie*, he is said to have taken a looking-glass in his hand to admire his spotted face, and to have merrily observed to his said confidant, *how they should one day laugh for having thus cozen'd the king, council, physicians, and Spaniards and all.*

ON the first of *August*, being the day that the king arrived in his progress at *Salisbury*, *Raleigh* is said to have taken *Manourie* in private, and having open'd a red leather trunk, put into his hand nine pieces of *Spanish* gold, saying, "There is twenty crowns in pistolets, which I give you for your physical receipts, and the victuals you bought me: and I will give you fifty pounds a year if you will do what I tell you: and if Sir *Lewis Stucley* asks what conference you have had with me, tell him that you comfort me in my adversity, and that I make you no other answer than what is here written," giving him a piece of paper containing these words, "*Ve la, M. Manourie, l'acceptance de tous mes travaux; perte de mon estate, et de mon fils; mes maladies et douleurs: Ve la, c'effet de ma confiance au roy.*"<sup>b</sup> Which paper of *Raleigh's* own hand-writing, was afterwards produced by *Manourie*.

AND now *Raleigh* is pretended to practise more unreservedly still about the escape with *Manourie*, as being all in his power to aid him, and he the only person trusted by *Stucley*. Whereupon he proposes, that *Raleigh*, at his coming to *London*, should lie *perdue* at a friend of *Manourie's* in *Shire-Lane*, which did not long engage his approbation, for *Raleigh* resolved otherwise; telling this only person trusted by *Stucley* (through an incredible profuseness of communication) "that he had sent captain *King* to hire him a bark below *Gravesend*, which would go with all winds, and another little boat to carry him to it." Adding, that "to hide himself in *London*, he should be always apprehensive of a discovery by the general searchers that are there; but that to escape, he must get leave to go to his own house, and being there, he would so handle the matter as to slip from *Stucley* through a back-door into the boat with ease; for no body would dream he could go on foot, seeing him so feeble as he seemed to be." Then that *Manourie* should say, "Why would you fly? your *Apology* and your last declaration, do they not sufficiently justify you?" and that *Raleigh* should silence him with, "Tell me no more; a man that fears, is never secure."

IN the next place, *Raleigh* is said to have procur'd the king's licence to be at his own house when he should come to *London*: and that when *Manourie* hereupon observed, his majesty seemed not inclin'd to take away his life, since he suffer'd him to repair to his own habitation for the recovery of his health; that *Raleigh* should reply, "They used all these kinds of flatteries to the duke of *Biron*, to draw him fairly into prison, and then they cut off his head." Adding, "I know they have concluded among them, it is expedient that a man should die to re-assure the traffick which I have broken with *Spain*." Thereupon, says our story, he broke forth into the most hateful and traitorous words against the king's own person (but it surprisingly

<sup>a</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh's *Apology for his Voyage to Guiana*, was not publish'd, that I can find, before 1650, and then commonly annexed to his *Select Essays*, printed in 8vo. the same year, where it contains 58 pages. But in *Henry Hexam's Tongue-Combat between two Soldiers in the Gravesend Tilt-boar*, 4to. 1623, p. 75, &c. it is quoted as a piece then well known, in manuscript at least, if not in print. And T. Chalonier must have had a knowledge of this *Apology*, or of *Raleigh's Journal*, when among the verses prefix'd to T. Gage's *Survey of the West-Indies*, Fol. 1648, he said,

Renowned *Raleigh* twice did undertake  
With labour great, and dangers not a few,  
A true discovery of these parts to make,  
And thereof wrote both what he saw and knew.

This *Apology* was afterwards reprinted with the *Essays* abovemention'd in 1667. And again with the *Abridgement of Raleigh's History of the World*, 8vo. 1700. But neither of the printed editions is so correct, in names, places, numbers, &c. as some manuscripts, in being, might probably have render'd them; particularly one copy presented to the library of St. John's college, Cambridge, by the learned and reverend Mr. Thomas Baker; containing 22 pages in a small hand, folio. This is dated two days after *Raleigh's* death, and sent by way of

letter, from one who had long somewhat inwardly known him, to a friend; which particular we have not in the printed copies; but it begins as those in print do, with these words, *If ill success of this enterprize of mine had been without example, &c.* There is also a good old copy or two of this *Apology* among Sir Hans Sloane's MS. collections, mark'd, in his library, A. 271, and B. 521. Other manuscripts there are also of it in other libraries of the learned. As to the character of it, no more need be said than in captain *King's* words, where he "refers those who would be satisfied about this voyage, to an *Apology* written by *Raleigh* himself, in which he hath faithfully and truly set down (says he) all the passages thereof."

<sup>b</sup> As much as to say, "Behold there, M. *Manourie*, the fruit of all my toils; the loss of my fortune and of my son, the sickness I have endured and the sorrows: behold there, the effect of that faith I reposed in his majesty." But behold where? —for that *ve la* or *voila*, repeated as it is, plainly points at some more copious or convincing evidence which accompanied this expression, and more particularly demonstrated those losses and afflictions to have been the fruit of *Raleigh's* trust or faith in the king; to which these words appear but a bare direction; and which therefore seems here to have been suppress'd.



omits them all to object only his) ending with this improbable rant, "that if he could but save himself for this time, he would plot such *Plots* as should make the king think himself happy to send for him again, and restore him to his estate with advantage; yea, and would force the king of *Spain* to write into *England* in his favour."

NAY, when *Manourie* (as we are further persuaded) shewed such care and concern for *Stucley* as to ask, what would become of him if *Raleigh* escap'd? Whether he would be put to death, or lose his office and estate? *Raleigh* is said to answer, "Not to death; but he would be imprison'd for a while, yet his lands were assured to his eldest son, and for the rest it was no part of his care." Then *Manourie* asks, if it were not treason in himself to be aiding to his escape? "No; answers *Raleigh*, you are a foreigner. However, if you pretend to know any thing, they'll put you in prison." "But what if I am discover'd to have a hand in your escape?" says t'other. "Why follow me into *France*, your own country, replies *Raleigh*; quit all and I will make amends for all."

As they travell'd, between *Andover* and *Stains*, *Manourie*, as this story that is ascrib'd to him acknowledges, discovered *Raleigh's* intended escape to *Stucley*, who thenceforth used extraordinary diligence in guards and watches upon him, which *Raleigh* perceiving, as it is also own'd, nevertheless trusts *Manourie* with a new proposal at *Stains* in these words; "I see it is not possible to escape by our two means alone, *Stucley* is so watchful, and sets such strict guard upon me, and will be too hard for us with all our cunning; therefore there is no way but to make him of our council; and if we can persuade him to let me save myself, I will give him in hand the worth of two hundred pounds sterling." Upon these words, he drew forth and shewed *Manourie* a jewel made in the fashion of hail, powder'd with diamonds, having a ruby in the middle, valued at a hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and putting it into his hands said, "Besides this jewel, he shall have fifty pounds in money: pray tell him as much from me, and persuade him to it, I know he will trust you."

THIS overture being made by *Manourie*, *Stucley*, after some parley, sent back word by him to *Raleigh*, "that he would accept of his offer, and bad him tell *Raleigh* he was content to do as he had desired: but would chuse rather to go with him than tarry behind with shame and reproach;" directing *Manourie* further to ask, "how this could be done without losing his office of vice-admiral, which cost him six hundred pounds; also to what place they should go, how they should live afterwards, and what means he would carry with him to furnish this intended escape?" *Raleigh* obviates all this with praying him to tell *Stucley*, "that if he would swear unto him not to discover him, he would tell him his whole intent; and that for the first point, tho' *Stucley* were to lose his office, he should yet be no loser; that as soon as he was got into *France* or *Holland*, his wife was to send him a thousand pounds; and that he should carry with him only a thousand crowns in money and jewels to serve at present." After supper, *Raleigh* is further represented so open, so contrary to all his former character, and beyond all manner of belief, as to say, "O if I could escape without *Stucley*, I should do bravely; but its no matter, I'll carry him along, and afterwards dispatch myself of him well enough." Then *Manourie* having apprised *Stucley* of all that pass'd, brought them together. *Raleigh* shewed the jewel, and, probably, deliver'd it, for *Stucley* shewed himself content, and it was probably upon the acceptance of it, but desired a little respite to dispose of his office. *Manourie*, having thus seen the agreement made, took his leave of them for *London* (the part design'd for him ending here) after having said to *Raleigh*, "he did not think of seeing him again, while he was in *England*." *Raleigh*, at parting, gave him, by a letter to a person at *Radford*, an iron furnace, with a distillatory of copper belonging to it; and charged him "to tell every body he met, how sick he was, and that he left him in an extreme looseness that very night."

BUT as *Raleigh* had dispatch'd captain *King* to *London* with instructions to be in readiness for him, he kept moving on; when there fell out an accident which gave him fresh hopes to facilitate his escape. For when he came to his inn at *Brentford*, he was met by a *Frenchman*, named *La Chesnay*, a follower of *Le Clerc*, agent from the *French* king; who told *Raleigh*, the said *French* agent was very desirous to speak with him, as soon as he got to *London*, about some affairs which highly concerned his safety. Accordingly the next night after *Raleigh* was at *London*, the said *Le Clerc* and *La Chesnay* came to visit him at his house: and there *Le Clerc* offer'd him a *French* bark, which he had prepared for him to escape in; and withal, his letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception, to the governor of *Calais*; and to send a gentleman expressly that should attend and meet him there. But *Raleigh* understanding the *French* bark not to be so ready nor so fit as that he had already proposed for himself,



himself, gave him thanks, and told him, that he would make use of his own bark, but for his letters, and the rest of his offer, that he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in *France* was worn out. <sup>a</sup> With this passage, and a word or two only of *Raleigh's* attempt to escape, after he came to *London*, it not being thought proper here to expatiate upon the arts used in betraying it, ends the tedious fardel of objections accumulated to render him unworthy of mercy in the king's *Declaration*, and the story ascribed to the obscure *Frenchman* afore-said in it, but unconfirmed by any affidavit or evidence upon oath, which, in other such cases, have been thought necessary vouchers: therefore how far to be call'd heinous offences, acts of hostility, depredations, abuses of his charge, impostures and declensions of justice, the reader may now first give his own judgment, and then compare it with what has been before said of these accusations by others. <sup>b</sup>

AND now comes on the remainder of captain *King's Narrative*; wherein he tells us, that from *Salisbury* he was sent before to *London* to provide a boat, and to lay her as low as *Tilbury*; and that he was also advis'd to put one *Cotterell* in trust, who had been *Raleigh's* servant, for the provision of a wherry. As soon as *King* came to *London*, he dealt with *Cotterell*, who seemed as willing to do *Sir Walter Raleigh* service as himself; but telling him of one *Hart*, who had been boatswain to the said captain's ship, and had a *ketch* of his own; with him the captain therefore agreed, and gave him money to get it in readiness, having vowed secrecy upon the reward which the captain further promised him. But he had no sooner received the *thirty pieces of silver* than he betray'd the design to Mr. *William Herbert*, who as suddenly made it known; but *King* not suspecting any discovery, still fed *Hart* with money to keep the *ketch* at *Tilbury*.

<sup>a</sup> *Raleigh* might say this to get his recommendation the stronger, but indeed his fame was now in high request at the *French* court. For one of the noblest scholars in *France*, *Nicholas Claudius Fabricius*, lord of *Peirefsk*, writing, soon after, a letter over to *Camden*, concludes it with these words, *J'ay eu un grand desplaisir d'entendre le mauvais succès de la navigation de my lord Rallé; parce que c'est un personnage, dont la valeur et le mérite font en grande recommandation: s'il se fait aucune relation de son voyage, je seray bien aise de la voir.* *Camdeni Epistolæ*, 2<sup>o</sup>. 1691, p. 243. The original of this letter, written by the said *Peirefskus* to *Camden*, is preserv'd in the *Cotton* library.

As for that negotiation of this *French* agent with *Sir Walter Raleigh* after he arrived at *London*, to remove him from those who thirsted after his blood, into the protection of a state which better knew how to value his great accomplishments, it was not so closely manag'd by them, but it took wind at court, insomuch that *Monsieur de la Chesnaye* was brought to an examination before the lords, and having confess'd his being employ'd by *Le Clerc* in the design of conveying *Sir Walter Raleigh* to *France*, he was, in *September* following, committed to a justice of peace's house in the nature of a close prisoner. *Le Clerc* was also cited to appear before the council. And here, through those eternal peccadillos which are ever brambling the course of embassies, arose a dispute, which however justifiably it might be maintain'd by the said *French* ambassador, seems yet to have added some fuel to the fire of indignation already kindled against *Sir Walter Raleigh*. For *Le Clerc* declar'd, he would continue dumb to all their interrogatories till he should be us'd with that distinction which others, qualified as he was, had before been. Instancing, that *Sir W. Becher*, then agent for *King James* in *France*, had, at an audience before the council of state, claimed the right, in honour of his representative quality, of not propounding his business till the lords of the council should stand up as he did, and be uncover'd as he was: for, being in that place ambassador, he should be allowed to sit and be cover'd, as the counsellors were at the time of their audience. This, *Le Clerc* affirmed, had been yielded to by the king his master's counsellors, and therefore he challeng'd the like respect from their lordships. The lords answer'd, that different countries had their different forms of treaty; and that the manner of proceeding in *France*, was no rule for ours in *England*. But *Le Clerc* persisted inflexibly in his right to this privilege. Then the lords, neither to comply with his demand, nor constrain his resolution, determin'd to lay aside all form or ceremony, by retiring, promiscuously, into another room, no ways affected with the observances of the council-chamber, and there to discourse over his transactions in favour of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, as a matter of private and indifferent conversation. Here *Le Clerc* made many solemn protestations that he knew nothing at all of the matter, till at length, after the confrontment of *Le Chesnaye*, and his

re-confession of their employment for *Sir Walter Raleigh's* escape, *Le Clerc* could no longer face it out, but confess'd it likewise himself. *King James* being informed thereof, *Le Clerc* had notice given him by the lords, to forbear all further exercise of his charge, and not to appear at court, till it should be known, by the return of a messenger they had sent express to *France*, whether the king his master would herein avow his minister's actions. This was on, or not long after, the 17th of *September*; soon after *Sir W. Becher* was confin'd to his house in *France*; and about a month after, a dispatch came over to *Le Clerc* with particular charge to deliver it himself into *King James's* own hand, to try if he could by that means, recover himself again at court. Away posted *Le Clerc* to *Royston*, where the king then was, and offering, himself to present the letters, could gain no admission; but being refer'd to the lords in waiting, he said, he would either personally, according to his instructions, or not at all, perform that service. So he returned to *London*, and from thence, in a few days, or about a week before *Sir Walter Raleigh's* death, to *France*, with his letters undeliver'd; and the revocation of the *English* agent thereupon ensued. See *Camden's Annals of King James*; but chiefly *Finetti Philoxenis*: or choice *Observations of Sir John Finet, Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, touching the Reception, Precedence, Treatment, Audience, Puntilios and Conteſts of foreign Ambassadors in England*, 8vo. 1656, p. 56. Also *L' Ambassadeur, et ses Fonctions, par Monsieur de Wiquetfort*, 4<sup>o</sup>. 1690, tom. 1. p. 397. where, tho' he says, *La cour de France auroit bien voulu maintenir son ministre*; yet that after *Monsieur Le Clerc* returned to *France*, *il ne fut pas fort considéré depuis ce temps là*. Such the fate of unsuccessful service!

<sup>b</sup> Upon the great murmurs and discontent among the people, which so generally arose at the putting of *Sir Walter Raleigh* to death, insomuch that, tho' one of *Essex's* adversaries, he was pitied even by *Essex's* friends; "*King James*, after the mode of weak and ill-constituted princes (says *Osborne*) set forth a *Declaration*; which, according to the ordinary success of such apologies, render'd the condition of that proceeding worse in the world's opinion." Another author observing, "Such is the power of envy, and so really criminal it is to be master of more merit than such a prince knew how to value, and to have done services which they could not sufficiently reward, that this alone was *Raleigh's* crime:" and having observed that his very enemies had acknowledged the reasonableness of his attempt at *Guiana*, with the just measures he took to put it in execution; and, besides his personal valour and publick conduct, the excellence of all the dispositions he made for his expedition, concludes (with regard to the king's *Declaration*) "That they had not any thing to lay to his charge on that part, but what was so evidently malicious, and so foolish in the contrivance also, as made all men ashamed that heard it." See the *Historical Account of Sir Walter Raleigh's Voyages and Adventures*, 8vo. 1719, p. 37, 38.



ON Friday night, which was the 7th of *August*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* came to *London*, when captain *King* attended on him at his lodgings, but was told by *Raleigh* that he could in no wise get ready to go off that night. It seems to be the next day that *Stucley* got his warrant to indemnify him for any contract he should enter into with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, or to authorize his compliance with any offer he should make him for his escape, or in short, as others have not spared to call it, a licence to betray him; for tho' *Raleigh* might now have been secured in a direct and undisguised manner, yet the glory was to do it insidiously, and under the vizard of friendship; being not more suitable to the genius of predominant power, than necessary on the present occasion, to give room for so many more little circumstances of objection as might occur to supply the place of one wanting, that should have been capital. And this night it was that the *French* ambassador aforesaid, came to *Raleigh's* house, and made the proposal before recited. But when captain *King* came to him again the same night, *Raleigh* said there was no going now without *Stucley*, whom he doubted not but he should engage to go along with him, and that the next night, without failure, he would meet the captain at the *Tower Dock*. As for Mr. *Herbert*, aforesaid, he was employ'd in garrowing Sir *Walter Raleigh's* house, as the captain phrases it, while *Raleigh*, being thus drawn out of it by *Stucley*, under pretence of bearing him company, might be the more unexpectedly seiz'd with all such private papers as he should have about him; in hopes, no doubt, that by one means or other, something might turn out to make a charge of sufficient weight against him. But, in the conclusion, says our said author, all the papers which were found, proved to be no other, than what might, without any discredit, have been laid open to all the world.

CAPTAIN *King* went, as he further tells us, on Sunday night to the place appointed with two wherries; and Sir *Walter Raleigh* also came thither; having put on a false beard, and a hat with a green hatband. He was accompanied with Sir *Lewis Stucley*, young *Stucley*, and his own page. Then asking captain *King*, if all things were ready? he answer'd, they were, and that the cloak-bag and the four pistols were in the boat. *Stucley* then saluted captain *King*, and ask'd, whether thus far he had not distinguished himself an honest man? to which *King* answer'd, that he hop'd he would continue so.

AFTER they enter'd the boats and divided the pistols, they had not rowed above twenty strokes before the watermen told them, that Mr. *Herbert* had lately taken boat, and made as if he would have gone through-bridge, but returned down the river after them. This raised some apprehension in *Raleigh*, but, upon *Stucley's* encouragement, they rowed on; yet *Raleigh*, not well satisfied, called captain *King* near to him, who was in the other boat with young *Stucley* and *Hart*, and intimated, that he could not go forward unless he was sure of the watermen, whom he then also spake to, asking, whether, if any should come to arrest them in the king's name, they would row forwards or return. At this, the great boobies were so frightned that they cry'd, and answer'd, they knew no body there but captain *King*, who had hired them to *Gravesend*; and that they neither dared, nor would go any further. *Raleigh* said, that a brabbling matter with the *Spanish* ambassador, was the cause that of necessity he must go to *Tilbury* to embark for the *Low Countries*; and that he would give them ten pieces of gold for their pains.

THEN began *Stucley's* part, cursing and damning himself that he should be so unfortunate as to venture his life and fortune with a man so full of doubts and fears. He swore that if the watermen would not row on, he would kill them; and persuaded *Raleigh* that there was no such danger as he suspected; of which opinion captain *King* also still was. Thus the time past till they drew near *Greenwich*, when a wherry cross'd them, which *Raleigh* said came to discover them. *King* sought to dissuade him from this supposition, and told him, that if they could but reach *Gravesend*, he would hazard his life to get to *Tilbury*. These delays spent the tide, and the watermen said, it was impossible to get to *Gravesend* before morning. Hereupon *Raleigh* would have landed at *Purfleet*, and *Hart* would have possess'd him, that tho' it was night he could procure him horses to *Tilbury*. *Stucley* appeared very zealous for this proposal, and said, that upon that condition he could be content to carry the cloak-bag on his own shoulders half a mile; but *King* told him, that if they could not go by water, it was impossible, at that time of night, to get horses to go by land.

By this time they had rowed as far as *Woolwich*, or rather about a mile beyond, which might be to a reach call'd the *Gallions* near *Plumstead*. Here, approaching two or three ketches, *Hart* began to doubt whether any one of them was his. Upon this, *Raleigh* con-

\* *Camden*, in his *Annals of King James*, says, *Raleigh* was brought to *London* on the 9th of *August* 1618; but, as I compute from the king's *Declarations*, it is a mistake. He also in the same article, confirms *Stucley's* acceptance of the bribe to escape with *Raleigh*.



cluded they were all betray'd, and bid the watermen turn back, hoping to have got to his own house before morning; and began to examine *Hart* very strictly; who pretended he had given his men express charge not to stir from *Tilbury* till he came down; but this would not induce *Raleigh* to proceed. Before they had rowed back a furlong, they espied another wherry, and hailing her, they said they were for the king. *Raleigh* perceiving they were some of Mr. *Herbert's* crew, proposed to *Stucley*, seeing they were discover'd, and in respect to his safety, that he might remain still in his custody; and that *Stucley* should openly declare to the watermen, he was his prisoner, which he did. Here *Stucley* and he fell into private discourse, contriving how *Raleigh* might reach his house; and how *Stucley* might save himself harmless by saying, that he only pretended to go along with *Raleigh* in order to discover his intentions, and seize upon his private papers. Then they whisper'd some time together, and *Raleigh* taking some things out of his pockets (whether more rubies powder'd with diamonds, our author does not say) and gave them to *Stucley*, who all this while, not only hugg'd and embrac'd him, as it seem'd with the greatest tenderness, but made the utmost protestations of love, friendship, and fidelity. When they were got back to *Greenwich*, *Stucley* said, that he durst not carry *Raleigh* to his house, but persuaded him to land, which they did; the other strange boat landing at the same time, in which the men, they perceived, belonged to Mr. *W. Herbert* and Sir *William St. John*, the same who had made good profit of *Raleigh* before, as we have read. Upon *Greenwich* bridge, *Stucley* told captain *King*, it would be for Sir *Walter's* good, that he should pretend he was consenting with him to betray his master. *King*, not able to fathom the depth of this policy, as he tells us, refus'd it, thinking he should not only thereby belie his own conscience, but make himself odious to the world; therefore, tho' *Raleigh* himself made some motion of it to him, he could not, how serviceable soever it might prove, be guilty of so much insincerity towards him. Then *Stucley* arrested the captain in his majesty's name, and committed him to the charge of two of Mr. *Herbert's* men. After this they all went to a tavern, and by the way, captain *King* heard *Raleigh* say, *Sir Lewis, these actions will not turn out to your credit. Raleigh* was kept apart from *King* till morning, when as they enter'd into the *Tower*, *Raleigh* said to him, *Stucley and Cotterell have betray'd me; adding, for your part, you need be in fear of no danger, but as for me, it is I am the mark that is shot at.* Then captain *King*, being forced to take his leave, left *Raleigh*, to his tuition, with whom I do not doubt (says he) but his soul resteth. And so concludes his *Narrative*.

HERE the curious reader would probably be willing to know what *Stucley* had to say for himself upon this business; and this I have also some opportunity of relating from the tract he publish'd after *Raleigh's* death in his own defence; which tho', for its author's behaviour aforesaid, it has been so much disregarded, that of all the historians general and particular, who have written of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and some few of them, whose characters are pretty well known, to his disparagement; I never met with one who has shewn it so much credit as to quote it: yet, as I have found some few passages not altogether useless in explaining other parts of this life, so those, which concern this part, I have thought proper more particularly here to insert, in observance to a good *biographical* maxim, which enjoyns us, as far as the parts they bear in our narrative will permit, to shew a due respect to the characters of all men, and consequently not, in favour of any, to prostitute our own.

IN this tract, which is properly enough address'd to the king, one of the earliest motives to revenge, in that poor instrument of state, as *Stucley* no less properly calls himself, against *Raleigh*, appears to be a pretence, that *Raleigh* had abridg'd *Stucley's* father of an incredible dividend in a prize many years before taken at sea,<sup>a</sup> whereof a more particular account has been before given in its proper place; as the last motive will appear to be what *Raleigh* said of this *Stucley* in his *Dying Speech*. But the arguments *Stucley* makes use of for having betray'd him, are drawn first from *Raleigh's* having pretended to be poison'd at Sir *Edward Parham's* house, who was *Stucley's* kinsman. For he reports *Raleigh* to have said, "Tho' the gentleman would not hurt me, yet there might be priests that did it: for I remember, after my morning's draught of a cup of ale, which Sir *Edward Parham* offer'd me in the hall, I felt presently a kind of excoriation in my bowels, as if some jesuite had been the butler." "Now, says *Stucley*, when I saw the pusses break out upon him at *Salisbury*, my compassion, I confess, was too credulous to report it." But that being thus deceived himself, and thereby wronging his kinsman, it moved his indignation against *Raleigh* for abusing both: so that in short, he

<sup>a</sup> To the king's most excellent majesty, The humble petition and information of Sir Lewis Stucley, knight, vice-admiral of Devon, touching his own behaviour in the charge com-

mitted to him for the bringing up of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the scandalous aspersions cast upon him for the same. 4to. 1618, p. 8.



drew *Raleigh* to his destruction by a lie, because he had induced *Stucley* to asperse his kinsman with one. And tho' divinity would not, as *Stucley* owns, yet reason of state would hold it lawful to lie for the discovery of treason, in service to the commonwealth. Then he endeavours to reconcile himself to the commonwealth, by answering the objection of his being so instrumental to the depriving it of so sufficient a member as had not left his equal behind him, in these words: "No man denies but he had many sufficiencies in him: but what were these  
 " but so many weapons of practice and danger against the state, if he escaped? being so deeply  
 " tainted in so many points of discontent, dishonesty, and disloyalty. He knew, as he had  
 " written, that as in nature, so in policy, *a privatione ad habitum not fit regressio*. And  
 " therefore being desperate of any fortune here, agreeable to the height of his mind, who can  
 " doubt but he would have made up his fortune elsewhere, upon any terms against his sove-  
 " raign and country?"<sup>a</sup> In another place, which relates to *Raleigh's* last endeavours of  
 escaping, he tells the king, "On the *Saturday* when I received your majesty's commission by  
 " my cousin *Herbert*, I received also intelligence by him, that at that instant *Raleigh* was  
 " flying from my custody without my privity, not having, as yet, made him any *semblance*  
 " of *condescent*:<sup>b</sup> so that I almost came upon him unawares, even as he was putting on his  
 " false beard, and other disguisements; which declares he did still distrust your goodness,  
 " doubtless out of the conscience of his guiltiness, whatever he writ or said to the contrary.  
 " And is it any marvel then, that he was angry with me at his death for bringing him back?  
 " Besides, being a man, as he was thought, of so great a wit, it was no small grief that a man of  
 " so mean wit as I should be thought to go beyond him. Yea, but you should not have used  
 " such craft to go beyond him. No? *Sic ars deluditur arte. Neque enim lex justior ulla est*  
 " *quàm necis artifices arte perire suâ*. But why did you not execute your commission bravely  
 " to his apprehension on him in his house? why? my commission was to the contrary, to  
 " discover his pretensions, and to seize his secret papers, &c. And can any honest subject  
 " question my honesty in the performance of such a commission, which tended to discover the  
 " secret intentions of an ill-affected heart to my sovereign? How can any dislike this in me,  
 " and not bewray his own dishonest heart unto the state? Yea, but tho' another might have  
 " done this, yet how might you do it, being his kinsman and his friend? Surely if I had  
 " been so; yet in a publick employment and trust laid upon me, I was not to refuse it, much  
 " less to prefer private kindness and amity before my publick duty and loyalty: for what did  
 " I know the dangerous consequence of these matters which were to be discover'd? or who  
 " knows them yet, of those that make themselves my competent judges? But if there were  
 " no kindred or amity between us, as I avow there never was, what bond then might tie me  
 " to him, but the tie of compassion to his miseries? which was in my sovereign's heart to  
 " distribute, when he saw time, that did command me, and not in the dispensation of me,  
 " nor of any other *instrument's* power that is to be commanded."<sup>c</sup> These are his arguments;  
 and he concludes his *pamphlet* with making two humble petitions to his most *excellent majesty*:  
 "First, seeing that I, your poor loyal subject, am burdened and oppressed with the testimony  
 " of a bitter enemy, of a perjur'd and condemned man, against all reason, conscience and  
 " law; that I may have your majesty's leave, to the confirmation of the truth, which I have  
 " avowed to be sufficient; to receive the sacrament upon it in your majesty's chapell." But  
 if he did receive the sacrament, to confirm the truth of his assertions, for this seems to be the  
 meaning of his words, if they have, or were intended to have any; how that would justify  
 the falshood of his actions; and how, his taking of the sacrament would be of any credit to  
 him, who has own'd, that divinity would not hold his practices lawful; or how clear him for  
 the violation of that trust and fidelity he had before taken the sacrament, as we shall hear pre-  
 sently, to maintain, he was not thought casuist, or even *instrument* of state enough to resolve:  
 the last petition is, "That his majesty would be so gracious as to suffer a *declaration* to come  
 " forth from the state, for the clearing of these matters, and further satisfaction of the world;"  
 which plainly discovers, that this *pamphlet*, sent out under the name of this *instrument*, was a  
 mere concerted preparative to the said *declaration* which so observantly followed it; like a  
 fomentation to supple the minds of the uneasy people, that the sovereign unguent might enter  
 more effectually. But how little satisfaction the said *declaration* gave, we have already noted:  
 and for *Stucley's* performance, it made not so much as himself easy; being, in his own opinion,  
 so insufficient to deface the black and odious stains of his conduct, that he was forced to write

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.* p. 14, 15.

<sup>b</sup> *Manariz's* story as before, somewhat discredits this  
 of *Stucley's*, who seems, before he came with *Raleigh* to

*London*, to have made some *semblance* of *condescent* when  
 the jewel was offer'd him.

<sup>c</sup> *Stucley's Petition and Information*, &c. p. 7, &c.



an *Apology* besides; and that was so little regarded, as never to have been thought worthy of the press. Whether his life was more successful than his writings, and how it fared with him after this piece of court-service, may be gathered from several authors. Some historical compurgators of this reign, and consequently no friends to *Raleigh's* memory, yet own, that *Stucley's* destiny was suitable to his dealings, being afterwards hang'd, say they, for clipping of gold. <sup>a</sup> But those who had better intelligence, and knew the truth more particularly, have delivered it more perfectly; where they affirm, "That *Stucley* having, for a bag of money, falsified his faith, which he had confirm'd by the tie of the holy sacrament, he was, before the year " came about, caught clipping the same coin, in the king's own house at *Whitehall*, which " he had received as the reward of his perfidiousness; for which being condemned to be " hang'd, he was driven to sell himself to his shirt, to purchase his pardon of two knights." " Then (to avoid the sight and scorn of mankind) withdrew himself to a little island in the " *Severn* sea, called the *Isle of Lundy*, and there died a poor distracted beggar;" <sup>b</sup> which, as we find it elsewhere sufficiently confirm'd, was in less than two years after *Raleigh's* death. <sup>c</sup> Thus horribly did the deceiver's reward prove his punishment; and thus we leave this notable monument of improsperous treachery.

*RALEGH*, as we before mention'd, was now prisoner again in the *Tower of London*, <sup>Put into the Tower.</sup> being brought thither on *Monday* morning the 10th of *August*. About two or three days after, a committee was selected to examine into the aforesaid escape, it being a matter luckily capable, and highly necessary to be enlarg'd upon, in order to fill up the measure of accusation. Such a premeditated flight was therefore declaim'd against as a crime so heavy and so heinous, such a disdain or despair of his majesty's mercy, as was greatly to be expected could never obtain his forgiveness. Then again, for Sir *Walter Raleigh* to alienate himself thus from his native country by means of a foreign power, was stretch'd out to the idea of a separation as horrid as the breach of some huge rock or promontory from the main land, when its foundation was sap'd and wash'd away by undermining waves.

THE arguments *Raleigh* now returned to extenuate this mighty transgression, having been by no author transmitted to us, it is not impossible but they were with the rest of his justification before those commissioners, during the time of this his last imprisonment, industriously stifled. There is, notwithstanding, one of his own letters on this subject descended, by means of the press, to us. It is directed, by the error of the editor it seems, to the duke, tho' as yet, no more than marquis of *Buckingham*, and dated the 14th of *October*. Herein, says *Raleigh*, with relation to his late attempted escape, "That which doth comfort my soul in this offence " is, that even in the offence itself, I had no other intent than his majesty's service, and to " make his majesty know that my late enterprize was grounded upon a truth, and which " with one ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured or to have died; being resolved, " as it is well known, to have done it from *Plymouth*, had I not been restrain'd. Hereby " I hoped, not only to recover his majesty's gracious opinion, but have destroy'd all those " malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that gentleman whom " I so much trusted, my *keeper*, and to whom I open'd my heart, cannot but testify; and " wherein, if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witness. Yea, that gentleman " cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards *London*, I desired to save no other " treasure than the exact description of those places in the *Indies*. That I meant to go hence " as a discontented man, God, I trust, and my own actions will dissuade his majesty; whom " neither the loss of my estate, thirteen years imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon, " could beat from his service: nor had the opinion of being counted a fool, or rather distract, " by returning as I did, ballanc'd with my love to his majesty's person and estate, any " place at all in my heart.

" It was that last severe letter from the lords for the speedy bringing of me up, and the " impatience of dishonour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual " imprisonment, never to recover my reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and " too late lamented resolution, if his majesty's mercy do not abound; if his majesty do not " pity my age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost advantage of my errors; if his " majesty, in his charity, do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life- " saving natural impulsion, without all ill intent, and those of an ill heart; and that your

<sup>a</sup> *Aulicus Coquinarius*, 8vo. p. 94. And *Frankland's* Annals of King *James* and King *Charles* I. Fol. 1681, p. 32, &c.

<sup>b</sup> *Howell's Letters*, vol. 2, p. 372.

<sup>c</sup> *Camden* very well agrees in this miserable end of

that faithless knight, where he says, "That Sir *Lewis Stucley*, who had betrayed Sir *Walter Raleigh*, died in " a manner mad, on the 29th of *August*, 1620. *Annals of King James*.



“ lordship, remarkable in the world for the nobleness of your disposition, do not vouchsafe  
 “ to become my intercessor ; whereby your lordship shall bind an hundred gentlemen of my  
 “ kindred to honour your memory, and bind me, for all the time of that life which your  
 “ lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper ; and over-bind me  
 “ to remain your most humble servant, *W. Raleigh.*” <sup>a</sup>

THOUGH all other events and motions in this expedition were now also rack'd and tenter'd by his adversaries ; tho' the commissioners (who were perhaps the same, mention'd in a kind of oblique manner, at the end of the king's *Declaration*, as witnesses thereof) came now constantly to the *Tower*, to pick out or catch hold of any thing that might contribute some plausible matter to condemn him ; yet after the examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments of the most discontented persons in the late voyage, none of all the depositions upon oath, that are pretended to have been taken, or were really worm'd out of them, were ever thought so material by the said commissioners, as to have been distinctly brought to light, either in that *Declaration* or elsewhere, against Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Much less may we expect to meet with any of the arguments urged by himself in his own defence during this inquisition, or close and private manner of sifting him from so many quarters. And yet, if they had been fairly presented to the publick, it is not thought they could have given the world greater satisfaction, or have cleared him better than what he had just before written, both in his letter to the lord *Carew* and at the end of his *Apology*, to prove the authority he had for the late action at *Guiana*, the integrity of his conduct in it, with the reason and necessity thereof. Wherein it appears, he absolutely depended on the honour of king *James* to continue now, as he had begun, the maintenance of his right to that country which *Raleigh* had lawfully possessed for the crown ; at least, so far, as not to renounce or circumvent his own commission ; otherwise, how well he knew that if he made the least opposition to any resistance of his attempt, he was liable to be pursued as an invader ; or, if he returned with any gold, to be persecuted as a plunderer by the *Spaniards* ; and if he did neither, that he was still no less liable to be accus'd as an impostor by his co-adventurers. But in this latter respect, all suspicion was clearly removed, even from those who by their losses in this voyage would have been most readily prompted to make such reproach, when they found *Raleigh* prove himself as in these writings, to the face of mankind, such a far greater loser than any of the rest hereby, as was before observed : and as for the other two objections, *Raleigh* has also made it no less amply evident in the same pieces, how glaringly he must appear to the world, a mere premeditated or designed sacrifice to one of them, if king *James* should maim his sovereignty of its title to *Guiana*, or now disclaim'd the undertaking there which he had before authoriz'd. For therein he has shewed, that his majesty was well resolved of his right in those parts bordering the *Orenoque* to the south, as far as the *Amazons*, by having formerly given the *English* leave to plant and inhabit there ; and that his own proposal to go thither, was not accounted of as what would endanger the peace, even by the *Spanish* ambassador, who pretended it to be needless that *Raleigh* should carry such strength with him, if he intended no other enterprize, for that he should work any mine there without disturbance ; but had a good reason return'd by *Raleigh* for that strength, from the example of Sir *John Hawkins*. Further shewing, that for the *Spaniards* to set up a town upon the *Orenoque*, was such a usurpation, and that their king should thereupon call himself king of *Guiana*, was as unreasonable as if he were to call himself king of *Ireland*, because he took possession at *Smerwick*, and built a fort there. Having also shewn, that no peace could be broken there by him, where no peace was maintain'd by the *Spaniards*, both from their bloody usage of the *English*, who had lately been to trade there, and from the words in the king of *Spain*'s late letters to the governor ; “ who first  
 “ call'd us *enemies*, when he hoped to cut us in pieces, says *Raleigh*, and having sail'd, *peace-*  
 “ *breakers* : when to be an enemy and a peace-breaker in one and the same action, is impos-  
 “ sible.” <sup>b</sup> Moreover, that here the *Spaniards* began the first slaughter ; that their town was not burnt by any knowledge or permission of his, nor his directions to the mine followed. Lastly, having observed how little the *Spaniards* can endure that the *English* nation should look upon any part of *America*, being above a fourth part of the whole known world, tho' the hundredth part was never possessed by the *Spaniards* : and withal, the many ill consequences of acknowledging, that we have offended the king of *Spain* by landing in *Guiana*, even to the ruin of our navigation, trade, power, and dominion in this quarter of the globe,

<sup>a</sup> See the *Cabala* ; or *Mysteries of State*, in *Letters of the great Ministers to King James and King Charles*, &c. 4to. 1654, page 309.

<sup>b</sup> Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s letter to the lord *Carew*, at the end of his *Apology*, p. 62.



where there was as much room and reason for advancing the honour and riches of *England* as of any state in christendom; he concludes his *Apology* with these words, *I have said it already, and I will say it again, that if Guiana be not his majesty's, the working of a mine there, and the taking of a town there, had been equally perilous; for, by doing the one, I had rob'd the king of Spain, and been a thief; and, by the other, a disturber or breaker of the peace.*

Now it is plain, that king *James* so much waved his right to *Guiana*, at least till *Raleigh* was put to death (for then he assum'd it again, by the power he gave for another expedition to those parts, <sup>a</sup> however, irresolutely, according to custom, he revok'd it) that as we observe in his *Declaration*, not only the place which *Raleigh* went to is pretended to be out of his commission, but the title he stood upon, to be no ways compatible with it. Yet so incontestably did *Raleigh* make it appear, no doubt in his examinations at present, no less than in the writings abovemention'd, that if any peace could be broken where no peace had been maintain'd, it must either be by king *James* himself, in first granting a commission to plunder another prince (for he knew where *Raleigh* was going, and no where declines his knowledge that the *Spaniards* were settled there) and then betraying it to procure a defeat of the very attempt he had empower'd; or else by the *Spaniards* themselves, in resisting his endeavours to put it in execution; that after all this questioning, canvassing, and heaping up of allegations against him, the council could not think it justifiable to take away Sir *Walter Raleigh's* life for all that had passed at *Guiana*. Yet, as he must be put to death, they found a way to appease the *Spaniards* with his blood, by making this last action at *St. Thome* the efficient cause, but the obsolete condemnation at *Winchester*, fifteen years past, the nominal cause of his destruction: as a course whereby both the law would be judicially satisfied, and the title be left, for fear of displeasure, undecided. So in the whole, it was resolved there should be room enough to revoke the king's former mercy, as it appears in his *Declaration*; and that *Raleigh* might lose his head upon his former attainder; <sup>b</sup> notwithstanding the repugnancies apparent in such a conclusion to men of penetration;

<sup>a</sup> About a year after the death of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, king *James* granted captain *Roger North*, a commission to inhabit and settle a colony near the river of *Amazons* in *Guiana*; but was soon aw'd by *Gondomar* so much, that, on the 15th of May 1620, he issued a proclamation to recall that gentleman from the said undertaking, and committed his brother, the lord *North*, to the *Fleet* prison for halting the said voyage, as may be read in *Camden's Annals* of that king's reign. Some other little attempts were several years after made there, which may be read of in a manuscript entitled, *An exact Narrative of the State of Guiana, and of the English Colony in Surinam, in the Beginning of the War with the Dutch, and of its Actions during the War; with the taking thereof by the Fleet from Zeland*: of which some copies are preserved in the *Ashmolean* and other libraries. But how all this spacious and fruitful country has been since shamefully deserted, by the *English* especially; the quiet possession there by the *Spaniards*, to this day, is sufficient witness. Whereupon we cannot forbear reciting here the reflection of a late writer, in an essay, partly before quoted, *On the needful Improvements in Trade*: wherein, expressing how much he is for promoting merchants to rational and profitable adventures, and sailors to new discoveries, as things most valuable in their nature, solid in their design, and gloriously advantageous in their success, he proceeds thus: "By such adventures and discoveries, all our encrease in colonies and plantations has been produced. 'Twas by such happy attempts, that the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his assistants, settled the *British* nation upon the Northern continent of *America*; and, had he been encouraged, or rather had he not been basely betray'd, he had settled us also upon the Southern continent; and the power of *Great Britain* in her colonies and islands, in that part of the world, had been superior as well in wealth as in extent of land, and in strength of people, to all the nations of the world that ever settled there. And perhaps, by this time, we had wanted no *Assiento* to carry *Negroes* to *America*; no *License* to trade to the *Gulph of Mexico*, but the *South-Sea* had been our own, and all the wealth and glory of *America* paid homage to king *George*. But late, and the ill policies of those times hinder'd; and the golden mountains of *Chili*, and the silver mines of *Pacific*, the wealth of the richest part of the world, is sacrificed to the lust and sloth of the poorest, and proudest nation under the sun." See the *Humourist*, Vol. 2. Ser. 1725, p. 39. Another modern author, in his *Address to the South Sea Company*, observing this attempt of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* to have been the greatest

enterprize that ever was undertaken by any private person; how much it would be to the glory of the said *Company* to bring it to perfection; how much it was to the infamy of that age in which this great man suffer'd, that such an enterprize was not only discourag'd, but even betray'd to the *Spaniard*, and this gallant gentleman exposed to ruin; also how just a reproach to this nation ever since, that such a part of the world, so timely and so effectually discover'd to us, has not been made our own, and all those nations, who would submit to us, and be assistant to the great work, be taken into protection, confederated and made use of in subjecting that inexhaustible treasure to be found there, to the government and crown of *Great Britain*; he concludes the said *Address* in these words: "The country is within the patent or charter of the *South-Sea Company*; the undertaking seems to be their due: their charter begins at the river *Orenoque*, and none can attempt it without them. If they please to take such a proposal into consideration, the author of these sheets is ready to lay before them a plan or chart of the rivers and shores, the depths of water, and all necessary instructions for the navigation, with a scheme of the undertaking, which he had the honour, about thirty years ago, to lay before king *WILLIAM*, and to demonstrate how easy it would be to bring this attempt to perfection. If the *Company* decline it, 'tis then humbly propos'd, that they will give leave to a society of merchants to undertake it under the *Company's* licence, and on such conditions as may be thought reasonable; of which more shall be said when such a proposal shall be entertain'd by the *Company*." See an *Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 8vo. 1719; from p. 42 to 55.

<sup>b</sup> "A head (says *Osborne*) of more weight to our court (especially in that dearth of wisdom then raging) than the *Infanta* could be, notwithstanding that the most general, no less than the least suspected reports, made her alone owner of the greatest beauty, virtue, gallantry and prudence that were at that day extant in womankind! But, as the foolish idolaters were wont to sacrifice the choicest of their children to the devil, the common enemy of humanity; so our king gave up this incomparable jewel to the will of this monster in ambition (the *Spaniard*) under the pretence of a superannuated transgression, contrary to the opinion of the most honest sort of gentlemen; who maintain'd, that his majesty's pardon lay inclusively in the commission he gave him upon his setting out to sea: it being incongruous that he, who remain'd under the notion



penetration ; among whom, *Carew Raleigh* has very well observ'd thereupon, *that his father, was condemn'd for being a friend to the Spaniards, and lost his life by the same sentence, for being their enemy.* <sup>a</sup>

A METHOD, however, of dispatching him being thus piec'd out, the king, or those with whom he left the management of this affair when he went upon his progress, appear'd very eager for bringing it to a period. Therefore, as the shortest way, a privy seal was sent to the judges, forthwith to order execution. But they considering there ought to be some face of regularity in the matter, and a little finger in the court of justice to slide it off with as much decency and smoothness as the business would allow of, demur'd upon that extrajudicial manner of proceeding. Therefore, on *Friday* the 23d of *October*, there was a conference held upon the form or manner how prisoners, who have been attainted of treason and set at liberty, should be brought to execution, between all the justices of *England* ; as one of them, judge *Hutton* tells us : wherein the question being put, “ Whether a privy seal was sufficient, it “ being directed to the justices of the *King's Bench*, to command them to award execution “ against Sir *Walter Raleigh* ; or how they should proceed before execution be awarded ? ” It was resolved by all, “ That he ought to be brought to bar, by *Habeas Corpus* to the lieu- “ tenant of the *Tower*, and then demanded, if he could say any thing why execution should “ not be awarded ? For the proceedings against him being before *commissioners*, they are deliver'd “ only into the court of *King's Bench*, or they might have remain'd in a bag or a chest, and “ no roll made thereof ; and so long time passing, it is not a *legal course* that he should be “ commanded by a *privy seal* or *great seal* to be executed, without being demanded, what “ he hath to say ? For he might have a pardon, or he might say that he was not the same “ person : as if one be outlawed of felony, and taken, he shall not be presently hang'd, but “ he shall be brought to bar, and so demanded, &c. Upon this resolution, a *privy seal* “ came to the justices of the *King's Bench*, commanding them to proceed against him accor- “ ding to law.” <sup>b</sup> In what sense he was so proceeded against may be better understood by that notice which on the 24th of *October*, being the next day, *Raleigh* received from the *com- missioners* to prepare for death ; <sup>c</sup> and by his not being suffer'd, when he soon after appear'd, in court, before the judges, *according to law*, to make any defence of himself for what had been the occasion of his coming thither ; as may be seen by the following abstract of the said proceedings, which I have been favour'd with from authentick copies.

Brought to  
Westminster-  
hall.

ON *Wednesday*, the 28th of *October*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, at eight o'clock in the morning, was awaked out of a fit of a fever, with summons presently to appear at the *King's Bench* bar at *Westminster* ; and, soon after nine o'clock, he was, by writ of *Habeas Corpus*, brought thither. The writ being deliver'd to the judges by Sir *Walter Apsley*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh's* conviction at *Winchester* read, the attorney, Mr. *Henry Yelverton*, set forth, “ That the “ prisoner having been fifteen years since convicted of high treason, and then received the “ judgment of death, his majesty, of his abundant grace, had been pleased to shew mercy “ unto him, till now, that justice calls to him for execution. Sir *Walter Raleigh* (continued “ he) hath been a *statesman*, and a man, who, in regard to his *parts* and *quality*, is to be “ pitied : he hath been as a *star* at which the world have gazed ; but stars may fall, nay “ they must fall when they trouble the *sphere* wherein they abide. <sup>d</sup> It is therefore his ma- “ jesty's pleasure now to call for execution of the former judgment, and I now require order “ for the same.” Then the clerk of the crown, Mr. *Fanshawe*, having read the record of the conviction and judgment, the prisoner, holding up his hand, was asked, “ what he could

“ notion of one dead in the law, should, as a general, “ dispose of the lives of others, not being himself master “ of his own. But the *Spanish* faction, then absolute at “ court, and sole managers of the king's *power* no less “ than his *justice*, did so far tender his catholick ma- “ jesty's full satisfaction in the procuring of his death, “ the only man of note left alive who had helped to “ beat them in the year 1588 ; that no absurdity lying in “ the way of his prosecution, could deter them from “ making use of his former condemnation ; remembering, “ withal, how far his wit had puzzled them at *Winchester*, “ and how much the jury, who condemn'd him there, “ were touch'd in their consciences ; which made it the “ less probable they should be able to impanel one so “ wicked as would do it then. Besides, *No peace be- yond the Line*, was a belief so riveted in the opinion “ of all, as he could not have been indicted anew, with- “ out the king's producing the original articles, by which “ his accusers would have been convinced of malice, or “ his prince of folly. *Memoirs of King James*, p. 108.

<sup>a</sup> See *Howell's Letters*, vol. 2, p. 371 ; and the tract

entitled, *A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles*, &c. where *Carew Raleigh's* words are, p. 9, as follows.

“ Here justice was indeed blind ! blindly executing one “ and the same person, upon one and the same con- “ demnation, for things contradictory ; for Sir *Walter Raleigh* was condemn'd for being a friend to the *Spaniard*, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. “ Thus kings, when they will do what they please, “ please not him they should, God ; and having made “ their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves “ of that just power whereby others are subservient to them.”

<sup>b</sup> Sir *Richard Hutton's Reports*, fol. 1656, p. 21. Also judge *Crook's Reports* 2, fol. 495 ; serjeant *Roll's Reports*, 50, p. 7. and *W. Nelson's Abridgment*, &c. vol. 3, 1726, fol. 365.

<sup>c</sup> *Camden's Annals of King James*.

<sup>d</sup> So in the copy here chiefly followed, but in one more ancient, this comparison is thus turn'd into a metaphor : Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his time, was a star ; *yea*, and of such nature as shined fair, but out of the necessity of state, like stars, when they trouble the sphere, must indeed fall.

“ say



“ say, why execution should not be awarded against him ?” *Raleigh* told the lords, “ his voice was grown weak by his late sickness, and an ague he had at that instant upon him, in which he was brought thither ; therefore (as it appears in another copy of these proceedings before refer’d to) desired the relief of a pen and ink.” But the lord chief justice, Sir *Henry Montague*, telling him “ he spake audibly enough,” he went on to this effect : “ That he hoped the judgment he received to die so long since, could not now be strained to take away his life ; since by his majesty’s commission for his late voyage, it was imply’d to be restor’d, in giving him power as marshal on the life and death of others ; and since he undertook the same to honour his sovereign, and enrich his kingdom with gold, *of the ore whereof, this band, said he, hath found and taken in Guiana.*” Then beginning to mention by what unavoidable and unblameable means the said enterprize miscarried, the lord chief justice interrupted, and told him, “ whatever he spoke touching his voyage was not to the purpose ; also that his commission could be of no service to him ; that treason was not pardon’d by implication, and that he must say something else to the purpose, otherwise they must proceed to give execution.” <sup>a</sup> *Raleigh*, then finding whatever he should offer in his own justification would be *no way to the purpose*, put himself upon the king’s mercy ; yet gave some reasons, “ why he hoped the king would take compassion upon him concerning that judgment which was so long past, in which both his majesty was of opinion, and there were some present who could witness, that he had hard usage.” <sup>b</sup> The lord chief justice advis’d him to the wisdom of submission, and told him, “ he was called to grant execution upon the judgment given fifteen years since ; all which time he had been as a man dead in the law, but the king, in mercy, spared him ; that he might think it heavy if this were done in cold blood ; but it was not so, for new offences had stir’d up his majesty’s justice to revive what the law had formerly cast upon him. *I know*, continued he, *that you have been valiant and wise, and I doubt not but you retain both these virtues, for now you shall have occasion to use them. Your faith hath heretofore been questioned, but I am resolved, you are a good christian ; for your book, which is an admirable work, doth testify as much. I would give you counsel, but I know you can apply unto yourself far better than I am able to give you.*” Yet, with the good neighbour in the gospel, he was for pouring some oil into his wounds ; tho’ far was it from yielding the refreshment he promis’d, by reason of the severity wherewith he so sharpened the infusion. “ I give you the oil of comfort, said he, tho’ in respect that I am a minister of the law, mixed with vinegar.” Nay, the judge further gave him, how unnecessary soever he just before own’d it to be, one *lecture upon sorrow*. Sorrow, said he, will not avail you in some kind ; for were you pained, sorrow would not ease you ; were you afflicted, sorrow would not relieve you ; were you tormented, sorrow would not content you ; and yet the sorrow for your sins would be an everlasting comfort to you.” Then another also upon *death*. “ You must do as that valiant captain did, said he, who, perceiving himself in danger, said, in defiance of death, *Death, thou expectest me ; but, maugre thy spite, I expect thee.* Fear not death too much, nor fear death too little ; not too much, lest you fail in your hope ; nor too little, lest you die presumptuously : and here I must conclude my prayers to God for it, and that he would have mercy on your soul.” So he ended with saying, “ *Execution is granted.*”

*RALEGH* then desir’d, that he might not be cut off so suddenly ; for that he had something to do in discharge of his conscience, something to satisfy his majesty, and something the world in : he desir’d further, that he might be heard at the day of his death ; and concluded, with calling on “ God to be his judge, before whom he should shortly appear, that he was never disloyal to his majesty ; which I will justify, said he, where I shall not fear the face of any king on earth.” Thus the manuscripts here chiefly followed, conclude ; <sup>c</sup> but in the more ancient copy of these proceedings, *Raleigh’s* conclusion, to the same sense, is thus more copiously express’d : “ I most humbly beseech your lordships, that you will grant me some time before

<sup>a</sup> Another *Account* relates this passage thus : “ When *Raleigh* began to justify himself for the late voyage, the lord chief justice silenced him therein, saying, ‘ There was no other matter there in question, but concerning the judgment of death formerly given against him, which, the king’s pleasure was, upon some occasions best known to himself, to have executed, unless he could shew good cause to the contrary.’” See the *Proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh at Westminster*, annexed to Sir T. Overbury’s Account of his Arraignment at *Winchester*, 4to. 1648, p. 26.

*Westminster*, which is the old MS. I have before me, as above-mention’d, this passage is thus expressed : “ Concerning my judgment at *Winchester*, I presume, most of you, that now hear me, are resolved how that was obtain’d ; and I know that his majesty was so resolved touching that trial, that if he had not been anew exasperated against me, certain I am, I might (if I could by nature) have lived a thousand and a thousand years, before he would have taken the advantage thereof.”

<sup>c</sup> In a volume of the *Harleian* manuscripts, 90, C. 7. fol. 439 ; and another manuscript among the collections of the late Mr. *Granger*.



“ my execution, that I may settle my affairs and my mind more than they yet are ; for I have  
 “ much to do, both for my reputation, conscience and loyalty ; and I would beseech the  
 “ favour of pen, ink and paper, to express myself something thereby, and to discharge my-  
 “ self of some trust of worldly matters that were put in me ; which leisure, I beseech you  
 “ think, that I crave not for to gain one minute of life ; for now being old, sickly, in dis-  
 “ grace, and certain to go to it, life is wearisome to me. And I do lastly beseech your  
 “ lordships, that, when I come to die, I may have leave to speak freely at my farewell, to  
 “ satisfy the world only, *that I was ever loyal to the king, and a true lover of this com-*  
 “ *monwealth ; for this I will seal with my blood.*” So craving their prayers, he was led  
 away to the *Gate-house*, near the *Palace-yard*.

THE king was all this while retir'd as it were, or at some remoteness from this tragical scene, and, as I have receiv'd it from particular tradition, in *Hertfordshire* ; as if he would have diverted himself not only from the sight or report, but even the thoughts of it : <sup>a</sup> yet what an effectual and expeditious hand he had in it, may further appear by his special *warrant for the execution* ; which was produced, ready sign'd, as if it at *Westminster*, in a manner, as soon as the sentence was over, being dated the same day, and directed to his chancellor, *Verulam*. Herein, his *gracious majesty*, “ dispensing with the manner of execution according to his former judgment,  
 “ and releasing him of the same to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd, says, *our pleasure is*, instead  
 “ thereof, *to have the head only of the said Sir Walter Raleigh cut off*, at or within our palace of  
 “ *Westminster* : commanding the said chancellor hereupon to direct two several writs under the  
 “ great seal ; one to the lieutenant of the *Tower*, or his deputy, for the delivery of Sir *Walter*  
 “ *Raleigh* to the sheriffs of *Middlesex* at the said palace ; and the other, to the said sheriffs for  
 “ the receiving the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* from the said lieutenant, and for executing him there ;  
 “ for which this to be his warrant and discharge, against us, our heirs and successors for ever.” <sup>b</sup>

WE find, about the same time, some petitions presented to the king in behalf of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, which were strengthened with the solicitations of some persons in great power and esteem with his majesty ; but shall not wonder at their having no effect with him, to mitigate this peremptory and rigorous doom, if it be true as an author, who had opportunity enough of observing his disposition, and abilities sufficient to give a clear judgment of it, has said thereof, with relation to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that “ King *James* so far participated of the humour  
 “ of a pusillanimous prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injur'd by himself.” <sup>c</sup> As for *Raleigh*, we find not that he harbour'd the least expectation or desire of a reprieve ; for that all the oppressions of age, sickness, obloquy, spoil and loss of all his means, besides the other indignities he now lay under, banish'd every wish of redress in this world, but by that dissolution which puts an end to all worldly miseries, appears pretty evident in the letter he seems to have written but a short time before his death to the king ; in which, he rather acknowledges some former tendencies to favour and compassion, than desires any repetition of them, and gives a very good reason for his having no further prospect of any thing substantial therein, where he says, “ I have not spared my labour, my poor estate, and the hourly hazard of  
 “ my life ; but God hath otherwise *disposed of all, and now end the days of my hope.*” But if the days of his *hope* had ended when he landed at *Plymouth*, the days of his *life* had probably been augmented to a much greater number. Not, if it had been prolonged into many other acts, that they might have adorn'd it with such unfading renown, as that one whereby with such universal admiration he finish'd it. That letter aforesaid, he concludes with the generous profession of “ being in nothing so miserable, as in that I could never meet with an  
 “ occasion, says he, wherein to be torn in pieces for your *majesty's service.*” <sup>d</sup> But his majesty chose rather to let his own name and memory be torn in pieces for *Raleigh's* honour, and not only by all indifferent or impartial judges, but by his own countrymen ; <sup>e</sup> and even by antagonists

<sup>a</sup> In *Camden*, also it may appear, that the king came not to *London* to give audience to foreign ambassadors now (as in all other parts of his reign) flocking over, till a day or two after *Raleigh's* death, then he came privately to *Whitehall* in the evening ; but seems very restless about this time ; very often in his boots, and hunting to and fro ; sometimes at *Outlands*, sometimes at *Throbbalds*, sometimes at *Hampton-Court* ; not but he found time to dedicate his *Meditations on the Lord's Prayer* to his favourite *Buckingham*, in *February* following ; but how he reconcil'd a certain article in that prayer with the intention of his *Declaration* aforesaid against Sir *Walter Raleigh*, about the same time publish'd, I leave for others to compare. The queen, all this while, lay on her death bed ; nay, even when she lay dead, in *March* following, and before the solemnity of her

funerals, the king was so busy in that important affair of his life, the *horse-races* at *New-Market*, that he got a violent fit of sickness thereby ; so that it was fear'd his favourite diversion would prove as fatal to him as it was thought a few years after the medicinal applications on that favourite peer aforesaid did.

<sup>b</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. 17, fol. 115.

<sup>c</sup> Osborne's *Memoirs of King James*, p. 107.

<sup>d</sup> See Sir *Joby Mathews's Collection of Letters*, p. 65.

<sup>e</sup> Bishop *Burnet*, speaking of some great errors in king *James's* reign, goes on thus : “ Besides these publick  
 “ actings, king *James* suffer'd much in the opinion of  
 “ all people, by his strange way of using one of the great-  
 “ est men of that age, Sir *Walter Raleigh* ; against whom  
 “ the proceedings at first were much censur'd, but the  
 “ last



antagonists to one another in other parts of history, than suffer any mercy to interfere with that sordid but deceitful, and soon after derided pursuit of a profitable alliance with the crown of *Spain*.

WHETHER any such conditions were offer'd him at this time to lengthen the short line of an uncomfortable existence, which were either so extortionate as *Raleigh* could not comply with them, or so base and detestable as to be worse than death, the particulars are not come to light; unless some glimpses thereof may be discerned in that *Epigram* he wrote a little while before his end, in allusion to the light of a candle: which is as follows.

Cowards may fear to die, but courage stout,  
Rather than live in *snuff*, will be *put out*.

MOREOVER, how sublimely his thoughts were now sequester'd or elevated from all worldly considerations, and with what serenity, what steadiness, he did in a manner possess the joys of a better state before he could be driven to it, is visible in that poem he wrote about the same time, on the *pilgrimage* his soul was suddenly to make to the regions of *eternity*, which concludes with this distich:

Of *death* and *judgment*, *heaven* and *hell*,  
Who often *thinks*, must needs *die well*.

AND that his faith was no less steadfast in the hopes of a resurrection, we are as convincingly assur'd by those *verses* which, this last night of his life, he probably wrote also here, in the *Gate-house*; they being found there in his bible; and, according to the most ancient copies I can meet with, pen'd in these words:

Even such is *Time*! who takes in trust  
Our youth, our joys, and all we have;  
And pays us but with *earth* and *dust*:  
Who, in the dark and silent *grave*,  
When we have wander'd all our ways,  
Shuts up the story of our days.  
But from that earth, that grave and dust,  
The *Lord* shall raise me up, I trust.

THE next morning, being *Thursday* the 29th of *October*, and the *lord mayor's* day, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was conducted, by the sheriffs of *Middlesex*, to the old *Palace-yard* in *Westminster*, where there was a large scaffold erected before the *parliament-house* for his execution. He had on, a wrought night-cap under his hat; a ruff band; a black, wrought velvet night-gown over a hair-colour'd sattin doublet, and a black, wrought waist-coat; a pair of black, cut, taffety breeches, and ash-colour'd silk stockings. He mounted the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and saluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen of his acquaintance there present. Then proclamation being made by an officer for silence, he introduced his speech with informing them, that as he was yesterday taken out of his bed in a strong fit of a fever, which much weaken'd him, and whose untimeliness forbearing no occasion or place, he expected it again to day: therefore did first implore God, that he would preserve him from the interruptions thereof at this time, and next, desir'd the audience, if any disability of voice or dejection of countenance should appear in him, that they would impute it rather to the disorder of his body than any dismaiedness of mind. Then pausing a little, he sat down, and directed himself towards a window, where the lords *Arundel*, *Northampton*, *Doncaster*, with other nobles were sitting, and begun his *speech*. But they being at some distance from the scaffold, he apprehended they did not plainly distinguish his words, therefore said, he would strain his voice, for that he would willingly have them hear him. To which the lord *Arundel* answer'd,

\* *last part of them* was thought both *barbarous* and *ill-gal*. A little further, speaking of the same king, he says, "His reign, in *England*, was a continual course of mean practices: the first condemnation of Sir *Walter Raleigh* was very black; but the executing him after so many years, and after an employment that had been given him, was counted a barbarous sacrificing him to the *Spaniards*." *History of his own Times*, vol. 1. c. 24, fol. 16 and 17. And a late historian, who was

otherwise a great opposer of bishop *Burnet*, yet agrees with him in this particular; where speaking of the artifices by which king *James* was prevail'd on to put the gallant *Raleigh* to death, he says, however, he thinks, it might result more from want of courage than from cruelty, that "The action was *inexcusable*; being not more unjust than mean-spirited, and one of the greatest blemishes in this reign." See *A short View of the History of England*, &c. By Bevil Higgons, Esq; 8vo. 1734. p. 234.



they would rather come down to the scaffold ; which he, and some others did. Then Sir *Walter Raleigh*, having saluted them severally, began again, as follows.

His last  
Speech.

“ I THANK God, that he has sent me to die in the light and not in darkness. I likewise  
“ thank God, that he has suffer’d me to die before such an assembly of honourable witnesses,  
“ and not obscurely in the *Tower* ; where, for the space of thirteen years together, I have  
“ been oppress’d with many miseries. And I return him thanks, that my fever hath not taken  
“ me at this time, as I prayed to him it might not, that I might clear myself of some ac-  
“ cusations unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the testimony of a true heart  
“ both to my king and country.

“ THERE are two main points of suspicion that his majesty hath conceived against me,  
“ and which, I conceive, have specially hastned my coming hither ; therefore I desire to  
“ clear them to your lordships, and resolve you in the truth thereof. The first is, that his  
“ majesty hath been inform’d, I have had some plot or confederacy with *France*, for which  
“ he had some reasons, tho’ grounded upon a weak foundation. One was, that when I re-  
“ turn’d to *Plymouth*, I endeavoured to go to *Rochel*, which was because I would fain have  
“ made my peace before I came to *England*. Another reason was, that again I would have  
“ bent my course to *France*, upon my last intended escape from *London*, being the place  
“ where I might have the best means of making such peace, and the best safeguard during  
“ that terror from above. These, join’d with the coming of the *French* agent to my house  
“ here in *London*, only to confer about my said voyage, together with the report of my  
“ having a commission from the king of *France*, might occasion my being so suspected in  
“ this particular, and his majesty to be so displeased with me. But this I say ; for a man  
“ to call God to witness at any time to a falsehood, is a grievous sin. To call him as witness  
“ to a falsehood at the point of death, when there is no time for repentance, is a crime far  
“ more impious and desperate ; therefore, for me to call that Majesty to witness an untruth,  
“ before whose tribunal I am instantly to appear, were beyond measure sinful, and without  
“ hope of pardon. I do yet call that great God to witness, that, as I hope to see him, to  
“ be saved by him, and live in the world to come, I never had any plot or intelligence  
“ with the *French* king ; never had any commission from him, nor saw his hand or seal ;  
“ that I never had any practice or combination with the *French* agent, nor ever knew or  
“ saw such a person, till I met him in my gallery unlook’d for. If I speak not true, O  
“ Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom.

“ THE second suspicion or imputation was, that his majesty hath been inform’d, I had  
“ spoken disloyally of him. The only witness of this was, a base *Frenchman*, a runnagade,  
“ a chymical fellow, whom I soon knew to be perfidious ; for being drawn by him into the  
“ action of freeing myself at *Winchester*, in which I confess my hand was touch’d, he, being  
“ sworn to secrecy over-night, reveal’d it the next morning. ’Tis strange, that so mean a  
“ fellow could so far encroach himself into the favour of the lords ; and, gaping after some  
“ great reward, could so falsely accuse me of seditious speeches against his majesty, and be  
“ so credited. But this I here speak, it is no time for me to flatter or to fear princes, I, who  
“ am subject only unto death : and for me, who have now to do with God alone, to tell a  
“ lye to get the favour of the king were in vain : and yet, if ever I spake disloyally or  
“ dishonestly of the king, either to this *Frenchman* or any other ; ever intimated the least  
“ thought hurtful or prejudicial of him, the Lord blot me out of the book of life.

“ I CONFESS, I did attempt to escape, and it was only to save my life. I likewise confess,  
“ that I feigned myself to be indisposed at *Salisbury* ; but I hope it was no sin ; for the  
“ prophet *David* did make himself a fool, and suffer’d spittle to fall upon his beard to escape  
“ from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him as a sin : what I did,  
“ was only to prolong time, till his majesty came, in hopes of some commiseration from  
“ him.

“ BUT I forgive that *Frenchman* ; and likewise Sir *Lewis Stucley*, the wrongs he hath done  
“ me with all my heart ; for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr. *Dean*, and  
“ I have forgiven all men ; but, in charity to others, am bound to caution them against him,  
“ and such as he is. For Sir *Lewis Stucley*, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed, that I  
“ should tell him, my lord *Carew* and my lord of *Doncaster* here, did advise me to escape ;  
“ but I protest before God, I never told him any such thing ; neither did these lords advise  
“ me to any such matter. It is not likely that I should acquaint two privy-counsellors of  
“ my escape ; nor that I should tell him, my keeper, it was their advice ; neither was there  
“ any



“ any reason to tell it him, or he to report it ; for it is well known, he left me six, eight,  
 “ or ten days together alone, to go whither I listed, while he rode about the country. He  
 “ further accus’d me, that I should shew him a letter, whereby I did signify, that I would  
 “ give him ten thousand pounds to escape ; but God cast my soul into everlasting fire if ever  
 “ I made such proffer of ten thousand pounds, or one thousand pounds ; but indeed, I shewed  
 “ him a letter, that if he would go with me, there should be order taken for the discharge  
 “ of his debts when he was gone ; neither had I one thousand pounds, for, if I had, I could  
 “ have made my peace better with it otherwise than by giving it *Stucley*. Further, he gave  
 “ out, when I came to Sir *Edward Parham*’s house, who had been a follower of mine, and  
 “ gave me good entertainment, I had there received some dram of poison. When I answer’d  
 “ that I feared no such thing, for I was well assur’d of those in the house ; and therefore wished  
 “ him to have no such thought. Now I will not only say, that God is the God of revenge,  
 “ but also of mercy ; and I desire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven.” Then  
 casting his eye upon his note of remembrance, he went on thus :

“ It was told the king, that I was brought perforce into *England* ; and that I did not  
 “ intend to return again. Whereas captain *Charles Parker*, Mr. *Tresham*, Mr. *Leak*, and  
 “ divers others that knew how I was dealt withal by the common foldiers, will witness to  
 “ the contrary. They were an hundred and fifty of them who mutiny’d against me,  
 “ and sent for me to come to them ; for unto me they would not come. They kept me  
 “ close prisoner in my cabin, and forced me to take an oath, that I would not go into  
 “ *England* without their consent, otherwise they would have cast me into the sea. After I  
 “ had taken this oath, I did, by wine, gifts, and fair words, so work upon the master-  
 “ gunner, and ten or twelve of the faction, that I won them to desist from their purposes,  
 “ and intended, when I returned home, to procure their pardon ; in the mean while pro-  
 “ posed, that I would dispose of some of them in *Ireland* ; to which they agreed, and would  
 “ have gone into the north parts, from which I dissuaded them, and told them, they were  
 “ *Red-shanks* who inhabited there, so drew them to the south ; and the better to clear myself  
 “ of them, was forced to get them a hundred and fifty pounds at *Kingsale*, otherwise I had  
 “ never got from them.

“ THERE was a report also, that I meant not to go to *Guiana* at all ; and that I knew not  
 “ of any mine, nor intended any such matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not  
 “ the wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go for gold, for the benefit of his majesty,  
 “ myself, and those who went with me, with the rest of my countrymen : tho’ he that knew  
 “ the head of the mine, would not discover it when he saw my son was slain, but made him-  
 “ self away.” Then turning to the earl of *Arundel*, he said, “ My lord, you being in the  
 “ gallery of my ship at my departure, I remember you took me by the hand, and said, you  
 “ would request one thing of me ; which was, whether I made a good voyage or a bad, that  
 “ I would return again into *England* ; which I then promis’d, and gave you my faith I  
 “ would.” So you did, said his lordship, ’tis true, and they were the last words I said to  
 “ you.” Another slander was raised of me, that I should have gone away from them, and  
 “ have left them at *Guiana* ; but there were a great many worthy men, who accompanied me  
 “ always, as my serjeant-major, and divers others (whom he nam’d) that knew it was none  
 “ of my intention. Also it hath been said, that I stinted them of fresh water ; to which I  
 “ answer, every one was, as they must be in a ship, furnish’d by measure, and not according  
 “ to their appetites. This course all seamen know must be used among them, and to this  
 “ strait were we driven. Another opinion was held, that I carried with me sixteen thousand  
 “ pieces of gold ; and that all the voyage I intended, was but to gain my liberty, and this  
 “ money into my hands : but, as I shall answer it before God, I had no more in all the  
 “ world, directly or indirectly, than one hundred pounds ; whereof I gave about forty-five  
 “ pounds to my wife. But the ground of this false report was, that twenty thousand pounds  
 “ being adventured, and but four thousand appearing in the surveyor’s books, the rest had  
 “ my hand to the bills for divers adventures ; but, as I hope to be saved, I had not a  
 “ penny more than one hundred pounds. These are the material points I thought good to  
 “ speak of ; I am at this instant to render my account to God, and I protest, as I shall  
 “ appear before him, this that I have spoken is true.

“ I will borrow but a little time more of Mr. *Sheriff*, that I may not detain him too  
 “ long ; and herein I shall speak of the imputation laid upon me through the jealousy of  
 “ the people, that I had been a persecutor of my lord of *Effex* ; that I rejoiced in his death,  
 “ and stood in a window over-against him when he suffer’d, and putt’d out tobacco in de-



“ fiance of him ; when as, God is my witness, that I shed tears for him when he died  
 “ and, as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my lord of *Essex* did not see my face a  
 “ the time of his death ; for I was far off, in the armory, where I saw him, but he saw no  
 “ me. ’Tis true, I was of a contrary faction ; but I take the same God to witness, that I  
 “ had no hand in his death, nor bare him any ill affection, but always believed it would be  
 “ better for me that his life had been preserved ; for after his fall, I got the hatred of those  
 “ who wished me well before : and those who set me against him, set themselves afterwards  
 “ against me, and were my greatest enemies : and my soul hath many times been grieved,  
 “ that I was not nearer to him when he died ; because, as I understood afterwards, he asked  
 “ for me at his death, and desired to have been reconciled to me.

“ AND now I entreat, that you all will join with me in prayer to that great God of hea-  
 “ ven, whom I have grievously offended, being a man full of all vanity, who has lived a  
 “ sinful life in such callings as have been most inducing to it ; for I have been a soldier, a  
 “ sailor, and a courtier, which are courses of wickedness and vice ; that his Almighty Good-  
 “ ness will forgive me ; that he will cast away my sins from me ; and that he will receive me  
 “ into everlasting life : so I take my leave of you all, making my peace with God.” <sup>a</sup>

THEN proclamation being made, that all men should depart the scaffold, he prepared himself for death, giving away his hat and cap and money to some attendants who stood near him. When he took leave of the lords and other gentlemen, he intreated the lord *Arundel* to desire the king, that no scandalous writings to defame him might be publish’d after his death. Concluding, *I have a long journey to go, therefore must take my leave.* Then having put off his gown and doublet, he call’d to the headsmen to shew him the ax, which not being suddenly done, he said, *I pr’ythee let me see it. Dost thou think that I am afraid of it ?* Having finger’d the edge of it a little he return’d it, and said, smiling, to the sheriff, *This is a sharp medicine, but it is a sound cure for all diseases ;* and having intreated the company to pray to God to assist and strengthen him, the executioner kneeled down and asked him forgiveness ; which *Raleigh*, laying his hand upon his shoulder, granted. Then being asked, which way he would lay himself on the block, he answer’d, *So the heart be right, it is no matter which way the head lies.* As he stoop’d to lay himself along, and reclined his head, his face being towards the east, the headsmen spread his own cloak under him. After a little pause, he gave the sign that he was ready for the stroke by lifting up his hand, and his head was struck off at two blows, his body never shrinking or moving. His head was shewed on each side of the scaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and, with his velvet night-gown thrown over it, was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach of his lady’s. His body, as we are told, was buried hard by, in the chancel of St. *Margaret’s* church, near the altar ; but his head was long preserved in a case by his widow, for she survived him twenty-nine years, as I have found by some *anecdotes* remaining in the family ; and after her death, it was kept also by her son *Carew*, with whom it is said to have been buried. <sup>b</sup>

Beheaded.

THUS

<sup>a</sup> This last speech of *Raleigh’s* is taken partly from an old MS. copy in the *Harleian* library, and another in MS. also before me, but, principally, from three of the most ancient copies we have of it in print, at the end of *Overbury’s Narrative of his Arraignment*, and in his *Remains* ; each supplying something the others are wanting in, yet none varying considerably from the rest, either in form of expression, or matter of fact. From thence also, the succeeding particulars above of his behaviour at his death are drawn. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was not content with pronouncing of this speech, but left a summary of it, signed at this time by his own hand. This we have but one copy of in print, and it is, at the end of his *Apology*, as follows. Sir *Walter Raleigh’s Answer to some Things at his Death.* “ I did  
 “ never receive any direction from my lord *Carew* to make  
 “ my escape, nor did I ever tell *Stucley* any such thing. I did  
 “ never name my lord *Hay* and my lord *Carew* to *Stucley*  
 “ in other words or sense than as my honourable friends,  
 “ among other lords. I did never shew unto *Stucley* any  
 “ letter wherein there was *rocco* named, or any one  
 “ pound ; only I told him, that I hoped to procure the  
 “ payment of his debts in his absence. I never had  
 “ commission from the *French* king. I never saw the  
 “ *French* king’s hand or seal in my life. I never had  
 “ any plot or practice with the *French*, directly or in-  
 “ directly, nor with any other prince or state unknown  
 “ to the king. My true intent was, to go to a mine of  
 “ gold in *Guiana* ; it was not feign’d ; but it is true, that  
 “ such a mine there is, within three miles of *St. Thome*.  
 “ I never had in my thought to go from *Trinidad* and

“ leave my companies to come after to the savage island,  
 “ as *Hatby Fearn* hath falsely reported. I did not carry  
 “ with me a hundred pieces. I had with me about sixty, and  
 “ brought back near the same number. I never spake  
 “ to the *French* *Manourie* any one disloyal word or disho-  
 “ nourable speech of the king ; nay, if I had not loved  
 “ the king truly, and trusted in his goodness, somewhat  
 “ too much, I know that I had not now suffer’d death.

“ These things are most true, as there is a God, and  
 “ as I am now to appear before his tribunal seat ; where  
 “ I renounce all mercy and salvation if this be not truth.  
 “ At my death, W. RALEIGH.”

<sup>b</sup> However it was thought by *Anthony Wood*, as was observed in a former note, that the said *Carew Raleigh* was buried at *Westminster* in the same grave with his father ; it is asserted, at *West-Horsey*, in *Surrey*, which was his seat, that the said son was buried there. And they have a tradition, that when he was inter’d, the head of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, which had been kept by him, was then put into the grave with his corpse. And I have seen a letter concerning such of the *Raleghs* as were baptized or buried at *Horsey* aforesaid, written by *William Nicholas*, Esq; who resides upon that estate, to a friend ; wherein that ingenious gentleman “ does verily believe,  
 “ the head he saw dug up there in 1703, from the side  
 “ of a grave where a *Carew Raleigh* had been buried,  
 “ was that of Sir *Walter Raleigh* ; there being no bones  
 “ of a body to it, nor room for any, the rest of that side  
 “ of the grave being firm chalk.” All we shall mention more of Sir *Walter Raleigh’s* head, is, the story remem-ber’d



THUS have we seen how Sir *Walter Raleigh*, after a shining and conspicuous series of actions against the enemies of his country, and for the improvement of navigation as well as the enlargement and enrichment of the *British* empire, under one sovereign, was deprived of his liberty, his estate, and his life under another; how Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had been one of the greatest scourges of *Spain*, was made a sacrifice to it; how the services of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, I say, in camp, in court, by land, by sea, with sword and pen, were an honour to queen *Elizabeth's* reign; and how his sufferings at *Winchester*, at *Westminster*, by imprisonment, by law, with slander and the ax, were the disgrace of king *James's*. Writers vary in their accounts of his age; but the most credible historians inform us, that he was sixty six years old at his execution. <sup>a</sup> Yet was it conjectured, by the extraordinary effusion of blood from his veins, that he had stock and strength enough left of nature to have survived many years. "His death was managed by him, as one author has observed, with so high and religious a resolution, as if a *Roman* had acted a *Christian*, or rather a *Christian* a *Roman*?" <sup>b</sup> and this is confirm'd by Sir *Richard Hutton's* evidence, who says, "He died in a good and religious manner; spake much, and without any fear of death submitted himself to the block; by his death he gained great reputation in this life, and, by the grace and mercy of God, remission of his sins and eternal life hereafter." <sup>c</sup>

AND now, since it is time to close the scene, "let this glorious and gallant cavalier, whose enemies have confess'd he was one of the weightiest and wisest men that this island ever bred, rest in his grave, and may his virtues live in posterity;" <sup>d</sup> whom to inspire therewith, the felicities of commemoration, however here disposed of, seem to have signally combin'd; having transmitted many ample testimonies, how emulous the harmony of record and the spirit of communication have been to restore those honours to his memory which were torn from his person; and make historical compensation for such honourable calamities: and that so early, that from this speedy growth of his fame, through his extraordinary merits and misfortunes, the learned and judicious Mr. *Nathanael Carpenter*, who wrote but few years after his death, drew that comprehensive character which has so much engaged the concurrence of all succeeding writers; where he says, *Who hath not known or read of that prodigy of wit and fortune, Sir WALTER RALEGH? A man unfortunate in nothing else but in*

ber'd by *Osborne* and *Fuller*; who tell us, that Mr. *Edward Wiemark*, a wealthy citizen, great news-monger, and constant *Paul's*-walker, hearing there, the news of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* death the day he was beheaded, and saying, among other things, *His head would do very well upon the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton*, then secretary of state, was complain'd of, and summon'd to the privy council; where he pleaded, that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, only spake in reference to the old proverb, that *Two heads were better than one*; so for the pretent was dismiss'd. Not long after, when rich men were call'd upon for a contribution to *St. Paul's* cathedral, *Wiemark*, at the council-table, subscribed a hundred pounds. But Mr. Secretary said, *Two hundred are better than one, you know, Mr. Wiemark*; which, between fear and charity, he was fain to subscribe.

<sup>a</sup> Camden's *Annals of King James*. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* and *Prince's Worthies*.

<sup>b</sup> Osborne's *Memoirs*.

<sup>c</sup> See *Hutton's Reports*, as before. Nor only in prose, but in verse we have several testimonies of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* heroick comportment at his death. I have seen three or four epitaphs on him highly extolling the same, in print; whereof one ends thus:

Heaven hath his soul, the world his fame,  
The grave his corpse, *Stuckey* his shame.

But there is an *Elegy*, written upon Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by Dr. *Henry King*, afterwards bishop of *Chichester*, which, tho' printed among the said prelate's poems in 8vo. 1657, has been so little known to any who have written of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, that I chuse rather to repeat that than any other in this place; and it is as follows.

I will not weep, for 'twere as great a sin  
To shed a tear for thee as to have been  
An actor in thy death: thy life and age  
Was but a various scene on fortune's stage,  
With whom thou tugg'dst and strov'st e'en out of breath  
In thy long toil; ne'er matter'd till thy death;  
And then, despite of trains and cruel wit,  
Thou did'st at once subdue malice and it.  
I dare not then to blast thy memory,  
As I say, I do lament, or pity thee.

Were I to chuse a subject to bestow  
My pity on, he should be one as low  
In spirit as desert: that durst not die,  
But rather were content by slavery  
To purchase life. Or I would pity those  
Thy most industrious and friendly foes,  
Who, when they thought to make thee scandal's story  
Lent thee a swifter flight to heav'n and glory:  
Who thought, by cutting off some wither'd days,  
Which thou couldst spare them, to eclipse thy praise;  
Yet gave it brighter foil, made thy ag'd fame  
Appear more white and fair, than foul their shame.  
And did promote an execution,  
Which, but for them, nature and age had done.  
Such worthless things as these were only born  
To live on pity's alms, too mean for scorn.  
Thou diest an envied wonder, whose high fate  
The world must still admire, scarce imitate!

Among the later poems which have been written upon him, since here is not room for Dr. *S. Bowden's* ingenious verses inscrib'd to Miss *RALEGH*, who is a direct descendant, and now living at *Salisbury*, I shall here recite only the conclusion of major *Richardson Pack's* Prologue to Dr. *Sewall's Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh*, as containing a most notable admonition to succeeding times.

Jealous of virtue that was so sublime,  
His country damn'd his merit as a crime.  
The traitor's doom did on the patriot wait:  
He sav'd—and then he perish'd by the state.  
A patient MONARCH, too securely wise,  
Unhappy kings, they see with others eyes!  
Weakly consented to the guilty deed,  
And made three kingdoms in their CHAMPION bleed.  
BRITONS, by this EXAMPLE taught, unite;  
Wound not the publick out of private spite.  
To great achievements, just rewards allow;  
Nor tear the laurel from the victor's brow.  
Exert your vigor in the nation's cause,  
But grudge no rival his deserv'd applause.  
Safely we may defy MADRID or ROME,  
If no sly GONDOMAR prevails at HOME.

<sup>d</sup> Howell's *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 372.



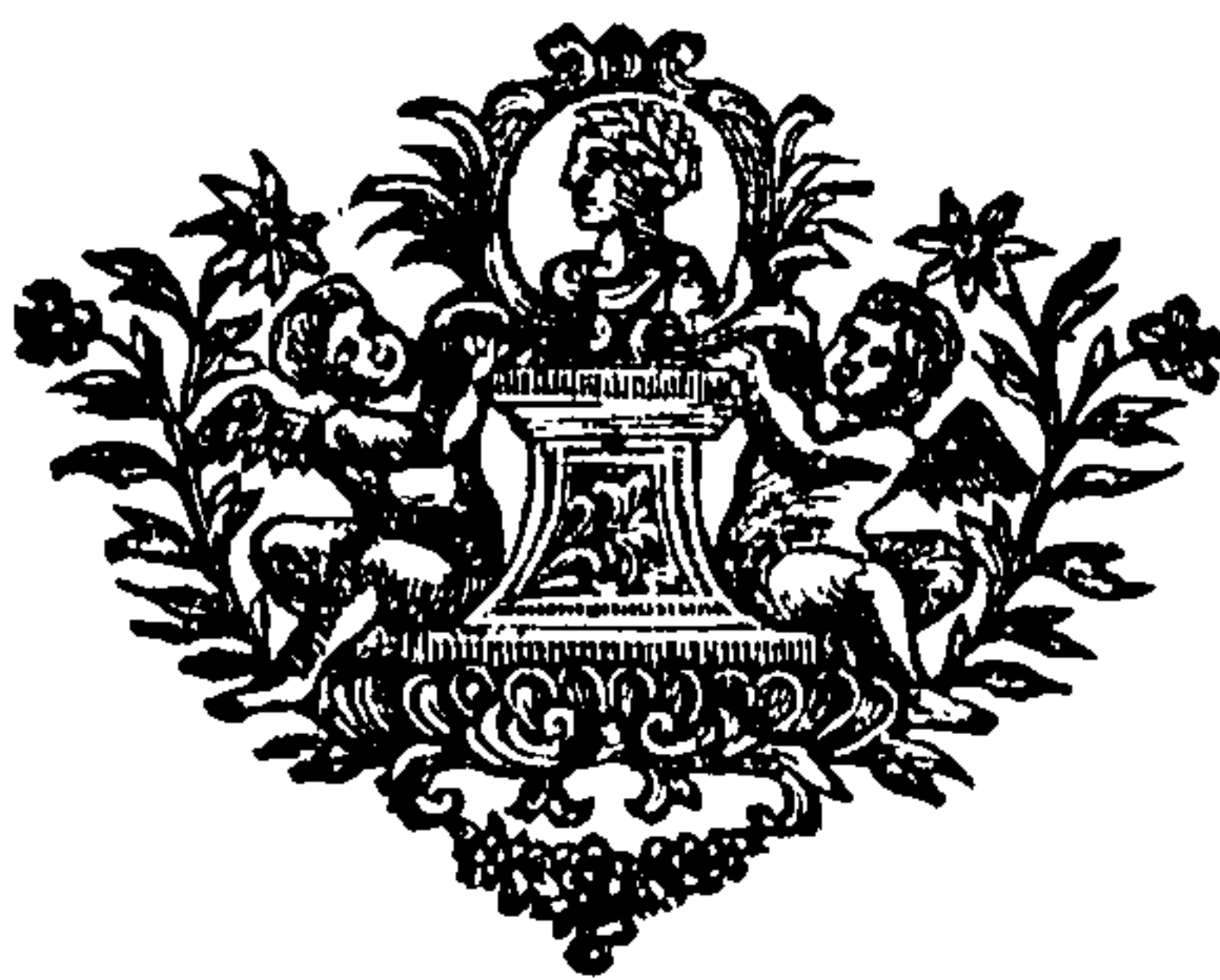
the greatness of his wit and advancement! whose eminent worth was such, both in domestick policy, foreign expeditions and discoveries; in arts and literature, both practick and contemplative, that it might seem at once to conquer both example and imitation.<sup>a</sup> But lest a private judgment should be suspected, more liable to the ignorance of a stranger, or the affection of a friend; and that there may be no room left to doubt either of such manifold worth in Sir Walter Raleigh, or that it was all made a sacrifice of state to the enemies and deceivers of the state, we have reserved, as most convincing, the acknowledgments of an enemy, who made him that sacrifice, here to conclude with. For king James, soon after Raleigh's execution, beginning to see how he was, and would be deluded by the Spaniard, made one of his ministers write to his agent in Spain, to let that state know, they should be look'd upon as the most unworthy people in the world, if they did not now act with sincerity, since his majesty had given so many testimonies of his; and now of late, by causing Sir Walter Raleigh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them satisfaction. Further to let them see how, in many actions of late, his majesty had strained upon the affections of his people, and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, who died with a great deal of courage and constancy. Lastly, that he should let them know, how able a man Sir Walter Raleigh was, to have done his majesty service. Yet, to give them content, he hath not spared him; when by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Carpenter's *Geography Delineated. In Two Books. Containing the spherical and topical Parts thereof*, 4to. Oxon. 1625 and 1635; lib. 2. cap. 11, p. 261. From whence Howel, Anthony Wood, J. Prince, and other

writers on Sir W. Raleigh have copied this character.

<sup>b</sup> See *A Letter from a great Minister of State to Mr. Cottington, Agent in Spain*, in *Rushworth's Historical Collections*, vol. 1, fol. 9, 10.

## F I N I S.



## ERRATA.

FOL. 17, the two last letters of reference in the text should be d. and e. fol. 21. lin. 28. read *immersed*. *idem*, in the Notes, lin. 10. read *Octavo*. fol. 22. last lin. of N. for *captain* read *some relation of*. fol. 23. lin. 7. from the bottom, *dele* *So*. fol. 28. N. col. 2. lin. 9. read *for the* for *captain P. Raleigh*. fol. 31. lin. 9. read *who rewarded*. fol. 34. lin. 21. for *sent it over* read *delivered it*. fol. 35. N. col. 1. last lin. read *tax for take*. fol. 48. N. lin. 3. read *Octavo*. fol. 50. N. lin. 2. read *young*, by the earl. fol. 59. N. lin. 8. *dele* *but*. fol. 60. last lin. N. read *report of*. fol. 71. N. lin. 20. read *geographical*. fol. 81. N. col. 2. lin. 6. read *when by*. lin. 7. *dele* *by*. fol. 90. l. 4. from the bottom, 1. *match*. fol. 120 lin. 21. for *as it seems* read *as he now thought*. fol. 127. N. lin. 2. for *Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel* read *The Earl of Clarendon's Disparity*. fol. 130. lin. 16. *dele* *a*. fol. 131. last N. lin. 6. read *for*. fol. 132. lin. 7. read *to have*. fol. 134. N. col. 2. lin. 1. for *et lunc* read *les uncs*. lin. 3. read *chronicle*. fol. 139. N. lin. 14. for *Suffx* read *Surrey*, to a friend. fol. 144. N. lin. 2. read *great grand*. &c. fol. 154. lin. 2. read *under the wardens*. fol. 164. N. lin. 5. read *corrupt judges*. fol. 166. lin. 14. from below, read *dealings were*. fol. 179. N. lin. 17. from the bottom, read *fifty for forty*. fol. 180. lin. 7. for *Abraham* read *the library of Caius College, Cambridge*. *idem*. N. lin. 4. read *More* for *More*. fol. 206. lin. 6. *dele* the *period* and put a *comma*.





T H E  
T R I A L  
O F  
Sir *WALTER RALEGH*, K<sup>nt.</sup>  
For H I G H T R E A S O N,

*At Winton the 17th of November, 1603, 1. Jac. I.*

The C O M M I S S I O N E R S were,

*The Right Honourable Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain.*

*Charles Blunt, Earl of Devon.*

*Lord Henry Howard, afterward Earl of Northampton.*

*Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.*

*Edward Lord Wotton of Morley.*

*Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain.*

*Lord Chief Justice of England, Popham.*

*Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, Anderson.*

*Mr. Justice Gawdie.*

*Mr. Justice Warburton, and*

*Sir William Wade.*



FIRST, The Commission of Oyer and Terminer, was read by the Clerk of the Crown-Office; and the Prisoner bid hold up his Hand:

And then presently the Indictment, which was in effect as followeth:

*THAT* he did conspire, and go about to deprive the King of his Government, to raise up Sedition within the Realm, to alter Religion, to bring in the Roman Superstition, and to procure foreign Enemies to invade the Kingdom. That the Lord Cobham, the 9th of June last, did meet with the said Sir Walter Raleigh in Durham House, in the Parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, and then and there had Conference with him how to advance Arabella Stuart to the Crown and royal Throne of this Kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed, That Cobham should treat with Aremberg, Ambassador from the Arch-duke of Austria, to obtain of him 600,000 Crowns, to bring to pass their intended Treasons. It was agreed, That Cobham should go to Albert the Arch-duke, to procure him to advance the pretended Title of Arabella: From thence, knowing that Al-

bert had not sufficient Means to maintain his own Army in the Low-Countries, Cobham should go to Spain to procure the King to assist, and further her pretended Title.

It was agreed, the better to effect all this Conspiracy, That Arabella should write three Letters, one to the Arch-duke, another to the King of Spain, and a third to the Duke of Savoy; and promise there Things: First, To establish a firm Peace between England and Spain. Secondly, To tolerate the Popish and Roman Superstition. Thirdly, To be ruled by them in contracting of her Marriage.

And, for the effecting these traiterous Purposes, Cobham should return by the Isle of Jersey, and should there find Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain of the said Isle, and take Counsel of Raleigh for the distributing of the aforesaid Crowns, as the Occasion or Discontentment of the Subjects should give Cause and Way.

And further, That Cobham and his Brother Brook met on the 9th of June last, and Cobham told Brook all these Treasons: To the which Treasons Brook gave his Assent, and did join himself to all these; and after, on the Thursday following, Cobham

c c c c



Cobham and Brook did speak these Words; That there would never be a good World in England, till the King (meaning our Sovereign Lord) and his Cubs (meaning his Royal Issue) were taken away.

And, the more to disable and deprive the King of his Crown, and to confirm the said Cobham in his Intents, Raleigh did publish a Book, falsely written against the most just and royal Title of the King, knowing the said Book to be written against the just Title of the King; which Book Cobham after that received of him. Farther, for the better effecting these traitorous Purposes, and to establish the said Brook in his Intent, the said Cobham did deliver the said Book unto him, the 14th of June. And further, the said Cobham, on the 16th of June, for Accomplishment of the said Conference, and, by the traitorous Instigation of Raleigh, did move Brook to incite Arabella to write to the three forenamed Princes to procure them to advance her Title; and that she, after she had obtained the Crown, should promise to perform three Things, viz. 1. Peace between England and Spain. 2. To tolerate with Impunity, the Popish and Roman Superstitions. 3. To be ruled by them three, in the contracting of her Marriage.

To these Motions, the said Brook gave his Assent; and for the better effecting of the said Treasons, Cobham, on the 17th of June, by the Instigation of Raleigh, did write Letters to Count Aremberg, and did deliver the said Letters to one Matthew de Lawrence, to be delivered to the said Count, which he did deliver, for the obtaining of 600,000 Crowns; which Money, by other Letters, Count Aremberg did promise to perform the payment of; and this Letter Cobham received the 18th of June. And then did Cobham promise to Raleigh, that when he had received the said Money, he would deliver 8000 Crowns to him; to which Motion he did consent; and afterwards Cobham offered Brook, that after he should receive the said Crowns, he would give to him 10000 thereof; to which Motion Brook did assent.

To the Indictment, Sir Walter Raleigh pleaded Not Guilty.

### The JURY.

Sir Ralph Conisby, Knt.	Thomas Walker, Esq;
Sir Thomas Fowler, Knt.	Thomas Whitby, Esq;
Sir Edward Peacock, Knt.	Thomas Highgate, Gent.
Sir William Rowe, Knt.	Robert Kempton, Gent.
Henry Goodyer, Esq;	John Chawkey, Gent.
Roger Wood, Esq;	Robert Brumley, Gent.

Sir Walter Raleigh was asked, whether he would take Exceptions to any of the Jury.

Raleigh. I know none of them; they are all Christians and honest Gentlemen; I except against none.

E. Suff. You Gentlemen of the King's learned Council, follow the same Course as you did the other Day.

Raleigh. My Lord, I pray you, I may answer the Points particularly, as they are delivered, by reason of the Weakness of my Memory and Sick-ness.

Popham, Chief Justice. After the King's learned Council have delivered all the Evidence, Sir Walter, you may answer particularly to what you will.

Heale, the King's Serjeant at Law. You have heard of Raleigh's bloody Attempts, to kill the King and his royal Progeny, and, in place thereof,

to advance one Arabella Stuart. The Particulars of the Indictment are these: First, That Raleigh met with Cobham the 9th of June, and had Conference of an Invasion, of a Rebellion, and an Insurrection, to be made by the King's Subjects, to depose the King, and to kill his Children, poor Babes, that never gave Offence: Here is Blood, here is a new King and Governor. In our King consists all our Happiness, and the true Use of the Gospel; a Thing, which we all wished to be settled after the Death of the Queen. Here must be Money to do this, for Money is the Sinew of War. Where should that be had? Count Aremberg must procure it of Philip King of Spain, 5 or 600,000 Crowns, and out of this Sum, Raleigh must have 8000; then there must be Friends to effect this. Cobham must go to Albert, Arch-duke of Austria, from whom Aremberg was Ambassador at that time in England. And what then? He must persuade the Duke to assist the pretended Title of Arabella. From thence Cobham must go to the King of Spain, and persuade him to assist the said Title. Since the Conquest, there was never the like Treason. But out of whose Head came it? Out of Raleigh's, who must also advise Cobham to use his Brother Brook to incite the Lady Arabella to write three several Letters, as aforesaid in the Indictment; all this was on the 9th of June. Then three Days after, Brook was acquainted with it: After this, Cobham said to Brook, 'Twill never be well in England, till the King and his Cubs are taken away. Afterwards Raleigh delivered a Book to Cobham, treacherously written against the Title of the King. It appears, that Cobham took Raleigh, to be either a God, or an Idol. Cobham endeavours to set up a new King, or Governor. God forbid, mine Eyes should ever see so unhappy a Change. As for the Lady Arabella, she, upon my Conscience, hath no more Title to the Crown than I have; which, before God, I utterly renounce. Cobham, a Man bred in England, hath no Experience abroad. But Raleigh, a Man of great Wit, Military, and a Sword-man. Now whether these Things were bred in a hollow Tree, I leave to them to speak of, who can speak far better than myself.

Sir Edward Coke, the King's Attorney. I must first, My Lords, before I come to the Cause, give one Caution; because we shall often mention Persons of eminent Places, some of them great Monarchs: Whatever we say of them, we shall but repeat what others have said of them; I mean the capital Offenders in their Confessions: We, professing Law, must speak reverently of Kings and Potentates. I perceive these honourable Lords, and the rest of this great Assembly, are come to hear what hath been scattered upon the Wreck of Report. We carry a just Mind, to condemn no Man, but upon plain Evidence. Here is Mischief, Mischief in summo gradu, exorbitant Mischief. My Speech shall chiefly touch these three Points; Imitation, Supportation, and Defence.

The Imitation of Evil ever exceeds the Precedent; as on the contrary, Imitation of Good ever comes short. Mischief cannot be supported, but by Mischief: Yea, it will so multiply, that it will bring all to Confusion. Mischief is ever underprop'd by Falshood of foul Practices. And because all these things did concur in these Treasons, you shall understand the Main, as before you did the Bye.

The Treason of the Bye, consisteth in these Points: First, That the Lord Grey, Brook, Markham, and the rest, intended by Force in the Night, to surprize the King's Court; which was a Rebellion in the Heart of the Realm, yea, in the Heart of the Heart, in the Court. They intended to make him,



that is a Sovereign, subject to their Power, purposing to open the Doors with Musquets and Calivers, and to take also the Prince and Council. Then, under the King's Authority, to carry the King to the Tower, and to make a *Stale of the Admiral*: When they had the King there, to extort three Things from him. *First*, A Pardon for all their Treasons. *Secondly*, A Toleration of the Roman Superstition: Which, their Eyes shall sooner fall out, than they shall ever see; for the King hath spoken these Words in the hearing of many, *I will lose the Crown and my Life, before ever I will alter Religion*. And *Thirdly*, To remove Counsellors: In the room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have placed one *Watson* a Priest, absurd in Humanity, and ignorant in Divinity. *Brook*, of whom I will speak nothing, Lord Treasurer; the great Secretary must be *Markbam*, *Oculus Patriæ*. A Hole must be found in my Lord Chief Justice's Coat. *Grey* must be *Earl Marshal*, and *Master of the Horse*, because he would have a Table in the Court: Marry, he would advance the Earl of *Worcester* to a higher Place. All this cannot be done without a Multitude. Therefore *Watson* the Priest telleth a resolute Man, That the King was in Danger of *Puritans* and *Jesuits*; so to bring him in blindfold into the Action; saying, That the King is no King till he be crowned, therefore every Man might right his own Wrongs: But he is *Rex Natus*, his Dignity descends as well as yours, my Lords. Then *Watson* imposeth a blasphemous Oath, That they should swear to defend the King's Person, to keep secret what was given them in Charge, and seek all Ways and Means to advance the Catholick Religion. Then they intend to send for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, in the King's Name, to the Tower, lest they should make any Resistance, and then to take Hostages of them; and to enjoin them to provide for them Victuals and Munition. *Grey*, because the King removed before *Midsummer*, had a further Reach, to get a Company of Sword-men to assist the Action: Therefore he would stay, till he had obtain'd a Regiment from *Ostend* or *Austria*. So you see, these Treasons were like *Sampson's* Foxes, which were joined in their Tails, tho' their Heads were severed.

*Raleigh*. You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray remember, I am not charged with the Bye, being the Treason of the Priest.

*Attorney*. You are not: My Lords, you shall observe three Things in the Treasons. *First*, They had a Watch-word (the King's Safety); their Pretence was *Bonum in se*, their Intent was *Malum in se*. *Secondly*, They avouched Scripture; both the Priests had, *Scriptum est*; perverting and ignorantly mistaking the Scriptures. *Thirdly*, They avouched the Common Law to prove, That he was no King till he was crowned, alledging a Statute of 13 *Eliz.* This, by way of Imitation, hath been the Course of all Traytors.

In the 20th of *Edward II.*, *Isabella* the Queen, and the Lord *Mortimer*, gave out, That the King's Person was not safe, for the Good of the Church and Commonwealth.

The Bishop of *Carlisle* did preach on this Text, *My Head is grieved*; meaning by the Head, the King; that when the Head began to be negligent, the People might reform what is amiss.

In the 3d of *Henry IV.*, Sir *Roger Claringdon*, accompanied with two Priests, gave out, that *Richard II.* was alive, when he was dead.

*Edward III.* caused *Mortimer's* Head to be cut off, for giving Counsel to murder the King.

The 3d of *Henry VII.* Sir *Henry Stanley* found the Crown in the Dust, and set it on the King's

Head. When *Fitzwater* and *Garret* told him, that *Edward V.* was alive, he said, *If he be alive, I will assist him*: But this cost him his Head.

*Edmund de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, killed a Man in the Reign of King *Henry VII.*, for which the King would have him hold up his Hand at the Bar, and then pardoned him. Yet he took such Offence thereat, that he sent to the Noblemen, to help to reform the Commonwealth; and then said, he would go to *France* and get Power there. Sir *Roger Compton* knew all the Treason, and discovered *Windon* and others, that were attainted.

He said, there was another Thing that would be stood upon, namely, that they had but one Witness; then he vouched one *Appleyard's* Case (*Temp. Eliz.*) a Traytor in *Norfolk*, who said a Man must have two Accusers. *Helmes* was the Man that accused him; but Mr. *Justice Catlin* said, that that Statute was not in force at that Day; his Words were, *Thrust her into the Ditch*.

Then he went on speaking of Accusers, and made this Difference: An Accuser is a Speaker by Report; when a Witness is he, that upon his Oath shall speak his Knowledge of any Man.

A third sort of Evidence there is likewise, and this is held more forcible than either of the other two; and that is, when a Man, by his Accusation of another, shall, by the same Accusation, also condemn himself, and make himself liable to the same Fault and Punishment: This is more forcible than many Witnesses. So then, so much by way of Imitation. Then he defined Treason: There is Treason in the Heart, in the Hand, in the Mouth, in Consummation; comparing that *in Corde* to the Root of a Tree; *in Ore*, to the Bud; *in Manu*, to the Blossom; and that which is *in Consummatione*, to the Fruit.

Now I come to your Charge, you of the Jury: The Greatness of Treason is to be considered in these two Things, *Determinatione finis*, and *Electione mediorum*. This Treason excelleth in both, for that it was to destroy the King and his Progeny. These Treasons are said to be *Crimen læsæ Majestatis*; this goeth farther, and may be termed *Crimen extirpandæ Regiæ Majestatis & totius Progeniei suæ*. I shall not need, my Lords, to speak any thing concerning the King, nor of the Bounty and Sweetness of his Nature, whose Thoughts are innocent, whose Words are full of Wisdom and Learning, and whose Works are full of Honour; altho' it be a true Saying, *Nunquam nimis, quod nunquam satis*. But to whom do you bear Malice? To the Children?

*Raleigh*. To whom speak you this? You tell me News I never heard of.

*Attorney*. Oh Sir, do I; I will prove you the notoriousest Traytor, that ever came to the Bar. After you have taken away the King, you would alter Religion: As you Sir *Walter Raleigh* have followed them of the Bye in Imitation; for I will charge you with the Words.

*Raleigh*. Your Words cannot condemn me, my Innocency is my Defence: Prove one of these Things wherewith you have charged me, and I will confess the whole Indictment; and that I am the horriblest Traytor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thousand thousand Torments.

*Attorney*. Nay, I will prove all: Thou art a Monster; thou hast an *English* Face, but a *Spanish* Heart. Now you must have Money: *Aremberg* was no sooner in *England* (I charge thee *Raleigh*) but thou incitedst *Cobham* to go unto him, and to deal with him for Money, to bestow on discontented Persons, to raise Rebellion in the Kingdom.

*Raleigh*. Let me answer for myself.

*Attorney*.



*Attorney.* Thou shalt not.

*Raleigh.* It concerneth my Life.

*Lord Chief Justice Popham.* Sir Walter Raleigh, Mr. Attorney is but yet in the General; but when the King's Council have given the Evidence wholly, you shall answer every Particular.

*Attorney.* Oh! do I touch you?

*Lord Cecil.* Mr. Attorney, when you have done with this general Charge, do you not mean to let him answer to every Particular?

*Attorney.* Yes, when we deliver the Proofs to be read. Raleigh procured Cobham to go to Aremberg, which he did by his Instigation: Raleigh supped with Cobham before he went to Aremberg; after Supper, Raleigh conducted him to Durham House; from whence Cobham went with Lawrence, a Servant of Aremberg's, unto him, and went in by a Back-way. Cobham could never be quiet until he had entertain'd this Motion, for he had four Letters from Raleigh. Aremberg answered, the Money should be performed, but knew not to whom it should be distributed. Then Cobham and Lawrence came back to Durham House, where they found Raleigh. Cobham and Raleigh went up, and left Lawrence below, where they had secret Conference in a Gallery, and after Cobham and Lawrence departed from Raleigh. Your Jargon was Peace! What is that? Spanish Invasion, Scottish Subversion. And again, you are not a fit Man to take so much Money for procuring of a lawful Peace, for Peace procured by Money is dishonourable. Then Cobham must go to Spain, and return by Jersey, where you were Captain: And then, because Cobham had not so much Policy, or at least Wickedness, as you, he must have your Advice for the distribution the Money. Would you have despoised so good a King, lineally descended of Elizabeth, eldest Daughter of Edward IV: Why then must you set up another? I think you meant to make Arabella a titular Queen, of whose Title I will speak nothing; but sure you meant to make her a Stale: Ah good Lady! you could mean her no good.

*Raleigh.* You tell me News, Mr. Attorney.

*Attorney.* Oh Sir! I am the more large, because I know with whom I deal: For we have to deal to-day with a Man of Wit.

*Raleigh.* Did I ever speak with this Lady?

*Attorney.* I will track you out before I have done; Englishmen will not be led by Persuasion of Words, but they must have Books to persuade.

*Raleigh.* The Book \* was written by a Man of your Profession, Mr. Attorney.

*Attorney.* I would not have you impatient.

*Raleigh.* Methinks you fall out with yourself; I say nothing.

*Attorney.* By this Book, you would persuade Men, that he is not the lawful King. Now let us consider some Circumstances: My Lords, you know my Lord Cobham (for whom we all lament, and rejoice; lament in that his House, which hath stood so long unspotted, is now ruined: Rejoice, in that his Treasons are revealed) is neither Politician nor Sword-man; Raleigh was both, united in the Cause with him, and therefore Cause of his Destruction. Another Circumstance is, the secret contriving of it. Humphry Stafford claimed Sanctuary for Treason, Raleigh in his Machiavilian Policy hath made a Sanctuary for Treason. He must talk with none but Cobham, because (saith he) one Witness can never condemn me. For Brook said unto Sir Griffith Markham, take heed how you do make my Lord

Cobham acquainted; for whatsoever he knoweth, Raleigh the Witch will get it out of him. As soon as Raleigh was examined on one Point of Treason concerning my Lord Cobham, he wrote to him thus; *I have been examined of you, and confessed nothing.* Further, you sent to him by your trusty Francis Kemish, that one Witness could not condemn; and therefore bad his Lords ship be of good Courage. Came this out of Cobham's Quiver? No: But out of Raleigh's Machiavilian and Devilish Policy! Yea, but Cobham did retract it: Why then did you urge it? Now then see the most horrible Practices that ever came out of the bottomless Pit of the lowest Hell. After that Raleigh had Intelligence that Cobham had accused him, he endeavoured to have Intelligence from Cobham, which he had gotten by young Sir John Peyton: But I think it was the Error of his Youth.

*Raleigh.* The Lords told it me, or else I had not been sent to the Tower.

*Attorney.* Thus Cobham, by the Instigation of Raleigh, entred into these Actions: So that the Question will be, Whether you are not the principal Traytor, and he would nevertheless have entred into it? Why did Cobham retract all that same? First, Because Raleigh was so odious, he thought he should fare the worse for his sake. 2dly, He thought thus with himself, if he be free, I shall clear myself the better. After this, Cobham asked for a Preacher to confer with, pretending to have Dr. Andrews; but indeed, he meant not to have him, but Mr. Galloway, a worthy and reverend Preacher, who can do more with the King (as he said) than any other; that he, seeing his constant Denial, might inform the King thereof. Here he plays with the Preacher. If Raleigh could persuade the Lords, that Cobham had no Intent to travel, then he thought all should be well. Here is Forgery. In the Tower, Cobham must write to Sir Thomas Vane, a worthy Man, That he meant not to go into Spain; which Letter Raleigh devised in Cobham's Name.

*Raleigh.* I will wash my Hands of the Indictment, and die a true Man to the King.

*Attorney.* You are the absolute Traytor that ever was.

*Raleigh.* Your Phrases will not prove it, Mr. Attorney.

*Attorney.* Cobham writeth a Letter to my Lord Cecil, and doth will Mellis, his Man, to lay it in a Spanish Bible, and to make as tho' he found it by chance. This was after he had Intelligence with this Viper; then he was false.

*Lord Cecil.* You mean a Letter intended to me; I never had it.

*Attorney.* No, my Lord, you had it not. You, my Masters of the Jury, respect not the Wickedness and Hatred of the Man, respect his Cause; if he be guilty, I know you will have Care of it, for the Preservation of the King, the Continuance of the Gospel authorized, and the Good of us all.

*Raleigh.* I do not hear yet, that you have spoken one Word against me; here is no Treason of mine done. If my Lord Cobham be a Traytor, what is that to me?

*Attorney.* All that he did, was by thy Instigation, thou Viper; for I Thow thee, thou Traytor.

*Raleigh.* It becometh not a Man of Quality and Virtue, to call me so: But I take Comfort in it, it is all you can do.

*Attorney.* Have I anger'd you?

*Raleigh.* I am in no Case to be angry?

\* This Book was intitled, A Defence of the Queen's Proceedings, against Mary Queen of Scotland. Written by one Robert Snag. See the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh. By Sir Thomas Overbury, 4to. 1648.



*C. J. Popham.* Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Mr. Attorney speaketh out of the Zeal of his Duty, for the Service of the King, and you for your Life; be valiant on both sides.

Now they proceed to the reading the Proofs.

*The Lord Cobham's Examination read.*

" He confesseth he had a Passport to go into *Spain*,  
 " intending to go to the Arch-duke, to confer  
 " with him about these Practices; and because  
 " he knew the Arch-duke had not Money to  
 " pay his own Army, from thence he meant to go  
 " to *Spain*, to deal with the King for the 600,000  
 " Crowns, and to return by *Jersey*; and that no-  
 " thing should be done, until he had spoken with  
 " Sir *Walter Ralegh*, for distribution of the Money  
 " to them which were discontented in *England*.  
 " At the first beginning, he breathed out Oaths  
 " and Exclamations against *Ralegh*, calling him  
 " Villain and Traytor; saying, he had never en-  
 " tered into these Courses, but by his Instigation,  
 " and that he would never let him alone.

Here Mr. Attorney willed the Clerk of the Crown-Office, to read over these last Words again (*he would never let him alone.*)

*The Lord Cobham's Examination.*

" Besides, he spake of Plots and Invasions: Of  
 " the Particulars whereof he could give no Ac-  
 " count, tho' *Ralegh* and he had conferred of them,  
 " because he was (as he said) confounded with  
 " them. Further, he said, he was afraid of *Ra-  
 " legh*, that when he should return by *Jersey*, that  
 " he would have him and the Money to the King.  
 " Being examined of Sir *Arthur Gorge*, he freed  
 " him, saying, They never durst trust him; but  
 " Sir *Arthur Savage* they intended to use, because  
 " they thought him a fit Man.

*Ralegh.* Let me see the Examination: This is absolutely all the Evidence can be brought against me; poor Shifts! You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you understand this: This is that which must either condemn, or give me Life; which must free me, or send my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets. This is what must prove me a notorious Traytor, or true Subject to the King. Let me see my Accusation, that I may make my Answer.

*Clerk of the Council.* I did read it, and shew you all the Examinations.

*Ralegh.* At my first Examination at *Windfor*, my Lords asked me, what I knew of *Cobham's* Practice with *Aremberg*; I answered negatively: And as concerning *Arabella*, I protest before God, I never heard one Word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of a thousand Treasons. It is a strange thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard so much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*.

After being examined, I told my Lords, that I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I suspected his visiting of him: For after he departed from me at *Durham House*, I saw him pass by his own Stairs, and passed over to *St. Mary-Saviours*, where I knew *Lawrency* a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* asked my Opinion concerning *Lawrency*; I said, That if you do not apprehend *Lawrency*, it is dangerous, he will fly; if you do apprehend him, you shall give my Lord *Cobham* Notice thereof. I was asked likewise, Who was the greatest Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I an-

swered, I knew no Man so great with him, as young *Wyat* of *Kent*.

As soon as *Cobham* saw my Letter to have discovered his Dealing with *Aremberg*, in his Fury he accused me; but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented him, and said, he had done me wrong. When he came to the End of his Accusation, he added, That if he had brought this Money to *Jersey*, that I would have delivered him and the Money to the King. Mr. Attorney, You said this never came out of *Cobham's* Quiver, he is a simple Man: Is he so simple? No: He hath Dispositions of his own, he will not easily be guided by others, but when he has once taken Head in a Matter, he is not easily drawn from it; he is no Babe. But it is strange for me to devise with *Cobham*, that he should go to *Spain*, to persuade the King to disburse so much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having resigned my Room of chiefest Command, the Wardenship of the *Stannaries*: Is it not strange for me, to make myself *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*; I knowing *England* to be in better Estate to defend itself than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* united, *Ireland* quieted, *Denmark* assured, which before was suspected. I knew, that having lost a Lady whom Time had surprised, we had now an active King, a lawful Successor. The State of *Spain* was not unknown to me. I had written a Discourse, which I had intended to present unto the King, against Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniards* had six Repulses, three in *Ireland*, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was discouraged and dishonoured. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudest Prince living; but now he cometh creeping to the King my Master, for Peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his Ports six or seven score Sail of Ships, he hath now but six or seven. I knew of twenty-five Millions he had from his *Indies*, he hath scarce one left. I knew him so poor, that the *Jesuits* in *Spain*, who were wont to have such large Allowance, were fain to beg at the Church-door. Was it ever read or heard, that any Prince should disburse so much Money, without a sufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not lend her Majesty Money, without Lands in Mortgage. I knew the Queen did not lend the *States* Money, without *Flushing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought, he would let *Cobham* have so great a Sum?

I never came to the Lord *Cobham's*, but about Matters of his Profit, as the ordering of his House, paying of his Servants Board-wages, &c. I had of his when I was examined, four thousand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchase; a Pearl of three thousand Pounds, and a Ring worth five hundred Pounds: If he had had a Fancy to run away, he would not have left so much to have purchased a Lease in Fee-farm. I saw him buy three hundred Pounds worth of Books, to send to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of thirty Pounds to give to Mr. Attorney, for drawing the Conveyances; and God in Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel. But for that Practice with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg*, or any Discourse with him, or in what Language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would absolutely confess the Indictment, and acknowledge myself worthy a thousand Deaths.

*Cobham's second Examination read.*

" The Lord *Cobham* being required to subscribe to  
 " an Examination, there was shewed a Note under  
 " *Ralegh's* Hand, the which when he had perused,  
 " he paused, and after brake forth into these  
 " Speeches: Oh Villain! Oh Traytor! I will now  
 " tell



“ tell you all the Truth: And then said, His Purpose was to go into *Flanders* and into *Spain*, for the obtaining the aforesaid Money, and that *Raleigh* had appointed to meet him in *Jersey* as he returned home, to be advised of him about the Distribution of the Money.

*Popham, Lord Chief Justice.* When *Cobham* answered to the Interrogatories, he made scruple to subscribe; and being urged to it, he said, if he might hear me affirm, that a Person of his Degree ought to set his Hand, he would; I lying then at *Richmond*, for fear of the Plague, was sent for, and I told he ought to subscribe; otherwise it were a Contempt of a high Nature: *Then he subscribed.\** The Lords questioned with him further, and he shewed them a Letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord *Cecil*: He desired to see the Letter again, and then said, Oh Wretch! Oh Traytor! Whereby I perceived you had not performed that Trust he had reposed in you.

*Raleigh.* He is as passionate a Man as lives, for he hath not spared the best Friends he hath in *England* in his Passion. My Lords, I take it, he that hath been examined, hath ever been asked at the Time of his Examination, if it be according to his meaning, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he accuses a Man, he should give some Account and Reason of it; it is not sufficient to say, we talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given *Cobham* some Arguments, whereby to persuade the King of *Spain*, and answer his Objections. I knew *Westmorland* and *Bothwell*, Men of other Understandings than *Cobham*, were ready to beg their Bread.

*Sir Thomas Fowler, one of the Jury.* Did *Sir Walter Raleigh* write a Letter to my Lord before he was examined concerning him, or not?

*Attorney.* Yes.

*Lord Cecil.* I am in great Dispute with myself, to speak in the Case of this Gentleman: A former Dearness between me and him tied so firm a Knot of my Conceit of his Virtues, now broken by a Discovery of his Imperfections. I protest, did I serve a King that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking, in this Case I would speak, whatever came of it: But seeing he is compacted of Piety and Justice, and one that will not mislike any Man for speaking a Truth, I will answer your Question.

*Sir Walter Raleigh* was staid by me at *Windsor*, upon the first News of *Copley*, that the King's Person should be surprised by my Lord *Grey*, and Mr. *George Brook*; when I found *Brook* was in, I suspected *Cobham*, then I doubted *Raleigh* to be a Paraker. I speak not this, that it should be thought, I had greater Judgment than the rest of my Lords, in making this haste to have him examined; *Raleigh* following to *Windsor*, I met with him upon the Terrace, and willed him, as from the King, to stay, saying, The Lords had something to say to him: Then he was examined, but not concerning my Lord *Cobham*, but of the surprising Treason; my Lord *Grey* was apprehended, and likewise *Brook*; by *Brook* we found, that he had given Notice to *Cobham* of the surprising Treason as he delivered it to us, but with as much Springness of a Brother as he might: We sent for my Lord *Cobham* to *Richmond*, where he stood upon his Justification, and his Quality; sometimes being froward, he said he was not bound to subscribe, wherewith we made the King acquainted. *Cobham* said, if my Lord Chief Justice would say it were a Contempt, he

would subscribe; whereof being resolved, he subscribed. There was a Light given to *Aremberg*, that *Lawrency* was examined; but that *Raleigh* knew that *Cobham* was examined, is more than I know.

*Raleigh.* If my Lord *Cobham* had trusted me in the Main, was not I as fit a Man to be trusted in the Bye?

*Lord Cecil.* *Raleigh* did by Letters acquaint us, that my Lord *Cobham* had sent *Lawrency* to *Aremberg*, when he knew not he had any Dealings with him.

*Lord H. Howard.* It made for you, if *Lawrency* had been only acquainted with *Cobham*, and not with you. But you knew his whole Estate, and were acquainted with *Cobham's* Practice with *Lawrency*; and it was known to you before, that *Lawrency* depended on *Aremberg*.

*Attorney.* 1. *Raleigh* protesteth against the surprising Treason. 2. That he knew not of the Matter touching *Arabella*. I would not charge you, *Sir Walter*, with a Matter of Falshood: You say, you suspected the Intelligence that *Cobham* had with *Aremberg*, by *Lawrency*.

*Raleigh.* I thought it had been no other Intelligence, but such as might be warranted.

*Attorney.* Then it was but lawful Suspicion. But to that whereas you said, That *Cobham* had accused you on Passion, I answer three Ways. 1. I observed when *Cobham* said, Let me see the Letter again, he paused, and when he did see that Count *Aremberg* was touched, he cried out, O Traytor! O Villain! now will I confess the whole Truth. 2. The Accusation of a Man on Hear-say, is nothing: Would he accuse himself on Passion, and ruin his Cause and Posterity, out of Malice to accuse you? 3. Could this be out of Passion? Mark the manner of it: *Cobham* had told this at least two Months before to his Brother *Brook*, You are Fools, you are on the Bye, *Raleigh* and I are on the Main, we mean to take away the King and his Cubs; this he delivered two Months before. So mark the Manner and the Matter; he would not turn the Weapon against his own Bosom, and accuse himself to accuse you.

*Raleigh.* Hath *Cobham* confessed that?

*Lord Chief Justice.* This is spoken by Mr. Attorney, to prove that *Cobham's* Speech came not out of Passion.

*Raleigh.* Let it be proved that *Cobham* said so.

*Attorney.* *Cobham* saith, he was a long time doubtful of *Raleigh*, that he would send him and the Money to the King. Did *Cobham* fear lest you would betray him in *Jersey*? Then of necessity there must be Trust between you. No Man can betray a Man, but he that is trusted, in my understanding. This is the greatest Argument to prove, that he was acquainted with *Cobham's* Proceedings. *Raleigh* hath a deeper Reach than to make himself, as he said, *Robin Hood*, a *Ket*, or *Cade*; yet I never heard that *Robin Hood* was a Traytor; they say he was an Out-law. And whereas he saith, that our King is not only more wealthy and potent than his Predecessors, but also more politick and wise, so that he could have no Hope to prevail: I answer, There is no King so potent, wise, and active, but he may be overtaken through Treason. Whereas you say, *Spain* is so poor; discoursing so largely thereof, it had been better for you to have kept in *Guiana*, than to have been so well acquainted with the State of *Spain*. Besides, if you could have brought *Spain* and *Scotland* to have joined, you

\* This Affection among others, in this Account of the Trial, shews the gross Partiality and Falshood of the Person, who took and published us; for in all the Narratives thereof, it appears, that *Cobham* would never subscribe the Accusation of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, which had been extorted from him by the Lords, through his Fear and other Passions.



might have had hope to prevail. For his six Overthrows, I answer; he hath the more Malice, because Repulses breed desire of Revenge. Then you say, you never talked with *Cobham* but about Leafes, and letting Lands, and ordering his House; I never knew you Clerk of the Kitchen, &c. If you had fallen on your Knees at first, and confessed the Treason, it had been better for you. You say, he meant to have given me a Cabinet of thirty Pounds; perhaps he thought by those means, to have anticipated me therewith. But you say, all these are Circumstances. I answer, all this Accusation in Circumstance is true: Here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he subscribed not to the Accusation.

*Lord H. Howard.* *Cobham* was not then pressed to subscribe.

*Attorney.* His Accusation being testified by the Lords, is of as great Force, as if he had subscribed. *Raleigh* saith again, if the Accuser be alive, he must be brought Face to Face to speak, and alledges 25 *Edw. III.* That there must be two sufficient Witnesses that must be brought Face to Face before the accused, and alledgeth 10, and 13 *Eliz.*

*Raleigh.* You try me by the *Spanish* Inquisition, if you proceed only by the Circumstances, without two Witnesses.

*Attorney.* This is a treasonable Speech.

*Raleigh.* *Evertere hominem justum in causa sua, injustum est:* Good my Lords, let it be proved, either by the Laws of the Land, or by the Laws of God, that there ought not to be two Witnesses appointed; yet I will not stand to defend this Point in Law, if the King will have it so; it is no rare thing to be falsely accused. A Judge condemned a Woman in *Sarum*, for killing her Husband, on the Testimony of one Witness; afterwards his Man confessed the Murder, when she was executed. Who after, being touch'd in Conscience for the Judgment, was used to say, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita sua purgaret.* It is also commanded by the Scripture, *Deut. xvii. In ore duorum aut trium testium, &c. and xix. Non stabit unus testis contra aliquem, &c.*

If Christ requireth it, as it appeareth, *Mat. xviii.* If by the Statute, Civil Law, and God's Word, it be required that there must be two Witnesses at the least; bear with me if I desire one.

I would not desire to live, if I were privy to *Cobham's* Proceedings: I had been a Slave, a Villain, a Fool, if I had endeavoured to set up *Arabella*, and refused so gracious a Lord and Sovereign. But urge your Proofs.

*Lord Chief Justice.* You have offered Questions on divers Statutes, all which mention two Accusers in Case of Indictments; you have deceived yourself, for the Laws of 25 *Ed. III.* and 5 *Ed. VI.* are repeal'd. It sufficeth now, if there be Proofs made either under Hand, or by Testimony of Witnesses, or by Oaths; it needs not the Subscription of the Party, so there be Hands of credible Men, to testify the Examination.

*Raleigh.* It may be an Error in me, and if those Laws be repeal'd, yet I hope the Equity of those Laws remains still; but if you affirm it, it must be a Law to Posterity; the Proof of the Common Law is by Witness and Jury; let *Cobham* be here, let him speak it: Call my Accuser before my Face, and I have done.

*Attorney.* *Scientia sceleris est mera Ignorantia:* You have read the Letter of the Law, but understand it not. Here was your Anchor-hold, and your Rendezvous; you trust to *Cobham*; either *Cob-*

*ham* must accuse you, or not accuse you; if he did, then it would not hurt you, because he is but one Witness; if he did not, then you are safe.

*Raleigh.* If ever I read a Word of the Law, or Statute before I was Prisoner in the Tower, God confound me.

*Attorney.* Now I come to prove the Circumstances of the Accusation to be true. *Cobham* confessed he had a Passport to travel, hereby intending to present Overtures to the Arch-duke, and from thence to go to *Spain*, and there to have Conference with the King for Money: You say, he promised to come Home by *Jersey*, to make merry with you and your Wife.

*Raleigh.* I said, in his Return from *France*, not *Spain*.

*Attorney.* Further, in his Examination, he saith, Nothing could be set down for the Distribution of the Money to the Discontented, without Conference with *Raleigh*. You said, It should have been for Procurement of Peace, but it was for raising Rebellion. Further, *Cobham* saith, He would never have entred into these Courses, but by your Instigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your Scholar was not apt enough to tell us all the Plots; that is enough for you to do, that are his Master: You intended to trust Sir *Arthur Savage*, whom I take to be an honest and true Gentleman, but not Sir *Arthur Gorge*.

*Raleigh.* All this is but one Accusation of *Cobham's*, I hear no other thing; to which Accusation he never subscribed, nor avouched it. I beseech you, my Lords, let *Cobham* be sent for, charge him on his Soul, on his Allegiance to the King; if he affirm it, I am guilty.

*Lord Cecil.* It is the Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, it is the Evidence against you; must it not be of Force without his Subscription? I desire to be resolved by the Judges, Whether by the Law it is not a forcible Argument of Evidence.

*The Judges.* My Lord, it is.

*Raleigh.* The King, at his Coronation, is sworn *In omnibus Judiciis suis Æquitatem, non Rigorem Legis observare:* By the Rigour and Cruelty of the Law, it may be a forcible Evidence.

*Lord Chief Justice.* That is not the Rigour of the Law, but the Justice of the Law; else when a Man hath made a plain Accusation, by Practice, he might be brought to retract it again.

*Raleigh.* Oh my Lord! you may use Equity.

*Lord Chief Justice.* That is from the King; you are to have Justice from us.

*Anderson.* The Law is, if the Matter be proved to the Jury, they must find you guilty; for *Cobham's* Accusation is not only against you, there are other things sufficient.

*Lord Cecil.* Now that Sir *Walter Raleigh* is satisfied, that *Cobham's* Subscription is not necessary; I pray you Mr. *Attorney* go on.

*Raleigh.* Good Mr. *Attorney* be patient, and give me Leave.

*Lord Cecil.* An unnecessary Patience is a Hindrance; let him go on with his Proofs, and then retel them.

*Raleigh.* I would answer particularly.

*Lord Cecil.* If you would have a Table, and Pen and Ink, you shall.

Then Paper and Ink was given him.

Here the Clerk of the Crown read the Letter which the Lord *Cobham* did write in *July*, which was to the Effect of his former Examination, further saying, *I have disclosed all; to accuse any falsely, were to burthen my own Conscience.*

*Attorney.*



*Attorney.* Read *Copley's* Confession the 8th of June, he saith, He was offered 1000 Crowns to be in this Action.

Here *Watson's* Additions were read.

The great Mass of Money from the Count was impossible, &c.

*Brook's* Confession read.

There have Letters passed, saith he, between *Cobham* and *Aremberg*, for a great Sum of Money, to assist a second Action, for the surprizing of his Majesty.

*Attorney.* It is not possible it was of Passion; for it was in Talk before three Men being severally examined, who agreed in the Sum to be bestowed on dissaffected Persons. That *Grey* should have 12000 Crowns, and *Raleigh* should have 8000, or 10000 Crowns.

*Cobham's* Examination, July 18.

If the Money might be procured (saith he) then a Man may give Pensions. Being asked, if a Pension should not be given to his Brother *Brook*, he denied it not.

*Lawrency's* Examination.

Within five Days after *Aremberg* arrived, *Cobham* resorted unto him. That Night that *Cobham* went to *Aremberg* with *Lawrency*, *Raleigh* supped with him.

*Attorney.* *Raleigh* must have his Part of the Money, therefore now he is a Traytor. The Crown shall never stand one Year on the Head of the King (my Master) if a Traytor may not be condemned by Circumstances. For if *A* tells *B*, and *B* tells *C*, and *C* *D*, &c. you shall never prove Treason by two Witnesses.

*Raleigh's* Examination was read.

“ He confesseth *Cobham* offered him 8000 Crowns, which he was to have for the Furtherance of the Peace, between *England* and *Spain*; and that he should have it within three Days. To which, he said, he gave this Answer, When I see the Money, I will tell you more; for I had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle Conceits, and therefore made no Account thereof.

*Raleigh.* The *Attorney* hath made a long Narration of *Copley*, and the Priests, which concerns me nothing; neither know I how *Cobham* was altered. For he told me, If I would agree to further the Peace, he would get me 8000 Crowns. I asked him, Who shall have the rest of the Money? He said, I will offer such a Nobleman (who was not named) some of the Money. I said, He will not be persuaded by you, and will extremely hate you for such a Motion. Let me be pinched to Death with hot Irons, if ever I knew there was any Intention to bestow the Money on discontented Persons. I had made a Discourse against the Peace, and would have printed it: if *Cobham* changed his mind, if the Priests, if *Brook* had any such Intent, what is that to me? They must answer for it. He offered me the Money before *Aremberg* came, that is difference of Time.

*Serj. Philips.* *Raleigh* confesseth the Matter, but avoideth it, by distinguishing of Times. You said, it was offered you before the coming of *Aremberg*; which is false. For you being examined whether you should have such Money of *Cobham*, or not: You said, Yea; and that you should have

it within two or three Days. *Nemo moriturus praesumitur mentiri.*

*Lord Henry Howard.* Alledge me any Ground or Cause, wherefore you gave ear to my Lord *Cobham* for receiving Pensions, in Matters you had not to deal with?

*Raleigh.* Could I stop my Lord *Cobham's* Mouth?

*Lord Cecil.* Sir *Walter Raleigh* presseth, that my Lord *Cobham* should be brought Face to Face. If he asks things of Favour and Grace, they must come only from him that can give them. If we sit here as Commissioners, how shall we be satisfied, whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the Judges speak?

*Lord Chief Justice.* This thing cannot be granted; for then a Number of Treasons should flourish. The Accuser may be drawn by Practice, whilst he is in Person.

*Judge Gaudy.* The Statute you speak of, concerning two Witnesses, in Case of Treason, is found to be inconvenient; therefore by another Law it was taken away.

*Raleigh.* The common Trial of *England* is by Jury and Witnesses.

*Lord Chief Justice.* No, by Examination: If three conspire a Treason, and they all confess it; here is never a Witness, yet they are condemned.

*Judge Warburton.* I marvel, Sir *Walter*, that you being of such Experience and Wit, should stand on this Point; for so, many Horse-stealers may escape, if they may not be condemned without Witnesses. If one should rush into the King's Privy-Chamber, whilst he is alone, and kill the King (which God forbid) and this Man be met coming with his Sword drawn all bloody; shall not he be condemned to Death? My Lord *Cobham* hath, perhaps, been laboured withal; and to save you, his old Friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath said.

*Raleigh.* I know not how you conceive the Law.

*Lord Chief Justice.* Nay, we do not conceive the Law, but we know the Law.

*Raleigh.* The Wisdom of the Law of God, is absolute and perfect, *Hæc fac, & vives, &c.* But now by the Wisdom of the State, the Wisdom of the Law is uncertain. Indeed where the Accuser is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you; but here my Accuser may, he is alive, and in the House. *Susanna* had been condemned, if *Daniel* had not cried out: Will you condemn an innocent Israelite, without Examination or Knowledge of the Truth? Remember it is absolutely the Commandment of God; if a false Witness rise up, you shall cause him to be brought before the Judges; if he be found false, he shall have the Punishment which the Accused should have had. It is very sure, for my Lord to accuse me is my certain Danger, and may be a means to excuse himself.

*Lord Chief Justice.* There must not such a Gap be opened for the Destruction of the King, as would be, if we should grant this. You plead hard for yourself, but the Laws plead as hard for the King. I did never hear that Course to be taken in a Case of Treason, as to write to one another, or speak to one another, during the Time of their Imprisonment. There hath been Intelligence between you, and what underhand Practices there may be, I know not. If the Circumstances agree not with the Evidence, we will not condemn you.

*Raleigh.* The King desires nothing but the Knowledge of the Truth, and would have no Advantage taken by Severity of the Law. If ever we had a gracious King, now we have! I hope, as he is, such are his Ministers. If there be but a Trial of five Marks at the Common Law,



a Witness must be deposed. Good my Lords, let my Accuser come Face to Face, and be deposed.

*Lord Chief Justice.* You have no Law for it: God forbid any Man should accuse himself, upon his Oath.

*Attorney.* The Law presumes, a Man will not accuse himself to accuse another. You are an odious Man: For *Cobham* thinks his Cause the worse, that you are in it. Now you shall hear of some Stirs to be raised in *Scotland*.

*Part of Copley's Examination.*

" Also *Watson* told me, that a special Person told him that *Aremberg* offered to him a thousand Crowns to be in that Action; and that *Brook* said, the Stirs in *Scotland* came out of *Raleigh's* Head.

*Raleigh.* *Brook* hath been taught his Lesson.

*Lord H. Howard.* This Examination was taken before me; Did I teach him his Lesson?

*Raleigh.* I protest before God, I meant it not by any Privy-Counsellor; but, because Money is scant, he will juggle on both Sides.

*Raleigh's Examination.*

" The way to invade *England*, were to begin with Stirs in *Scotland*.

*Raleigh.* I think so still: I have spoken it to divers of the Lords of the Council, by way of Discourse and Opinion.

*Attorney.* Now let us come to those Words of *Destroying the King and his Cubs*.

*Raleigh.* O barbarous! if they, like unnatural Villains, should use those Words, shall I be charged with them? I will not hear it; I was never false to the Crown of *England*. I have spent 40000 Crowns of mine own, against the *Spanish* Faction, for the Good of my Country. Do you bring the Words of these hellish Spiders, *Clark*, *Watson*, and others, against me?

*Attorney.* Thou hast a *Spanish*-Heart, and thyself art a Spider of Hell; for thou confessest the King to be a most sweet and gracious Prince, and yet hast conspired against him.

*Watson's Examination read.*

" He said, that *George Brook* told him twice, that his Brother, the Lord *Cobham*, said to him, That you are but on the Bye, but *Raleigh* and I are on the Main.

*Brook's Examination read.*

" Being ask'd what was meant by this Jargon the Bye and the Main, he said, That the Lord *Cobham* told him, that *Grey* and others, were in the Bye, he and *Raleigh* were on the Main. Being ask'd what Exposition his Brother made of these Words, he said, he is loth to repeat it. And after faith, by the Main, was meant, the taking away of the King and his Issue. And thinks on his Conscience, it was infused into his Brother's Head by *Raleigh*.

*Cobham's Examination read.*

Being ask'd, if ever he had said, *It will never be well in England, till the King and his Cubs were taken away.* He said, *He had answered before, and that he would answer no more to that Point.*

*Raleigh.* I am not named in all this: There is a Law of two Sorts of Accusers, one of his own Knowledge, another by Hear-say.

*Earl of Suffolk.* See the Case of *Arnold*.

*Lord Chief Justice.* It is the Case of Sir *William Thomas*, and Sir *Nicholas Arnold*.

*Raleigh.* If this may be, you will have any Man's Life in a Week.

*Attorney.* *Raleigh* faith, That *Cobham* was in a Passion when he said so. Would he tell his Brother any thing of Malice against *Raleigh*, whom he loved as his Life?

*Raleigh.* *Brook* never loved me; until his Brother had accused me, he said nothing.

*Lord Cecil.* We have heard nothing that might lead us to think, that *Brook* accused you, *he was only in the Surprising Treason*; for by accusing you, he should accuse his Brother.

*Raleigh.* He doth not care much for that.

*Lord Cecil.* I must judge the best. The Accusation of his Brother was not voluntary; he pardoned every thing, as much as he could, to save his Brother.

*Cobham's Examination read.*

" He faith, he had a Book written against the Title of the King, which he had of *Raleigh*, and that he gave it to his Brother: *Raleigh* said, it was foolishly written.

*Attorney.* After the King came within twelve Miles of *London*, *Cobham* never came to see him, and intended to travel without seeing the Queen, and the Prince. Now in this Discontentment, you gave him the Book, and he gave it to his Brother.

*Raleigh.* I never gave it him, he took it off my Table. For I well remember, a little before that time, I received a Challenge from Sir *Amias Preston*, and for that I did intend to answer it, I resolved to leave my Estate settled, therefore laid out all my loose Papers, amongst which was this Book.

*Lord Howard.* Where had you this Book?

*Raleigh.* In the old Lord-Treasurer's Study, after his Death.

*Lord Cecil.* Did you ever shew or make known the Book to me?

*Raleigh.* No, my Lord.

*Lord Cecil.* Was it one of the Books which was left to me or my Brother?

*Raleigh.* I took it out of the Study in my Lord Treasurer's House in the Strand.

*Lord Cecil.* After my Father's decease, Sir *Walter Raleigh* desired to search for some Cosmographical Descriptions of the *Indies*, which he thought were in his Study, and were not to be had in print; which I granted, and would have trusted Sir *Walter Raleigh* as soon as any Man; tho' since, for some Infirmities, the Bands of my Affection to him have been broken; and yet, reserving my Duty to the King my Master, which I can by no means dispense with, by God, I love him, and have a great Conflict within myself: But I must needs say, Sir *Walter* used me a little unkindly, to take the Book away without my Knowledge; nevertheless I need make no Apology in Behalf of my Father, considering how useful and necessary it is for Privy-Counsellors, and those in his Place, to intercept and keep such kind of Writings; for whosoever should then search his Study, may in all likelihood find all the notorious Libels that were writ against the late Queen; and whosoever should rumage my Study, or at least my Cabinet, may find several against the King, our sovereign Lord, since his Accession to the Throne.

§ § § §

*Raleigh.*



*Raleigh.* This Book was in Manuscript, and the late Lord Treasurer had wrote in the Beginning of it with his own Hands these Words, *This is the Book of Robert Snagg.* And I do own, as my Lord Cecil has said, that I believe they may also find in my House, almost all the Libels, that have been writ against the late Queen.

*Attorney.* You were no Privy-Counsellor, and I hope never shall be.

*Lord Cecil.* He was not a sworn Counsellor of State, but he has been called to Consultations.

*Raleigh.* I think it a very severe Interpretation of the Law, to bring me within Compass of Treason for this Book, writ so long ago, of which nobody had read any more than the Heads of the Chapters, and which was burnt by Brook without my Privy; admitting I had delivered the same to my Lord Cobham, without allowing or approving, but discommending it, according to Cobham's first Accusation. And put the Case I should come to my Lord Cecil, as I have often done, and find a Stranger with him, with a Packet of Libels, and my Lord should let me have one or two of them to peruse, This I hope is no Treason.

*Attorney.* I observe there was Intelligence between you and Cobham in the Tower; for after he said, *It was against the King's Title*, he denied it again.

*Sir William Wade.* First my Lord Cobham confesseth it, and after he had subscribed it, he revoked it again: To me he always said, *That the Drift of it was against the King's Title.*

*Raleigh.* I protest before God, and all his Works, I gave him not the Book.

*Nota.* Sir Robert Wroth *speaketh, or whispereth something secretly.*

*Attorney.* My Lords, I must complain of Sir Robert Wroth; he says, this Evidence is not material.

*Sir Robert Wroth.* I never spake the Words.

*Attorney.* Let Mr. Serjeant Philips testify, whether he heard them.

*Lord Cecil.* I will give my Word for Sir Robert Wroth.

*Sir Robert Wroth.* I will speak as truly as you, Mr. Attorney, for, by God, I never spake it.

*Lord Chief Justice.* Wherefore should this Book be burnt?

*Raleigh.* I burned it not.

*Serj. Philips.* You presented your Friend with it, when he was discontented. If it had been before the Queen's Death, it had been a less matter; but you gave it him presently when he came from the King, which was the time of his Discontentment.

*Raleigh.* Here is a Book supposed to be Treasonable; I never read it, commended it, or deliver'd it, nor urged it.

*Attorney.* This is cunning.

*Raleigh.* Every thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every thing that maketh against me is probable.

*Attorney.* Lord Cobham saith, that Kemish came to him with a Letter torn, and did with him not to be dismay'd, for one Witness could not hurt him.

*Raleigh.* This poor Man hath been close Prisoner these eighteen Weeks; he was offered the Rack to make him confess. I never sent any such Message by him; I only writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. Attorney; having of his, at that time, a great Pearl, and a Diamond.

*Lord H. Howard.* No Circumstance moveth me more, than this, *Kemish* was never on the Rack; the King gave Charge, that no Rigour should be used.

*Commissioners.* We protest before God, there was no such Matter intended, to our Knowledges.

*Raleigh.* Was not the Keeper of the Rack sent for, and he threatned with it?

*Sir William Wade.* When Mr. Solicitor and myself examined *Kemish*, we told him he deserved the Rack, but did not threaten him with it.

*Commissioners.* It was more than we knew.

*Cobham's Examination read.*

“ He said, *Kemish* brought him a Letter from  
“ *Raleigh*, and that Part which was concerning the  
“ Lords of the Council, was rent out; that he was  
“ examined, and cleared him of all; and that the  
“ Lord H. Howard said, because he was discontent, he was fit to be in the Action. And further, that *Kemish* said to him from *Raleigh*, that he should be of good Comfort, for one Witness could not condemn a Man for Treason.

*Lord Cecil.* Cobham was asked whether and when he heard from you; he said, *every Day.*

*Raleigh.* *Kemish* added more, I never bad him speak these Words.

*Nota.* Mr. Attorney here offered to interrupt him.

*Lord Cecil.* It is his last Discourse. Give him leave Mr. Attorney.

*Raleigh.* I am accused concerning *Arabella*, concerning Money out of Spain. My Lord Chief Justice saith, a Man may be condemned with one Witness, yea without any Witness. Cobham is guilty of many things, *Conscientia mille Testes.* He hath accused himself, what can he hope for but Mercy? My Lords, vouchsafe me this Grace. Let him be brought, being alive, and in the House; let him avouch any of these things, I will confess the whole Indictment, and renounce the King's Mercy.

*Lord Cecil.* Here hath been a touch of the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, a near Kinswoman of the King's. Let us not scandal the Innocent by Confusion of Speech: She is as innocent of all these Things as I, or any Man here; only she received a Letter from Cobham, to prepare her; which she laugh'd at, and immediately sent it to the King. So far was she from Discontentment, that she laugh'd him to scorn. But you see how far the Count of *Aremberg* did consent.

*The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) being by in a Standing, with the Lady Arabella, spake to the Court.*

The Lady doth here protest upon her Salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she willed me to tell the Court.

*Lord Cecil.* The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady *Arabella*, to know if he might come to speak with her, and gave her to understand, that there were some about the King, that laboured to disgrace her; she doubted it was but a Trick. But Brook saith, his Brother moved him to procure *Arabella* to write Letters to the King of Spain: But he saith, he never did.

*Raleigh.* The Lord Cobham hath accused me, you see in what manner he hath forsworn it. Were it not for his Accusation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked, if I knew of the Letter which

*Larven*



*Lawrency* brought to him from *Aremberg*. Let me speak for my Life, it can be no hurt for him to be brought; he dares not accuse me. If you grant me not this Favour, I am strangely used. *Campion* was not denied to have his Accusers Face to Face.

*Lord Chief Justice*. Since he must needs have Justice, the acquitting of his old Friend may move him to speak otherwise than the Truth.

*Raleigh*. If I had been the Infuser of all these Treasons into him. You Gentlemen of the Jury, mark this: He said, I have been the Cause of all his Miseries, and the Destruction of his House; and that all Evil hath happened unto him, by my wicked Counsel; if this be true, whom hath he Cause to accuse, and be revenged on, but on me? And I know him to be as revengeful, as any Man on Earth.

*Attorney*. He is a Party, and may not come, the Law is against it.

*Raleigh*. It is a Toy to tell me of Law. I defy such Law, I stand on the Fact.

*Lord Cecil*. I am afraid my often speaking (who am inferior to my Lords here present) will make the World think, I delight to hear myself talk. My Affection to you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was not extinguished, but flaked, in regard of your Deserts. You know the Law of the Realm (to the which your Mind doth not contest) that my Lord *Cobham* cannot be brought.

*Raleigh*. He may be, my Lord.

*Lord Cecil*. But dare you challenge it?

*Raleigh*. No.

*Lord Cecil*. You say, that my Lord *Cobham*, your main Accuser, must come to accuse you. You say, he hath retracted: I say many Particulars are not retracted. What the Validity of all this is, is merely left to the Jury. Let me ask you this: If my Lord *Cobham* will say, you were the only Instigator of him to proceed in the Treasons, dare you put yourself on this?

*Raleigh*. If he will speak it before God and the King, that ever I knew of *Arabella's* Matter, or the Money out of *Spain*, or of the Surprising Treason; I put myself on it, God's Will and the King's be done with me.

*Lord H. Howard*. How if he speak things equivalent to what you have said?

*Raleigh*. Yes, in a main Point.

*Lord Cecil*. If he say, you have been the Instigator of him to deal with the *Spanish* King, had not the Council cause to draw you hither?

*Raleigh*. I put myself on it.

*Lord Cecil*. Then, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, call upon God, and prepare yourself; for I do verily believe, my Lords will prove this. Excepting your Faults (I call them no worse) by God, I am your Friend. The Heat and Passion in you, and the Attorney's Zeal in the King's Service, makes me speak this.

*Raleigh*. *Whosoever is the Workman, it is reason he should give Account of his Work to the Workmaster*. But let it be proved, that he acquainted me with any of his Conferences with *Aremberg*: He would surely have given me some Account.

*Lord Cecil*. That follows not. If I set you on Work, and you give me no Account, am I therefore innocent?

*Attorney*. For the Lady *Arabella* I said, she was never acquainted with the Matter. Now that *Raleigh* had Conference in all these Treasons, it is manifest; the Jury hath heard the Matter. There is one *Dyer*, a Pilot, that being in *Lisbon*, met with a *Portugal* Gentleman, who asked him if the King

of *England* was crowned yet? To whom he answered, *I think not yet, but he shall be shortly*. Nay, saith the *Portugal* Gentleman, that shall he never be, for his Throat will be cut by *Don Raleigh* and *Don Cobham*, before he be crowned.

*Dyer* was called and sworn, and delivered this Evidence.

*Dyer*. I came to a Merchant's House in *Lisbon*, to see a Boy that I had there; there came in a Gentleman into the House, and enquiring what Countryman I was, I said an *Englishman*: Whereupon he asked me, if the King was crowned? And I answered, that I hoped he should be so shortly. Nay, saith he, he shall never be crowned, for *Don Raleigh* and *Don Cobham* will cut his Throat ere that Day come.

*Raleigh*. What infer you upon this?

*Attorney*. That your Treason hath Wings.

*Raleigh*. If *Cobham* did practise with *Aremberg*, how could it not but be known in *Spain*? Why did they name the Duke of *Buckingham* with *Jack Straw's* Treason, and the Duke of *York* with *Jack Cade*, but that it was to countenance his Treason?

Consider, you Gentlemen of the Jury, there is no Cause so doubtful, which the King's Council cannot make good against the Law. Consider my Disability, and their Ability: They prove nothing against me, only they bring the Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, which he hath lamented and repented as heartily, as if it had been for a horrible Murder. For he knew, that all this Sorrow which should come to me, is by his means. Presumptions must proceed from precedent or subsequent Facts. I have spent 40000 Crowns against the *Spaniard*. I had not purchased forty Pounds a Year. If I had died in *Guiana*, I had not left 300 Marks a Year to my Wife and Son. I that have always condemned the *Spanish* Faction, methinks it is a strange Thing, that now I should affect it. Remember what *St. Austin* says, *Sic judicate tanquam ab alio mox judicandi; unus judex, unum tribunal*. If you would be contented, on Presumptions, to be delivered up to be slaughtered, to have your Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread; if you would be contented to be so judged, judge so of me.

*Serj. Philips*. I hope to make this so clear, as that the Wit of Man shall have no Colour to answer it. The Matter is Treason in the highest Degree, the End to deprive the King of his Crown. The particular Treasons are these: *First*, To raise up Rebellion; and, to effect that, to procure Money; to raise up Tumults in *Scotland*, by divulging a treasonable Book against the King's Right to the Crown; the Purpose, to take the Life of his Majesty and his Issue. My Lord *Cobham* confesseth Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be guilty of all these Treasons. The Question is, Whether he be guilty as joining with him, or instigating of him? The Course to prove this, was by my Lord *Cobham's* Accusation. If that be true, he is guilty; if not, he is clear. So, whether *Cobham* say true, or *Raleigh*? That is the Question. *Raleigh* hath no Answer, but the Shadow of as much Wit, as the Wit of Man can devise. He useth his bare Denial; the Denial of a Defendant must not move the Jury. In the *Star-chamber*, or in the *Chancery*, for matter of Title, if the Defendant be called in Question, his Denial on his Oath is no Evidence to the Court to clear him, he doth it in *propria Causa*. Therefore much less in Matters of Treason. *Cobham's* Testification against him before then, and since, hath been largely discouraged.

*Raleigh*.



*Raleigh.* If Truth be constant, and Constancy be in Truth, Why hath he forsworn that, that he hath said? You have not proved any one Thing by direct Proofs, but all by Circumstances.

*Attorney.* Have you done? The King must have the last.

*Raleigh.* Nay, Mr. Attorney, he which speaketh for his Life, must speak last. False Repetitions and Mistakings must not mar my Cause. You should speak *secundum allegata & probata*. I appeal to God and the King, in this Point, Whether *Cobham's* Accusation be sufficient to condemn me.

*Attorney.* The King's Safety, and your Clearing, cannot agree. I protest, before God, I never knew a clearer Treason.

*Raleigh.* I never had Intelligence with *Cobham* since I came to the Tower.

*Attorney.* Go too, I will lay thee upon thy Back, for the confidentest Traytor that ever came at a Bar. Why should you take 8000 Crowns for a Peace?

*Lord Cecil.* Be not so impatient, good Mr. Attorney, give him leave to speak.

*Attorney.* If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage Traytors, and discourage us. I am the King's sworn Servant, and must speak; if he be guilty, he is a Traytor; if not, deliver him.

*Nota.* Here Mr. Attorney sat down and would speak no more, until the Commissioners urged and intreated him: After much ado he went on, and made a long Repetition of all the Evidence, for the Direction of the Jury; and at the repeating of some things, Sir Walter Raleigh interrupted him, and said, He did him Wrong.

*Attorney.* Thou art the most vile and execrable Traytor that ever lived.

*Raleigh.* You speak indiscreetly, barbarously and uncivilly.

*Attorney.* I want Words sufficient to express thy viperous Treasons.

*Raleigh.* I think you want Words indeed, for you have spoken one Thing half a dozen times.

*Attorney.* Thou art an odious Fellow, thy Name is hateful to all the Realm of England for thy Pride.

*Raleigh.* It will go near to prove a measuring Cast between you and me, Mr. Attorney.

*Attorney.* Well, I will now make it appear to the World, that there never lived a viler Viper upon the Face of the Earth than thou; and therewithal drew a Letter out of his Pocket, saying further, My Lords, you shall see, this is an Agent, that hath writ a Treatise against the Spaniard, and hath ever so detested him; this is he, that hath spent so much Money against him in Service; and yet you shall all see, whether his Heart be not wholly Spanish. The Lord *Cobham*, who, of his own Nature was a good and honourable Gentleman, till overtaken by this Wretch, now finding his Conscience heavily burthened with some Courses, which the Subtilty of this Traytor had drawn him into, my Lords, he could not be at rest with himself, nor quiet in his Thoughts, until he was eased of that heavy Weight; out of which Passion of his Mind, and Discharge of his Duty to his Prince, and his Conscience to God, taking it upon his Salvation, that he wrote nothing but the Truth, with his own Hands he wrote this Letter. Now, Sir, you shall see whether you had Intelligence with *Cobham*, within four Days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly Spanish, that desired a Pension of 1500 Pounds a Year from Spain, that Spain by him might have Intelligence, then *Raleigh* is a Traytor. He

hath taken an Apple, and pinned a Letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord *Cobham's* Window; the Contents whereof were this; *It is doubtful whether we shall be proceeded with or no, perhaps you shall not be tried.* This was to get a Retraction. Oh! it was *Adam's* Apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further he wrote thus, *Do not as my Lord of Essex did; take heed of a Preacher; for by his Persuasion he confessed, and made himself guilty.* I doubt not, but this Day, God shall have as great a Conquest by this Traytor, and the Son of God shall be as much glorified, as when it was said, *Vicisti Galilæe*; you know my meaning. What tho' *Cobham* retracted, yet he could not rest nor sleep, until he had confirmed it again. If this be not enough to prove him a Traytor, the King my Master shall not live three Years to an end.

*Nota.* Here Mr. Attorney produced the Lord *Cobham's* Letter (writ to the Commissioners the Night before *Raleigh's* Trial, viz. Nov. 16.) and as he read it, inserted some Speeches.

*I have thought it fit, to set down this to my Lords, wherein I profess on my Soul, to write nothing but the Truth. I am come now near to the Period of my Time, therefore I confess the Truth before God, and his Angels. Raleigh, four Days before I came to the Tower, caused an Apple (Eve's Apple) to be thrown in at my Chamber-window; the Effect of it was to intreat me to right the Wrong that I had done him, in saying, That I should have come home by Jersey; which under my Hand to him, I have retracted. His first Letter I answered not, which was thrown in the same manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a Letter, which I did. He sent me Word, that the Judges were at Mr. Attorney's House, and that there was good Hope the Proceedings against us should be staid; he sent me another Time a little Tobacco. At *Aremberg's* coming, Raleigh dealt with me, to procure him a Pension of 1500 Pounds a Year, for which he promised that no Action should be against Spain, but he would give Knowledge before-hand. He told me the States had Audience with the King. (Ah, is not this a Spanish Heart in an English Body?) He hath been the original Cause of my Ruin; for I had no dealing with *Aremberg*, but by his Instigation. He hath been also the Cause of my Discontentment; he advised me, not to be overtaken with Preachers, as *Essex* was, and that the King would better allow of a constant Denial, than to accuse any.*

*Attorney.* O damnable Atheist! he hath learned some Text of Scripture, to serve his own Purpose, but falsely alledged. He counsels him, not to be counselled by Preachers, as *Essex* was: He died the Child of God, God honoured him at his Death; Thou wast by when he died, *Et Lupus & turpes instant morientibus Ursæ.* He died indeed for his Offence. The King himself spake these Words; *He that shall say Essex died not for Treason, is punishable.*

*Raleigh.* You have heard a strange Tale of a strange Man; now he thinks he hath Matter enough to destroy me; but the King, and all of you shall witness by our Deaths, which of us was the Ruin of the other. I bid a poor Fellow throw in the Letter at his Window, written to this Purpose, *You know you have undone me, now write that Lines to justify me.* In this I will [die, that he hath done me Wrong; Why did not he acquaint me with his Treasons, if I acquainted him with my Dispositions?



*Attorney.* But what say you now of the Letter, and the Pension of 1500 *l.* per Annum?

*Raleigh.* I say, that *Cobham* is a base dishonourable poor Soul.

*Attorney.* Is he base? I return it into thy Throat, on his behalf: But for thee, he had been a good Subject.

*Lord Chief Justice.* I perceive thou art not so clear a Man, as you have protested all this while; for you should have discovered these Matters to the King.

*Nota.* Here *Raleigh* pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which the Lord *Cobham* had written to him (but a few Days before he wrote that above to the Lords) and desired my Lord *Cecil* to read it, because he only knew his Hand; the Effect of it was as followeth.

*Cobham's* Letter of Justification to *Raleigh*.

" Seeing my self so near my End, for the Dis-  
" charge of my own Conscience, and freeing my  
" self from your Blood, which else will cry Ven-  
" geance against me: I protest upon my Salvation,  
" I never practised with *Spain* by your Procure-  
" ment; God so comfort me in this my Afflic-  
" tion, as you are a true Subject for any thing that  
" I know. I will say, as *Daniel*, *Purus sum à*  
" *sanguine hujus*. So God have Mercy on my  
" Soul, as I know no Treason by you.

*Raleigh.* Now I wonder how many Souls this Man hath! He damns one in this Letter, and another in that.

*Here was much ado; Mr. Attorney alledged, that his last Letter was politickly and cunningly urged from the Lord Cobham, and that the first was simply the Truth; and that lest it should seem doubtful, that the first Letter was drawn from my Lord Cobham by Promise of Mercy, or Hope of Favour, the Lord Chief Justice willed, that the Jury might herein be satisfied. Whereupon the Earl of Devonshire delivered, that the same was merely voluntary, and not extracted from the Lord Cobham, upon any Hopes or Promise of Pardon.*

*Nota.* This was the last Evidence; whereupon a Marshal was sworn, to keep the Jury private. The Jury departed, and staid not a quarter of an Hour, but returned, and gave their Verdict Guilty.

*Serj. Hele* demanded Judgment against the Prisoner.

*Clerk of the Crown.* Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Thou hast been indicted, arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, for all these several Treasons; and for Trial thereof, hast put thy self upon thy Country; which Country are these, who have found thee Guilty. What canst thou say for thyself, why Judgment and Execution of Death, should not pass against thee?

*Raleigh.* My Lords, The Jury have found me Guilty. They must do as they are directed. I can say nothing, why Judgment should not proceed. You see whereof *Cobham* hath accused me. You remember his Protestations, that I was never Guilty. I desire the King should know of the Wrongs done unto me, since I came hither.

*Lord Chief Justice.* You have had no Wrong, Sir *Walter*.

*Raleigh.* Yes, of Mr. *Attorney*. I desire, my Lords, to remember three things to the King.

1. I was accused to be a Practiser for *Spain*: I never knew, that my Lord *Cobham* meant to go thither; I will ask no Mercy at the King's Hands, if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the Practice with *Arabella*. 3. I never knew of my Lord *Cobham's* Practice with *Aremberg*, nor of the surprising Treason.

*Lord Chief Justice.* In my Conscience I am persuaded, that *Cobham* hath accused you truly. You cannot deny, but that you were dealt with, to have a Pension to be a Spy for *Spain*; therefore you are not so true to the King, as you have protested yourself to be.

*Raleigh.* I submit myself to the King's Mercy; I know his Mercy is greater than my Offence. I recommend my Wife, and Son, of tender Years, unbrought up, to his Compassion.

*Lord Chief Justice.* I had thought I should never have seen this Day, to have stood in this Place, to give Sentence of Death against you; because I thought it impossible, that one of so great Parts should have fallen so grievously. God hath bestowed on you many Benefits. You had been a Man fit, and able, to have served the King in good Place. You had brought yourself into a good State of Living: If you had entered into a good Consideration of your Estate, and not suffered your own Wit to have entrapped yourself, you might have lived in good Comfort. It is best for Man not to seek to climb too high, lest he fall; nor yet to creep too low, lest he be trodden on. It was the Posie of the wisest and greatest Counsellor of his Time, in *England*, *In medio spatio mediocria firma locantur*. You might have lived well with 3000 *l.* a Year, for so I have heard your Revenues to be. I know nothing might move you to be discontented; but, if you had been down, you know Fortune's Wheel, when it is turned about, riseth again. I never heard, that the King took away any thing from you, but the Captainship of the Guard, which he did with good Reasons, to have one of his own Knowledge, whom he might trust in that Place. You have been taken for a wise Man, and so have shewed Wit enough this Day. Again, for Monopolies for Wine, &c. If the King had said, *It is a Matter that offends my People, should I burthen them for your particular good?* I think, you could not well take it hardly, that his Subjects were eased, tho' by your private Hindrance. Two Vices have lodged chiefly in you; one is an eager Ambition; the other corrupt Covetousness. Ambition, in desiring to be advanced to equal Grace and Favour, as you have been before-time; that Grace you had then, you got not in a Day or Year. For your Covetousness, I am sorry to hear that a Gentleman of your Wealth should become a base Spy for the Enemy, which is the vilest of all other; wherein, on my Conscience, *Cobham* hath said true: By it you would have increased your Living 1500 *l.* a Year. This Covetousness is like a Canker, that eats the Iron-place where it lives. Your Case being thus, let it not grieve you, if I speak a little out of Zeal, and Love, to your Good. You have been taxed by the World, with the Defence of most heathenish, and blasphemous Opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian Ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the Authors and Maintainers of them be suffered to live in any Christian Common-wealth. You know what Men said of *Harpool*. You shall do well before you go out of the World, to give Satisfaction therein, and not to die with these Imputations on you. Let not any Devil persuade you to think, there is no Eternity in Heaven; if you think thus, you shall find Eternity in Hell-fire. In the first Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, I observed his manner of speaking: I protest before the living

h h h h



Living God, I am persuaded he spoke nothing but the Truth. You wrote, that he should not in any case confess any thing to a Preacher, telling him an Example of my Lord of *Essex*, that noble Earl that is gone; who, if he had not been carried away with others, had lived in Honour to this Day among us. He confessed his Offences, and obtained Mercy of the Lord; for I am verily persuaded in my Heart, he died a worthy Servant of God. Your Conceit of not confessing any thing, is very inhuman and wicked. In this World is the Time of confessing, that we may be absolved at the Day of Judgment. You have shewed a fearful Sign of denying God, in advising a Man not to confess. It now comes in my mind, why you may not have your Accuser Face to Face; for such a one is easily brought to retract, when he seeth there is no Hope of his own Life. It is dangerous that any Traytors should have any Access one to another, or Conference; when they see themselves must die, they will think it best to see their Fellow live, that he may commit the like Treason again, and so in some sort seek Revenge.

Now it resteth to pronounce the Judgment, which I wish you had not been this Day to have received of me: For, if the Fear of God in you had been answerable to your other great Parts, you might have lived to have been a singular good Subject. I never saw the like Trial, and I hope, I shall never see the like again.

### The J U D G M E N T.

But since you have been found Guilty of these horrible Treasons, the Judgment of the Court is, that you shall be had from hence to the Place whence you came, there to remain until the Day of Execution; and from thence you shall be drawn upon a Hurdle through the open Streets, to the Place of Execution, there to be hanged and cut down alive, and your Body shall be opened, your Heart and Bowels plucked out, and your Privy-Members cut off and thrown into the Fire, before your Eyes; then your Head to be stricken off from your Body, which shall be divided into four Quarters, to be disposed of at the King's Pleasure: And God have Mercy upon your Soul.





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	BELEMUS		CHRONICORUM libri
Mart. du	BELLARMINUS Politianus, car- dinalis		CHYTRÆUS
Franc. de	BELLAY, feign. de Langey		CHRYSOSTOMUS, archiep. Con- stantinop.
Pet.	BELLEFOREST	Marc. Tullius Strozzio Claudius	CICCUS Asculanus
R.	BELLONIUS, feu <i>Belon</i>		CICERO
Henr.	BENEDICTUS Theologus		CICOGNA
Sanctus	BENJAMIN, fil. Jonæ Tudelenfis		CLAUDIANUS, Alexandrinus, poeta
	BENZONUS, Mediolanensis		CLAUDIUS Julius, five Iolaus
Matthæus	BERNARDUS, feu <i>Bernhardus</i> , abbas Clarevallenfis		CLEANTHES, Stoicus
	BERNENSIS Theologus		CLEARCHUS, Solensis, Peripate- ticus
Pero Anton.	BEROALDUS	T. Flavius	CLEMENS, Alexandrinus
Theodorus	BEROSUS, Babylonius, Beli fa- cerdos	Laurentius	CLITARCHUS, historicus
Tho.	BEUTERO	Pandulphus	CODOMANNUS
Joh.	BEZA, Vezelius	Christoph.	COELESTINUS, v. <i>Laziardus</i>
	BILSON, bishop of <i>Winchester</i>	Natalis	COLLENUTIUS, feu <i>Collutius</i> , Pisamenfis
	BOCATIUS, vel <i>Boccaccio</i> , vel <i>Bochas</i> , de Certaldo	Pet.	COLUMBUS
Avititius feu A- nitius Manl. Torq. Seve- rinus	BOETHIUS	Laur.	COMES, feu <i>Comitum</i> , Venetus
Sanctus	BONAVENTURA	Josephus à	COMESTOR, Trecentis
	BORRÆUS, p. 249. forsan Mar- tin. <i>Borrhaus</i> , alias Cellarius dictus		CORVINUS, Novoforenfis
Thomas	BOZIUS, Eugubinus		COSTA, Methymnensis
Henr. de	BRACON, J. C <sup>ius</sup>	Pet.	CRANZEUS. v. <i>Krantzius</i>
Bernhardus	BREDENBACHIUS, feu de <i>Bre- denbach</i>		CRATES, Mallotes, grammaticus
Bonaventura	BROCARDUS, feu <i>Brochardus</i> , five <i>Burchardus</i> , monachus de Monte-Sion		CRINITUS, Florentinus
			CTESIUS, Cnidius
Hugh	BROUGHTON	Quintus	CURTIVS Rufus
Guil.	BUCANUS, theologus Calvinista	Nic. de	CUSA, feu <i>Cusanus</i> , cardinalis
Abr.	BUCHOLGERUS	D. Cæcilius	Cyprianus, episc. Carthaginensis
Guil.	BUDÆUS, Parisiensis		Cyrrillus, archiep. feu patriarcha Alexandrinus
Henr.	BUNTINGUS, Hannoveranus		
Paulus	BURGENSIS, de S. Maria		



# A U T H O R S *cited.*

## D

Joh. DAMASCENUS, Theſſalonicenſis,  
qui etiam Joh. *Mandurus*,  
ſeu *Manzurus* nominatur

Nic. DAMASCENUS, philoſophus

Lambertus DANÆUS, Aurelianenſis

DANIEL, propheta

Samuel DANIEL, Eſq;

DAVID, rex & propheta

DEMOCRITUS, Abderita, five  
Mileſius

DEMOSTHENES, Athenienſis ora-  
tor

DERCYLLUS

DIACONUS. v. *Alcuinus*

DINON

DIDYMUS, hiſtoricus

DIOCLES, Rhodius

DIODORUS Siculus, hiſtoricus

DIOGENES, Laertius

DION Caſſius, Coccejanus, Ni-  
cæus

DION Neapolites

DIONYSIUS Afer, Periegetes, A-  
lexandrinus

DIONYSIUS, Areopagita

DIONYSIUS Halicarnaffeus, hi-  
ſtoricus

S. DOROTHEUS, martyr, & epiſc.  
Tyri

DRACO, Corcyræus

DURANDUS

## E

Sir Clement EDMONDS, knight

ECCLESIASTICUS. v. *Siracides*

EGESIPPUS, ſeu *Hegesippus*, ju-  
nior

ELIANUS

ELLANICUS. v. *Hellanicus*

EMPEDOCLES, Agrigentinus,  
philoſophus

Quintus ENNIUS, antiq. poeta

EPHORUS, Cumanus, orator &  
hiſtoricus

S. EPHRÆM, Syrus, diaconus Edeſ-  
ſenus

EPICHARMUS

EPICURUS

EPIGENES, aſtrologus & hiſto-  
ricus

EPIMENIDES, Cretenſis

S. EPIPHANIUS, prius Salaminis,  
dein Conſtantiæ Cypriorum  
epiſc.

ERASISTRATUS

Deſid. ERASMUS Roterodamus

ERATOSTHENES, Cyrenæus phi-  
loſophus

ERICTHONIUS

ESDRAS, propheta

ESTHER, liber

Gul. ESTIUS

EVAORIUS, Ponticus

EVARISTUS

Andreas EUDÆMON-JOHANNES, Cydo-  
nius

EUOUBINUS. v. *Steuchus*

EUPHORION, Chalcidenſis

EUPOLEMUS, hiſtoricus

EURIPIDES, Athen. tragicus an-  
tiquior

EUSEBIUS, Pamphili fil. Cæſa-  
rienſis Paleſtinæ epiſc.

EUSEBIUS, Emiſſenus

EUSTACHIUS

EUSTATHIUS, Epiphaniēſis

EUSTATHIUS, Theſſalonicenſis  
epiſcopus

EUTHYMENES, Maſſilienſis

EUTROPIUS, Sophiſta

EZEKIEL, propheta

EZRA, liber

## F

Jac. FABER, Stapulenſis

FABIUS. v. *Piſtor*

Barth. FACCIUS, ſeu *Facius*

Paulus FAGIUS

Claude FAUCHET,

Tho. FAZELLUS, Siculus

M. Minutius FELIX

Marſilius FICINUS, Florentinus

Orentius FINEUS, ſeu *Finæus*, Delphi-  
nas

Giles FLETCHER LL. D.

Sir John FORTESCUE, kn<sup>t</sup> Lord Chanc.  
to king *Hen. VI.*

Sext. Julius FRONTINUS

Ant. FUME

Mart. FUMEE

Joh. FUNCCIUS, Werdâ Norimberg.

## G

Claud. GALENUS, Pergamenus

Galilæus GALILÆI, Lynceus, ſeu Gali-  
leus *Galileus*

Cn. Cornel. GALLUS, Foro-Julienſis, poeta

Lucas GAURICUS, epiſc. Geophonen-  
ſis

Æneas GAZÆUS, ex Platonico philoſo-  
pho Chriſtianus

Ger. GELASIUS I. papa

GELDENHAURIUS, Novioma-  
gus

Aulus GELLIUS

GEMISTUS. v. *Pletho*

Gilb. GENEBRARDUS, Arvernus

Franciſc. GEORGIUS, Venetus

Juſtus GESTELIUS

Nic. GIBBONS, D. D.

GISTILANUS

Mich. GLYCAS, Siculus

GROPIUS. v. *Becanus*

Joan. Bapt. GRAMMAYE

Franc. GRATIANUS de Garzatoribus

GREGORIUS I. papa, dictus  
*Magnus*

GREGORIUS XIII. papa, antea  
dictus Hugo *Boncompagnus*

GREGORIUS, Nazianzenus, The-  
ologus

GREGORIUS, Neocæſariēſis epiſ.  
cognomine *Thaumaturgus*

Franceſco GUICCIARDINI

Melchior GUILANDINUS, Boruſſus

GUILLELMUS, Tyrius, ſeu ar-  
chiep. Tyrenſis

GULIELMUS, Neubrigenſis, ſeu  
Neuburgēſis

GULIELMUS, Pariſienſis



# A U T H O R S *cited.*

## H

Rich.	HAITHONUS, Armenus
Rich.	HAKLUYT, M. A. Preb. of <i>Westminster, &amp;c.</i>
	HALICARNASSEUS. v. <i>Dionysius</i>
	HECATÆUS, Abderita
	HECATÆUS, Milesius
	HEGESIPPUS. v. <i>Egesippus</i>
	HELLANICUS, Lesbios, historicus
	HENRICUS, Mechliniensis
	HERACLIDES, Cretensis
	HERACLITUS, Lesbios
	HERMES Trismegistus
	HERMIPPUS, Smyrnæus
	HERMODORUS
	HERODOTUS, Halicarnasseus
Basil. Joh.	HEROLDUS
	HERRAULT
	HESIODUS, Ascraeus, poeta
	HIERONYMUS, Phoenix, vel <i>Ægyptius</i>
D.	HIERONYMUS, Stridonensis, pres- byter
	HIEROSOLYMITANUS. v. <i>An- dreas</i>
	HILARIUS, episc. Pictaviensis
	HIPPARCHUS, Bithynus
	HIPPOCRATES, Cœus
	HIPPOLYTUS, Thebanus
	HOMERUS
Rich.	HOOKE, M. A. Master of the <i>Temple, &amp;c.</i>
John	HOPKINSON
Q.	HORATIUS Flaccus, poeta
	HŌSEA, propheta
Rudolph.	HOSPINIANUS, Tigurinus
	HUGO. v. de <i>Sancto-Victore</i>
C. Jul.	HYGINUS

## I

	JACOBUS, apostolus
	IAMBlichus, Porphyrii discipu- lus
	JAMES I. king of <i>England, &amp;c.</i>
Corn.	JANSENIUS, episc. Iprensis & Gandavensis
	JEREMIAS, propheta
	JOB, Hussita
	JOANNES, Antiochenus, dictus <i>Scholasticus</i>
S.	JOHANNES, evangelista & apo- stolus
	JONAS, propheta
Flavius	JOSEPHUS, sacerdos Hierosol.
	JOSUA
D.	IRENÆUS, episc. Lugdunensis, & martyr
	ISAIAS, propheta
B.	ISIDORUS, episc. Hispalensis
	ISOCRATES, Atheniensis, rhetor
	JUDA, apostolus
	JUDICUM liber
	JUDITH, liber
	JULIANUS, imperator, apostata
Franc.	JUNIUS, Biturix, seu François du <i>Jon</i>
D.	Ivo, prior Belluacensis, dein episc. Carnotensis
Flavius	JUSTINIANUS, imperator
M. Junianus	JUSTINUS, historicus

JUSTINUS, Samaritanus, philos-  
phus & martyr

Dec. Junius

JUVENALIS

## K

R. David	KIMCHI
R. Moses	KIMCHI
Alb.	KRANTZIUS
Leonh.	KRENTZHEIM, Iphosius Fran- cus

## L

L. Cælius	LACTANTIUS Firmianus
Pet.	LAICSTAN
Ælius	LAMPRIIDIUS
Monfieur de	LANGEY
	LAONICUS, Chalcondylas Athe- nienfis
Pet.	LAVINIUS
F. Joh.	LAZIARDUS, ord. Cœlest. mo- nachus
John	LEAN
	LEANDER. v. <i>Alberti</i>
Joh.	LEO, Granatenfis vulgò <i>Africa- nus</i> dictus)
	LEUCIPPUS, philosophus
R.	LEVI ben Gershom
	LEVITA
Joh.	LEUNCLAVIUS, seu <i>Leunclajus</i> , five <i>Lewenclajus</i> , Amelbur- nus
Joh. Hugo	LINSCHOTE
	LINUS, vetus poeta Græcus
Titus	LIVIVS, Patavinus, historicus
Pet.	LOMBARDUS, seu <i>Longobardus</i> , magist. sentent. & episc. Pa- risiensis
Ed.	LOPEZ
François	LOPEZ de Gomara
Charles	LOYSEAU
M. Annæus	LUCANUS
S.	LUCAS, evangelista
	LUCIANUS, Samosatensis
Joh.	LUCIDUS, Samotheus
C.	LUCILIUS, Sueffianus
Titus	LUCRETIVS Carus
	LUDOVICUS, Romanus Patritius
Raimundus	LULLIUS, Majoricensis
Martinus	LUTHERUS, Wittembergenfis
	LYCOPHRON, Chalcidienfis
Tho.	LYDIAT, M. A.
Nic.	LYRANUS, five de <i>Lyra</i>
	LYSIMACHUS, Alexandrinus

## M

	MACCABÆORUM libri
Nic.	MACHIAVELLUS, Florentinus
Ambrosius	MACROBIUS Theodosius, alias Aurel. <i>Macrobius</i> Ambr. Theod.
Raph.	MAFFÆUS, Volaterranus
	MAIMONIUS
	MALACHIAS, propheta
Constantinus	MANASSES
Sir John	MANDEVILLE, knight
	MANETHOS, Sebennyta Diof- politianus
	MANICHÆI
Ammianus	MARCELLINUS, historicus
	MARCELLUS. v. <i>Nonius</i> S. MARCUS



# A U T H O R S *cited.*

S.	MARCUS, evangelista
	MARSYLUS
Pet.	MARTYR, Vermilius, seu Vermelinus, Florentinus
M. Valer.	MARTIALIS
	MARTIANUS
Andr.	MASIUS, Damascenus
Christianus	MASSÆUS, Cameracenus
S.	MATTHÆUS, evangelista
HRabanus	MAURUS, al. dictus <i>Magnentius</i> , al. Rabanus Theutonicus
Mich.	MEDINA
	MEGASTHENES
Pomp.	MELA, Hisp.
Phil.	MELANCHTHON, Bretta Palatinus
S.	MELITO, episc. Sardenfis
	MENÆTUS,
	MENANDER, comicus
	MENANDER, Ephesius
	MENANDER, rhetor
Gerhardus	MERCATOR, Flander
Joh.	MERCERUS, Uticensis
	MERCURIUS, i. e. <i>Hermes Trifmegistus</i>
	METHRODIUS, episc. Tyrensis, & martyr
	METRODORUS, Chius
Matthias a	MICHOU, canonicus Cracoviensis
Jac.	MIDDENDORPIUS, Transiselanus
	MIRANDULA. v. <i>Picus</i>
	MITHRIDATES, rex Ponti & Bithyniæ
	MOCHUS, Phoenix
Herennius	MODESTINUS, J. C <sup>us</sup>
	MONTANUS. v. <i>Arianus</i>
Joh. de	MONTE-VILLA
Blaise de	MONTLUC
John	MOOR
Phil.	MORNÆUS, seu <i>Mornayus</i> , seign. du Plessis
R.	MOSES bar-Cephas, episc. Cyri
	MOSES, Judæorum legislator
	MUSÆUS, Atheniensis, Orpheo cœvus
Wolfg.	MUSCULUS, Dufanus, Lotharingus

## N

	NAHUM, propheta
Joh.	NAUCLERUS, alias <i>Vergenhaus</i> dictus, theologus & J. C <sup>us</sup>
	NAZIANZENUS. v. <i>Gregorius</i>
	NEHEMIAS, liber
Corn.	NEPOS, historicus
Joh.	NEPOS, Silvanus, episc. Hierosolymitanus 44 <sup>us</sup>
	NICANDER, Colophonius
	NICEPHORUS, Callisti fil. Xanthopulus
Dom. Marius	NIGER, Venetus
	NONIUS Marcellus, grammaticus & peripateticus Tiburicensis
Seignuer de la	NOÛE
	NOVIOMAGUS. v. <i>Geldenbaurius</i>
	Numenius, Apameensis, philosophus Pythagoricus

## O

Hier. ab	OLEASTRO, Lusitanus
	ONESICRITUS
	ONUPHRIUS. v. <i>Panvinus</i>
S.	ORIGENES, Adamantius
	ORONTIUS. v. <i>Fineus</i>
Paul.	OROSIUS, presbyter Hispanus
	ORPHEUS, Thrax, poetarum vetustissimus
Abr.	ORTELIUS, Antverpianus
Hier.	OSORIUS, Lusitanus, episc. Algarbiensis
Publius	OVIDIUS Naso, poeta

## P

Santes	PAGNINUS, Lucensis
Mich. de	PALACIO, seu <i>Palatio</i> , sive <i>Palacios</i> , theologus Granatensis
	PALÆPHATUS, Parius vel Priennensis
	PALLADIUS, Galata, Evagrii discipulus, episc. Helenopolitanus, dein Asponitanus
Onuphrius	PANVINIUS, Veronensis
Æmilius	PAPINIANUS, J. C <sup>us</sup>
Estienne	PASQUIER
C.(al.P.)Vellej.	PATERCULUS
Franc.	PATRITIUS, seu <i>Patricii</i>
Eutrop. Merop.	PAULINUS, Aquitanus, episc. Nolanus
	PAULUS, apostolus
Marcus	PAULUS, Venetus, eremita ord. S. Augustini
	PAUSANIAS, Cappadox
Bened.	PERERIUS, Valentinus
Pet.	PERONDINUS, Pratenfis
Franc.	PETRARCHA
	PETRUS, apostolus
Gasp.	PEUCERUS
	PHAGIUS. v. <i>Fagius</i>
	PHEMIUS, Ithacensis
	PHERECYDES, Syrius
	PHILAMMON, Delphicus
	PHILINUS, Agrigentinus
	PHILISTUS, Naucratis
	PHILO, senior
Herennius	PHILO Byblius, grammaticus
	PHILO, Judæus
	PHILOCHORUS, Atheniensis
Flavius	PHILOSTRATUS, Lemnius
	PHILOXENUS, Maburgensis
	PHLEGON, Trallianus, Adriani imperat. libertus
	PHURNUTUS, seu <i>Phornutus</i> , al. <i>Cornutus</i>
Alex.	PICCOLHOMINEUS, seu <i>Piccolomineus</i> , Senensis
Q. Fabius	PICTOR
Joh.	PICUS, d <sup>us</sup> Mirandulæ & Concordiæ comes
Joh.	PIERIUS Valerianus, Bolzanus, Bellunensis
	PINDARUS, Thebanus
Juan de	PINEDA, Hispan.
	PINETUS
Hector	PINTUS, Lusitanus
Guerinus	PISO, Soacius, J. C <sup>us</sup>
Joh.	PLANCARPIO
	PLATO, Atheniensis, philosophus
M. Accius	PLAUTUS, Sarcinas



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du PLESSIS. v. *Mornæus*  
 Geor. Gemistus PLETHO  
 C. PLINIUS secundus Veronenfis, se-  
 nior  
 PLOTINUS, philosophus Platoni-  
 cus  
 PLUTARCHUS, Chæronenfis  
 POLEMON, Euergeti filius  
 POLYÆNUS, Macedo  
 Jul. POLLUX, seu *Polyduces*, Nau-  
 cratita  
 POLYBIUS, Lycortæ f. Magalo-  
 polita  
 POLYCHRONIUS episc. Apa-  
 meenfis  
 PORPHYRIUS, Malchus, Tyrius  
 Guilh. POSTELLUS, Barentonius Nor-  
 mannus  
 PRISCIANUS, grammaticus Cæ-  
 farenfis  
 Æmilius PROBUS, historicus  
 PROCLUS, Diadochus, Lycius  
 PROCOPIUS, Cæfarenfis  
 PROCOPIUS Gazæus, fophifta  
 Christianus  
 Mich. PSELLUS, philosophus Christia-  
 nus  
 Claud. PTOLEMÆUS, Alexandrinus  
 PYTHAGORAS, Samius, philoso-  
 phus

## Q

M. Fab. QUINTILIANUS, senior

## R

Nich. Christop. RABANUS. v. *Maurus*  
 RADZEVILUS  
 RAIMUNDUS. v. *Lullius*  
 RAMBAM, five Maimonides  
 Pet. RANZANUS, Siculus  
 Lud. REGIUS, seu *le Roy*, Constanti-  
 enfis  
 REGUM libri  
 Reinerus REINECCIUS, Steinhernius  
 Erasmus REINHOLDUS, Salfeldienfis  
 Joh. REUCHLINUS, dictus *Capnio*,  
 Phorcenfis  
 Elias REUSNERUS, Leorinus Silefius  
 J. C<sup>lus</sup>  
 Beatus RHENANUS, Seleftadienfis  
 RHODIGINUS. v. *Cælius*  
 RHODIUS Alexandrides  
 Franc. RIBERA, Villacastinenfis  
 RUPERTUS, abbas Tuitienfis  
 RUTH, liber

## S

R. SAADIAS *Haggaon*, i. e. *excel-*  
*lens*, dictus  
 Pomponius SABINUS  
 Nicolaus SALCUNI  
 Guillaume SALLUSTE, fleur du Bartas  
 C. Crispus SALLUSTIUS  
 Alphonf. SALMERON, Toletanus  
 SALOMON rex Hebræorum fa-  
 pientiffimus  
 Rabbi SALOMON  
 SAMUEL, propheta  
 SANCHONIATHON, Phoenix  
 Hugo de SANCTO-VICTORE, Saxo

SAXO grammaticus, Roschilder-  
 fis ecclesiæ in Dania pra-  
 positus  
 Albertus feu } de SAXONIA  
 Albertucius }  
 Jos. Just. SCALIGER, Aginnenfis, Julii  
 Ulricus SCHMIDEL  
 Christianus SCHOLIASTES Apollonii  
 Clem. SCHROT  
 Barthol. SCHUBERTUS, Lafatius  
 SCULTETUS  
 SEDER OLAM RABBA. i. e.  
*Ordo mundi magnus*  
 Cæl. SEDULIUS, presbyter  
 SELEUCUS, Alexandrinus  
 SEMPRONIUS Afellio  
 L. Annæus SENECA, Cordubenfis  
 M. Annæus SENECA, rhetor  
 SEPTUAGINTA Interpretes  
 SERENUS abbas  
 Joh. SERRANUS, seu de *Serres*  
 Marius SERVIUS Honoratus  
 Simeon SETHUS magister Antiochenus  
 Marc. Aurel. SEVERINUS, Tarsenfis  
 Corn. SEVERUS  
 SIBYLLARUM libri  
 Joh. SICHARDUS  
 Sir Philip SIDNEY, knight  
 C. Sollius SIDONIUS Apollinaris, Arverno-  
 rum episc.  
 Carolus SIGONIUS, Mutinenfis  
 C. SILIUS Italicus, poeta  
 SIMONIDES  
 Jefus SIRACIDES, seu Ecclesiasticus,  
 liber apocryph.  
 SIXTUS Senenfis  
 Sir Thomas SMITH, knight, L L. D. prin-  
 cipal secretary of state to  
 king *Edw. VI.* and queen  
*Elizabeth*  
 SOCRATES, Athenienfis, philo-  
 fophus  
 C. Jul. SOLINUS  
 SOPHOCLES, tragicus  
 SOSIBIUS, Lacon  
 SOSTHENES  
 Herm. SOZOMENUS, Salaminus  
 Tilemannus STELLA, Bipontinus  
 STEPHANUS, Byzantinus  
 Henr. STEPHANUS  
 August. STEUCHUS, Eugubinus, episc.  
 Kisami  
 STRABO, Amafenus  
 Walafridus STRABUS, seu *Strabo*, abbas Au-  
 gienfis  
 Joh. Guilh. STUCKIUS, seu *Stukius*, Tiguri-  
 nus, theologus  
 C. SUTTONIUS Tranquillus  
 SUIDAS, junior, grammaticus  
 SULPITIUS Severus  
 SYMMACHUS, Samaritanus

## T

C. Corn. TACITUS, historicus  
 TALMUD  
 TATIANUS, Assyrius  
 Q. Sep. Florens TERTULLIANUS, presbyter Car-  
 thaginensis  
 Joh. Ravifius TEXTOR, Noviodunenfis  
 THADDÆUS  
 THALES, Milefius  
 THALLUS, historicus  
 THAMYRAS



# A U T H O R S *cited.*

THAMYRAS, vel *Thamyris*,  
 Thrax, antiquus poeta  
 THEODORETUS, seu *Theodoritus*,  
 episc. Cyri  
 THEOPHILUS, patriarcha Antio-  
 chenus  
 THEOPHRASTUS, Eresius  
 THEOPOMPUS, Chius  
 THEOPOMPUS, Colophonius  
 André THEVET  
 THOMAS. v. *Aquinas*  
 THUCYDIDES, Atheniensis, hi-  
 storicus  
 Albius TIBULLUS, poeta  
 TIMÆUS, Locrus, Pythagori-  
 cus  
 Aug. TORNIELLUS, Novariensis  
 Andr. TORQUEMADA, Hisp.  
 Alphonfus TOSTATUS, episc. Abulensis, seu  
 de Avilâ  
 Immanuel TREMELLIUS, Ferrariensis  
 TREZENIUS  
 TRISMEGISTUS. v. *Hermes*  
 Joh. TRITHEMIUS, seu *Tritemius*,  
 sive *Trittenhemius*, abbas  
 TROGUS Pompeius  
 TROPHONIUS  
 TUDELENSIS. v. *Benjamin*  
 Joh. TZETZES, grammaticus  
 Isacius TZETZES

## V

Joachimus VADIANUS, Sangallensis  
 Gregorius de VALENTIA, Hispanus  
 M. Ter. VARRO  
 Franc. VATABLUS, Ambianensis  
 Flavius VEGETIUS Renatus  
 Franc. VERGARA, Hisp.  
 Ric. VERSTEGAN, Batavus  
 Americus VESPUTIUS, Florentinus  
 VICTOR, episc. Uticensis  
 Claud. Marius VICTORINUS, seu *Victor*, orator  
 Massiliensis  
 Nicol. VIGNIER, seu *Vignierius*, Bar-  
 rensis

Joh. Bapt. VILLALPANDUS  
 Arn. Catalanus, } VILLANOVANUS, sive de *Villâ-*  
 seu Cathelanus } *novâ*, Gallus, medicus  
 VINCENTIUS Burgundus, præ-  
 sul Belluacensis  
 Mercurius de VIPERA, Beneventanus  
 Publ. VIRGILIUS Maro  
 Jac. de VITRIACO episc. Acconensis  
 Joh. Lud. VIVES, Valentinus Hispanus  
 Domitius ULPIANUS, J. C<sup>us</sup>  
 VOLATERRANUS, v. *Maffæus*

## W

Wolfg. WEISSENBURGIUS, J. C<sup>us</sup>  
 Joh. WIERUS, cognomine *Piscina-*  
*rius*  
 Andr. WILLET, D. D. preb. of *Ely*  
 Joh. WOLFIUS, seu *Wolphius*, Ta-  
 bernæmontanus

## X

XANTHUS, Sardianus, histori-  
 cus  
 XENAGORAS, historicus  
 XENOPHANES, Colophonius  
 XENOPHON, Atheniensis  
 Wilh. XYLANDER, Augustanus

## Z

ZACHARIAS, propheta  
 Hieron. ZANCHIUS, Alzanensis Italus  
 ZENO, Eleates, philosophus  
 ZENO, Sidonius, philosophus  
 S. ZENO, episc. Veronensis &  
 martyr  
 Jac. ZIEGLERUS, Lindavus  
 Joh. ZONARAS, monachus  
 ZOROASTRES, Bactrianorum  
 rex.





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T H E

# P R E F A C E.



OW unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my self, to undertake a work of this mixture; mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it been begotten then with my first dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it self to my younger years; and before any wound received, either from fortune or time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkness of age and death would have covered over both it and me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the creation, I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few fallies excepted) to confine my discourse, within this our renowned island of *Great Britain*. I confess that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travels; to have set together (as I could) the unjointed and scattered frame of our *English* affairs, than of the universal: in whom had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured: with the desire to satisfy those friends, which I have tried by the fire of adversity; the former enforcing, the latter perswading; have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and my self the subject of every opinion, wise or weak.

To the world I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For, prosperity and adversity have evermore tied and untied vulgar affections. And as we see it in experience, That dogs do always bark at those they know not; and that it is in their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so is it with the inconsiderate multitude. Who, wanting that virtue which we call honesty in all men, and that especial gift of God which we call charity in christian men; condemn, without hearing; and wound, without offence given; led thereunto by uncertain report only; <sup>a</sup> which his majesty truly acknowledgeth for the author of all lyes. <sup>b</sup> *Blame no man (saith Siracides) before thou have inquired the matter: understand first, and then reform righteously.* *Rumor, res sine teste, sine judice, maligna, fallax; rumour is without witness, without judge, malicious and deccivable.* This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave S. *Augustine* argument to affirm, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the evil. <sup>c</sup> And hercin no man hath given a better rule, than this of *Seneca*; *Conscientiæ satisfacimus: nihil in famam laboremus; sequatur*

<sup>a</sup> Demonolog. l. 3. c. 1.  
<sup>b</sup> Eccl. c. 11. v. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis



*vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let us satisfy our own consciences, and not trouble our selves with fame: be it never so ill, it is to be despised so we deserve well.*

For my self, if I have in any thing served my country, and prized it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair sun-shine day to a sea-man after shipwreck; and the contrary, no other harm than an outrageous tempest after the port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards her, whom I must still honour in the dust; though further than the defence of her excellent person I never persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it: he that is the supreme judge of all the world, hath taken the account; so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with *Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.*

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine own mishap in that kind; but content my self to say with *Virgil, Sic vos non vobis*, in many particulars.

To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: seeing it is not truth, but opinion, that can travel the world without a pass-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then some possibility, to persuade by the mouth of one advocate, even equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensive virtue of dead earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath cast upon slime and dust: as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a several picture of face, and every one a diverse picture of mind: every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diversity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many natural and unnatural; wise, foolish; manly, and childish affections and passions in mortal men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the formal and internal.

And though it hath pleased God, to reserve the art of reading men's thoughts to himself: yet, as the fruit tells the name of the tree; so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to guess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life; did not craft in many, fear in the most, and the world's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualify and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, *Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest. No Man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures.* Neither can any man (saith *Plutarch*) so change himself, but that his heart may be sometimes seen at his tongue's end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable creatures, if we direct our selves to the multitude; *Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus, The common people are evil judges of honest things, and whose wisdom (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised*; if to the better sort; every understanding hath a peculiar judgment, by which it both censureth other men, and valueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seem strange, though I find these my worthless papers torn with rats: seeing the slothful censurers of all ages have not spared to tax the reverend fathers of the church, with ambition; the severest



severest men to themselves, with hypocrisy; the greatest lovers of justice, with popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vain-glory. <sup>a</sup> But of these natures, which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, seeing <sup>b</sup> *Solomon* complained long since: and that the very age of the world renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leave the professors to their easy ways of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this preface, following the common and approved custom of those who have left the memories of time past to after-ages; to give, as near as I can, the same right to history which they have done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other men's words; I will not trouble the reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all human knowledge, that it hath given us life in our understanding, since the world it self had life and beginning, even to this day: yea it hath triumphed over time, which, besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of so many thousands of years, and given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now, as if we had lived then, that great world, *Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wise work* (saith *Hermes*) of a great God, as it was then, when but new to it self. By it I say it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled: how kings and kingdoms have flourished and fallen; and for what virtue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe unto history, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other men's fore-passed miseries, with our own like errors and ill deservings.

But it is neither of examples the most lively instruction, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified minds; as to make us remember, that the infinite eye and wisdom of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make us remember, That the justice of God doth require none other accuser, than our own consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacify the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his knowledge. And so much did that heathen wisdom confess, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith *Euripides*) having in his life committed wickedness, think he can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat God's judgments in particular, upon those of all degrees, which have played with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the sea of examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written only in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeed, and have not seen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. God's judgments upon the greater and greatest, have been left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their

<sup>a</sup> Eccl. cap. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Nihil facilius, quam reprehendere alium



virtue, who have gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to point far off, and to speak of the conversion of angels into devils for ambition: or of the greatest and most glorious kings, who have gnawn the grass of the earth with beasts, for pride and ingratitude towards God: or of that wise working of *Pharaoh*, when he slew the infants of *Israel*, ere they had recovered their cradles: or of the policy of *Jezebel*, in covering the murder of *Naboth* by a trial of the *Elders*, according to the law; with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeless proof, that far-off examples would not be left to the same far-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practice, peril, bloodshed, and cruelty, the kings and princes of the world have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their issues masters of the world? And yet hath *Babylon*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Macedon*, *Carthage*, *Rome*, and the rest, no fruit, flower, grass, nor leaf, springing upon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No; their very roots and ruins do hardly remain. *Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando & durando deficient*; All that the hand of man can make, is either overturn'd by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of those ruins, are diversly given by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All kingdoms and states have fallen (say the politicians) by outward and foreign force, or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, That the greatest have sunk down under their own weight; of which *Livy* hath a touch: *Eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret sua*: Others, That the divine providence (which *Cratippus* objected to *Pompey*) hath set down the date and period of every estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my self a day over to resolve.

For seeing the first books of the following story, have undertaken the discourse of the first kings and kingdoms: and that it is impossible for the short life of a preface, to travel after and overtake far-off antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own kings, and their neighbour princes: who having beheld, both in divine and human letters, the success of infidelity, injustice, and cruelty; have (notwithstanding) planted after the same pattern.

True it is, that the judgments of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most, with that which most nearly seemeth to touch his own private; or otherwise best suiteth with his apprehension. but the judgments of God are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long process of time, and won to give his blessing in one age, to that which he hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in ages removed far from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no less appear by evident proof, than by asseveration, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill success; I will here, by way of preface, run over some examples, which the work ensuing hath not reached.

Among our kings of the *Norman* race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the *Norman* conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of God's justice, upon the children of *Henry* the



the first. For that king, when both by force, craft, and cruelty, he had dispossest, over-reach'd, and lastly made blind and destroyed his elder brother *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, to make his own sons lords of this land : God cast them all, male and female, nephews and nieces (*Maud* excepted) into the bottom of the sea, with above a hundred and fifty others that attended them ; whereof a great many were noble, and of the king dearly beloved.

To pass over the rest, till we come to *Edward* the second ; it is certain, that after the murder of that king, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out ; and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our princes of the *Masculine* race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young years of *Edward* the third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious : yet in that he afterwards caused his own uncle the earl of *Kent* to die, for no other offence than the desire of his brother's redemption, whom the earl as then supposed to be living (the king making that to be treason in his uncle, which was indeed treason in himself, had his uncle's intelligence been true ; ) this, I say, made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have it otherwise ; though he caused *Mortimer* to die for the same.

The cruelty, the secret and unsearchable judgment of God revenged, on the grand-child of *Edward* the third : and so it fell out, even to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried under the ruins of those buildings, of which the mortar had been tempered with innocent blood. For *Richard* the second, who saw, both his *Treasurers*, his *Chancellor*, and his *Steward*, with divers others of his counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies ; yet he always took himself for over-wise to be taught by examples. The earls of *Huntington* and *Kent*, *Montague* and *Spencer*, who thought themselves as great politicians in those days, as others have done in these : hoping to please the king, and to secure themselves, by the murder of *Glocester* ; died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands ; and far more shamefully than did that duke. And as for the king himself (who in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himself by breach of faith, charters, pardons, and patents) he was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his cousin-german and vassal, *Henry* of *Lancaster*, afterwards *Henry* the fourth.

This king, whose title was weak, and his obtaining the crown traitorous : who brake faith with the lords at his landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance ; brake faith with *Richard* himself ; and brake faith with all the kingdom in parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed king should live. After that he had enjoyed this realm some few years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his subjects, and never free from conspiracies and rebellions : he saw (if souls immortal see and discern any things after the bodies death) his grand-child *Henry* the sixth, and his son the prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered ; the possession of the crown (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race ; and by the issues of his enemies worn and enjoyed : enemies, whom by his own practice he supposed that he had left no less powerless, than the succession of the kingdom questionless ; by entailing the same upon his own issues by parliament. And out of doubt, hu-  
man



man reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the father, seconded by the valour and signal victories of his son *Henry the fifth*, had buried the hopes of every competitor, under the despair of all reconquest and recovery. I say, that human reason might so have judged: were not this passage of *Casaubon* also true; *Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ*; a day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things, that seemed to have been founded and rooted in adamant.

Now for *Henry the sixth*, upon whom the great storm of his grandfather's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon *Richard* the grandchild of *Edward*: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent prince; yet as he refused the daughter of *Armaignac*, of the house of *Navarre*, the greatest of the princes of *France*, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in *France*) and married the daughter of *Anjou* (by which he lost all that he had in *France*) so in condescending to the unworthy death of his uncle of *Glocester*, the main and strong pillar of the house of *Lancaster*; he drew on himself and this kingdom the greatest joint-loss and dishonour, that ever it sustained since the *Norman* conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a counsellor of his own spake of *Henry the third of France*, *Qu'il estoit un fort gentil prince; mais son reign est advenu en une fort mauvais temps*: That he was a very gentle prince; but his reign happened in a very unfortunate season.

It is true, that *Buckingham* and *Suffolk* were the practisers and contrivers of the duke's death: *Buckingham* and *Suffolk*, because the duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the queen had been absolute; the queen, in respect of her personal wound, *spretæque injuria formæ*, because *Glocester* dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the counsel. For after the cutting down of *Glocester*, *York* grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel, *Suffolk* and *Buckingham*, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of oath by sacrament, it pleased God to strike down *York*: yet his son the earl of *March*, following the plain path which his father had trodden out, despoiled *Henry* the father, and *Edward* the son, both of their lives and kingdoms. And what was the end now of that politick lady the queen, other than this, That she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: That she lived to look on, while her husband the king, and her only son the prince, were hewen in sunder; while the crown was set on his head that did it. She lived to see her self despoiled of her estate, and of her moveables: and lastly, her father, by rendring up to the crown of *France*, the earldom of *Provence* and other places, for the payment of fifty thousand crowns for her ransom, to become a stark beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which <sup>a</sup> *Siracides* calleth *fine*, but *unrighteous*: for other fruit hath it never yielded since the world was.

And now came it to *Edward* the fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of *Lancaster* were rooted up; one only earl of *Richmond* excepted: whom also he had once bought of the duke of *Britain*, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of *Edward* such a plantation, as could any way promise it self stability. For this *Edward* the king (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter, which *Glocester*, *Dorset*, *Hastings*, and others,

<sup>a</sup> *Sirac. c. 19.*



made of *Edward* the prince in his own presence : of which tragical actors, there was not one that escaped the judgment of God in the same kind. And he, which (besides the execution of his brother of *Clarence*, for none other offence than he himself had formed in his own imagination) instructed *Glocester* to kill *Henry* the sixth, his predecessor ; taught him also by the same art to kill his own sons and successors *Edward* and *Richard*. For those kings, which have sold the blood of others at a low rate ; have but made the market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To *Edward* the fourth succeeded *Richard* the third, the greatest master in mischief of all that fore-went him : who although, for the necessity of his tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own person, than all the rest ; yet he so well fitted every affection that play'd with him, as if each of them had but acted his own interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of *Hastings* and *Buckingham*, enemies to the queen and to all her kindred ; as he easily allured them to condescend, that *Rivers* and *Grey*, the king's maternal uncle and half-brother, should (for the first) be severed from him : secondly, he wrought their consent to have them imprisoned : and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their heads severed from their bodies. And having now brought those his chief instruments to exercise that common precept, which the devil hath written on every post ; namely, <sup>a</sup> To depress those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had depress'd ; he urged that argument so far and so forcibly, as nothing but the death of the young king himself, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into *Buckingham's* head, That whensoever the king, or his brother, should have able years to exercise their power ; they would take a most severe revenge of that cruel wrong, offered to their uncle and brother, *Rivers* and *Grey*.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with *Hastings*, whose fidelity to his master's sons was without suspect : and yet the devil, who never diswades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when he found by *Catesby*, who sounded him, that he was not fordable ; he first resolved to kill him sitting in council : wherein having failed with his sword ; he set the hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move his appetite, he caused his head to be stricken off, before he eat his dinner. A greater judgment of God, than this upon *Hastings*, I have never observed in any story. For the self-same day that the earl *Rivers*, *Grey*, and others, were (without trial of law, or offence given) by *Hastings's* advice executed at *Pomfret* : I say, *Hastings* himself in the same day, and (as I take it) in the same hour, in the same lawless manner had his head stricken off in the *Tower* of *London*. But *Buckingham* lived a while longer ; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the *Londoners* to elect *Richard* for their king. And having received the earldom of *Hereford* for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the king's only son ; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant ; he had his head severed from his body at *Salisbury*, without the trouble of any of his peers. And what success had *Richard* himself after all these mischiefs and murders, policies and counterpolicies to christian Religion : and after such time, as with a most merciless hand he had pressed

<sup>a</sup> Scelera sceleribus tuenda. Sen. de Clem.



out the breath of his nephews and natural lords ; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it took end, ere himself could well look over and discern it ? The great outcry of innocent blood, obtaining at God's hands the effusion of his ; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruel king, *Henry* the seventh cut off ; and was therein ( no doubt ) the immediate instrument of God's justice. A politick prince he was, if ever there were any ; and who by the engine of his wisdom, beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions, both before and after he wore the crown, as ever king of *England* did : I say by his wisdom, because as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all human actions. He had well observed the proceedings of *Loys* the eleventh, whom he followed in all that was royal or royal-like, but he was far more just, and begun not their processes, whom he hated or feared by the execution, as *Loys* did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding wise ; for whatsoever himself gave, he himself received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well that the affections of men ( purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits ) were trains that better became great kings, than great subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoever, the taking off of *Stanley's* head, who set the crown on his, and the death of the young earl of *Warwick*, son to *George* duke of *Clarence*, shews, as the success also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his ancestors, for his possession in the first line ended in his grand-children, as that of *Edward* the third and *Henry* the fourth had done.

Now for king *Henry* the eighth : if all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost in the world, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the story of this king. For how many servants did he advance in haste ( but for what virtue no man could suspect ) and with the change of his fancy ruined again ; no man knowing for what offence ? To how many others of more desert gave he abundant flowers, from whence to gather honey, and in the end of harvest burnt them in the hive ? How many wives did he cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed ? How many princes of the blood ( whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the block ) with a world of others of all degrees ( of whom our common chronicles have kept the account ) did he execute ? Yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to have given his account to God for the abundance of blood already spilt : he imprisoned the duke of *Norfolk* the father, and executed the earl of *Surrey* the son ; the one, whose deservings he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the king's service ; the other, never having committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure : the one exceeding valiant and advised ; the other, no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrows which he heaped upon the fatherless, and widows at home ; and besides the vain enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more treasure, than all our victorious kings did in their several conquests : what causeless and cruel wars did he make upon his own nephew king *James* the fifth ? What laws and wills did he devise, to establish this kingdom in his own issues ? Using his sharpest weapons



pons to cut off, and cut down those branches, which sprang from the same root that himself did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions) it pleased God to take away all his own, without increase; though, for themselves in their several kinds, all princes of eminent virtue. For these words of *Samuel* to *Agag*, king of the *Amalekites*, have been verified upon many others: *As thy sword hath made other women childless: so shall thy mother be childless among other women.* And that blood which the same king *Henry* affirmed, that the cold air of *Scotland* had frozen up in the north, God hath diffused by the sun-shine of his grace: from whence his majesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, that if all the malice of the world were infused into one eye: yet could it not discern in his life, even to this day, any one of those foul spots, by which the consciences of all the fore-named princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the sword of his justice, with which the most that forewent him, have stained both their hands and fame. And for this crown of *England*; it may truly be avowed, that he hath received it even from the hand of God, and hath stayed the time of putting it on, howsoever he were provoked to hasten it: that he never took revenge of any man that fought to put him beside it: that he refused the assistance of her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever princess did: that his majesty entered not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the ordinary gate, which his own right set open; and into which, by a general love and obedience, he was received. And howsoever his majesty's preceding title to this kingdom, was preferred by many princes (witness the treaty at *Cambray* in the year 1559;) yet he never pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned lady, his predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared heir, in all the time of her long reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to God for the uniting of the northern parts of *Britany* to the south; to wit, of *Scotland* to *England*; which, though they were severed but by small brooks and banks, yet by reason of the long continued war, and the cruelties exercised upon each other, in the affection of the nations, they were infinitely severed. This, I say, is not the least of God's blessings which his majesty hath brought with him unto this land: No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to their height, they will appear but as a mole-hill, compared with the mountain of this concord. And if all the historians since then, have acknowledged the uniting of the red rose and the white, for the greatest happiness (Christian religion excepted) that ever this kingdom received from God, certainly the peace between the two lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our *British* blood, heretofore and during the difference so often and abundantly shed, the state of *England* is more assured, the kingdom more enabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies and conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But had the duke of *Parma*, in the year 1588, joined the army which he commanded, with that of *Spain*, and landed it on the south-coast; and had his majesty at the same time declared himself against us in the north: it is easy to divine what had become of the liberty of *England*; certainly we would then without murmur have bought this union at a far greater price than it hath since cost us.



It is true, that there was never any commonweal or kingdom in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the world, and not above it. They are not infinite to examine every man's cause, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the latter (though to his own prejudice) his majesty hath had more compassion of other men's necessities, than of his own coffers. Of whom it may be said, as of a *Salomon*, *Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem Cordis*: which if other men do not understand with *Pineda* to be meant by *liberality*, but by *latitude of knowledge*; yet may it be better spoken of his majesty, than of any king that ever *England* had; who, as well in divine as human understanding, hath exceeded all that forewent him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the king's majesty, without flattery, did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and withal suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine (though the loss were little) as it did the pictures of queen *Elizabeth*, made by unskilful and common painters; which, by her own commandment, were knock'd in pieces and cast into the fire. For ill artists, in setting out the beauty of the external; and weak writers, in describing the virtues of the internal, do often leave to posterity, of well-formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most perfect and princely minds, a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse, if the honest reader but compare the cruel and turbulent passages of our former kings, and of other their neighbour princes (of whom for that purpose I have inserted this brief discourse) with his majesty's temperate, revengeless, and liberal disposition: I say, that if the honest reader weigh them justly, and with an even mind; and withal, but bestow every deformed child on his true parent, he shall find, that there is no man which hath so just cause to complain, as the king himself hath.

Now as we have told the success of the trumperies and cruelties of our own kings, and other great personages; so we find, that God is every-where the same God. And as it pleased him to punish the usurpation, and unnatural cruelty of *Henry I.*, and of our *Edward III.*, in their children for many generations; so dealt he with the sons of *Loys Debonaire*, the son of *Charles the great*, or *Charlemagne*. For after such time as *Debonaire* of *France* had torn out the eyes of *Bernard* his nephew, the son of *Pepin*, the eldest son of *Charlemagne*, and heir of the empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our *Henry* to *Robert* his elder brother; there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poisonings, imprisonments, and civil war, till the whole race of that famous emperor was extinguished.

And though *Debonaire*, after he had rid himself of his nephew by a violent death; and of his bastard brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure guard, all the days of their lives, within a monastery) held himself secure from all opposition: yet God raised up against him (which he suspected not) his own sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his own sons, with whom (to satisfy their ambition) he had shared his estate, and given them crowns to wear, kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldest son *Lothaire* (for he had four, three by his first wife, and one by his second; to wit, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, *Loys*, and *Charles*) made it the cause of his deposition, that he had used violence towards his brothers and kinsmen; and that he had suffer'd his nephew (whom he might have deliver'd) to be slain, <sup>b</sup> *eo quod*, saith the text, *fratribus* &c.

<sup>a</sup> Pin. Comment. in Sal. 1 K. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Step. Pasquier Rech. l. 5. c. 1.



*propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interficere permiserit*: because he used violence to his brothers and kinsmen, and suffered his nephew to be slain whom he might have delivered.

Yet did he that which few kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For among many other things, which he performed in the general assembly of the states, it follows, *a Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus; & imitatus imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, pœnitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat.* After this he did openly confess himself to have erred; and following the example of the emperor *Theodosius*, he underwent voluntary penance as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against *Bernard*, his own nephew.

This he did, and it was praise-worthy. *But the blood that is unjustly spilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. These medicines, ministred to the dead, have but dead rewards.*

This king, as I have said, had four sons. To *Lothaire* his eldest he gave the kingdom of *Italy*; as *Charlemagne*, his father, had done to *Pepin* the father of *Bernard*, who was to succeed him in the empire. To *Pepin* the second son he gave the kingdom of *Aquitaine*: to *Loys*, the kingdom of *Bavier*; and to *Charles*, whom he had by a second wife, called *Judith*, the remainder of the kingdom of *France*. But this second wife, being a mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded *Debonaire* to cast his son *Pepin* out of *Aquitaine*; thereby to greaten *Charles*: which, after the death of his son *Pepin*, he prosecuted to effect, against his grand-child bearing the same name. In the mean while, being invaded by his son *Loys* of *Bavier*, he dies for grief.

*Debonaire* dead: *Loys* of *Bavier*, and *Charles*, afterwards call'd the *Bald*, and their nephew *Pepin* of *Aquitaine*, join in league against the emperor *Lothaire*, their eldest brother. They fight near to *Auxerre* the most bloody batel that ever was stricken in *France*: in which, the marvellous loss of nobility, and men of war, gave courage to the *Saracens* to invade *Italy*; to the *Humes*, to fall upon *Almaine*; and the *Danes*, to enter upon *Normandy*. *Charles* the *Bald* by treason seizeth upon his nephew *Pepin*; kills him in a cloyster; *Carloman* rebels against his father *Charles* the *Bald*; the father burns out the eyes of his son *Carloman*; *Bavier* invades the emperor *Lothaire*, his brother; *Lothaire* quits the empire; he is assailed and wounded to the heart by his own conscience, for his rebellion against his father and for his other cruelties, and dies in a monastery. *Charles* the *Bald*, the uncle, oppresseth his nephews, the sons of *Lothaire*, he usurpeth the empire, to the prejudice of *Loys* of *Bavier*, his elder brother; *Bavier's* armies and his son *Carloman* are beaten; he dies of grief; and the usurper *Charles* is poisoned by *Zedekias* a *Jew*, his physician; his son *Loys le Beque* dies of the same drink. *Beque* had *Charles the Simple*, and two bastards, *Loys* and *Carloman*; they rebel against their brother, but the eldest breaks his neck, the younger is slain by a wild boar; the son of *Bavier* had the same ill destiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a window in sporting with his companions. *Charles the Gross* becomes lord of all that the sons of *Debonaire* held in *Germany*, wherewith not contented, he invades *Charles the Simple*; but being forsaken of his nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, he dies a distracted beggar. *Charles the Simple* is held in wardship by *Eudes*, major of the palace; then by *Robert*, the brother of *Eudes*; and, lastly, being taken by the earl of *Vermandois*, he is forced to die in the prison of *Peron*: *Loys*, the son of *Charles the Simple*, breaks his neck in chasing a wolf; and of the two sons



of this *Loys*, the one dies of poison, the other in the prison of *Orleans*; after whom *Hugh Capet*, of another race, and a stranger to the *French*, makes himself king.

These miserable ends had the issues of *Debonaire*, who, after he had once appalled injustice with authority, his sons and successors took up the fashion; and wore that garment so long without other provisions, as when the same was torn from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable and naked beggars. The wretched success they had (saith a learned *French-man*) shews, *que en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu ou de la justice*: That in the death of that prince, to wit, of *Bernard*, the son of *Pepin*, the true heir of *Charlemagne*, men had more meddling than either God or justice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certain that *Francis I.*, one of the worthiest kings (except for that fact) that ever the *French-men* had, did never enjoy himself, after he had commended the destruction of the protestants of *Mirandol* and *Cabrieres*, to the parliament of *Provence*; which poor people were thereupon burnt, and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true, that the said king *Francis* repented himself of the fact, and gave charge to *Henry*, his son, to do justice upon the murderers; threatening his son with God's judgments, if he neglected it. But this unseasonable care of his, God was not pleased to accept for payment. For, after *Henry* himself was slain in sport by *Montgomery*, we all may remember what became of his four sons, *Francis*, *Charles*, *Henry*, and *Hercules*. Of which, although three of them became kings, and were married to beautiful and virtuous ladies; yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty and breach of faith, with all their massacres upon those of the religion, and great effusion of blood, the crown was set upon his head, whom they all laboured to dissolve; the protestants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more strong cities than ever they had.

Let us now see, if God be not the same God in *Spain*, as in *England* and *France*. Towards whom we will look no farther back than to *Don Pedro* of *Castile*: in respect of which prince, all the tyrants of *Sicily*, our *Richard III.*, and the great *Evan Vasilowick* of *Muscovy*, were but petty ones: this *Castilian*, of all christian and heathen kings, having been the most merciless. For besides those of his own blood and nobility, which he caused to be slain in his own court and chamber; as *Sancho Ruis*, the great master of *Calatrava*, *Ruis Gonzales*, *Alphonso Tello*, and *Don John* of *Arragon*, whom he cut in pieces, and cast into the streets, denying him Christian burial: I say, besides these, and the slaughter of *Gomes Manriques*, *Diego Percas*, *Alphonso Gomes*, and the great commander of *Castile*; he made away the two infants of *Arragon*, his cousin-germans, his brother *Don Frederick*, *Don John de la Cerde*, *Albuquerque*, *Nugnes de Guzman*, *Cornel*, *Cabrera*, *Tenorio*, *Mendes de Toledo*, *Gutierre* his great treasurer, and all his kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent princes: whom, after he had kept in close prison from their cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen years, and the other fourteen, he murdered them there. Nay, he spared not his mother, nor his wife, the lady *Blanch* of *Bourbon*. Lastly, as he caused the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the dean, to be killed, of purpose to enjoy their treasures; so did he put to death <sup>a</sup> *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*, king of *Barbary*, with thirty-seven of his nobility, that came unto him for succour, with a great sum of money, to levy (by his

<sup>a</sup> *Hist. of Spain.*



favour) some companies of soldiers to return withal. Yea, he would needs assist the hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old king; insomuch as pope *Urban* declared him an enemy both to God and man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his kingdom, and re-established by the valour of the *English* nation, led by the famous duke of *Lancaster*: he was stabbed to death by his younger brother the earl of *Astramara*, who dispossessed all his children of their inheritance; which, but for the father's injustice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this king, it must be duke *John* of *Burgogne*; who, after his traiterous murder of the duke of *Orleans*, caused the constable of *Armagnac*, the chancellor of *France*, the bishops of *Constance*, *Bayeux*, *Eureux*, *Senlis*, *Saintes*, and other religious and reverend church-men, the earl of *gran Pre*, *Hector* of *Chartres*, and (in effect) all the officers of justice, of the chamber of accompts, treasury and request (with sixteen hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have mastered *France*: he was soon after stricken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the <sup>a</sup> *Dauphin*; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slain. These were the lovers of other men's miseries, and misery found them out.

Now for the kings of *Spain*, which lived both with *Henry VII*, *Henry VIII*, queen *Mary*, and queen *Elizabeth*; *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* was the first; and the first that laid the foundation of the present *Austrian* greatness. For this king did not content himself to hold *Arragon* by the usurpation of his ancestor, and to fasten thereunto the kingdom of *Castile* and *Leon*, which *Isabel* his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own niece, the daughter of the last *Henry*; but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right: he also cast his own niece out of the kingdom of *Navarre*; and, contrary to faith, and the promise that he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any army to invade it. This king, I say, that betrayed also *Ferdinand* and *Frederick*, kings of *Naples*, princes of his own blood, and by double alliance tied unto him, sold them unto the *French*; and with the same army, sent for their succour under *Gonsalvo*, cast them out; and shared their kingdom with the *French*, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politick king, who sold heaven and his own honour, to make his son, the prince of *Spain*, the greatest monarch of the world, saw him die in the flower of his years; and his wife, great with child with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest daughter, married unto *Don Alphonso*, prince of *Portugal*, beheld her first husband break his neck in her presence; and, being with child by her second, died with it. A just judgment of God upon the race of *John*, father to *Alphonso*, now wholly extinguished, who had not only left many disconsolate mothers in *Portugal*, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slain, with his own hand, the son and only comfort of his aunt, the lady *Beatrix*, dutchess of *Visco*. The second daughter of *Ferdinand*, married, to the archduke *Philip*, turned fool, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on king *Henry VIII*, he saw cast off by the king, the mother of many troubles in *England*; and the mother of a daughter, that, in her unhappy zeal, shed a world of innocent blood; lost *Calais* to the *French*; and died heart-broken without increase.

<sup>a</sup> French Invent. in Anno 1418.



To conclude, all those kingdoms of *Ferdinand* have masters of a new name; and, by a strange family, are governed and possess'd.

*Charles V*, son to the archduke *Philip*, in whose vain enterprizes upon the *French*, upon the *Almaines*, and other princes and states, so many multitudes of Christian soldiers, and renowned captains, were consumed, who gave the while a most perilous entrance to the *Turks*, and suffered *Rhodes*, the key of christendom, to be taken, was, in conclusion, chased out of *France*; and, in a sort, out of *Germany*; and left to the *French*, *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, places belonging to the empire; stole away from *Inspruck*, and scaled the *Alps* by torch-light, pursued by duke *Maurice*; having hoped to swallow up all those dominions, wherein he concocted nothing save his own disgraces. And having, after the slaughter of so many millions of men, no one foot of ground in either, <sup>a</sup> he crept into a cloyster, and made himself a pensioner of an hundred thousand duckets by the year to his son *Philip*, from whom he very slowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.

His son again, king *Philip II*, not satisfied to hold *Holland* and *Zealand* (wrested by his ancestors from *Jaqueline*, their lawful princess) and to possess in peace many other provinces of the *Netherlands*, perswaded by that mischievous cardinal of *Granvil*, and other *Romish* tyrants; not only forgot the most remarkable services done to his father the emperor, by the nobility of those countries; not only forgot the present made him upon his entry of forty millions of florins, called the <sup>b</sup> *Noval aid*; nor only forgot that he had twice most solemnly sworn to the general states, to maintain and preserve their ancient rights, privileges, and customs, which they had enjoyed under their thirty-five earls before him, conditional princes of those provinces; but beginning first to constrain them, and enthrall them by the *Spanish* inquisition, and then to impoverish them by many new devised and intolerable impositions: he, lastly, by strong hand and main force, attempted to make himself not only an absolute monarch over them, like unto the kings and sovereigns of *England* and *France*; but, *Turk*-like, to tread under his feet all their national and fundamental laws, privileges, and ancient rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the pope a dispensation of his former oaths (which dispensation was the true cause of the war and blood-shed since then;) and, after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own nobility under the government of his base sister *Margaret* of *Austria*, and the cardinal *Granvil*, he employed that most merciless *Spaniard* *Don Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toldeo*, duke of *Alva*, followed with a powerful army of strange nations, by whom he first slaughter'd that renowned captain the earl of *Egmont*, prince of *Gavare*; and *Philip Montmorency*, earl of *Horn*, made away *Montague*, and the marquis of *Bergues*; and cut off in those six years (that *Alva* governed) of gentlemen and others, eighteen thousand and six hundred, by the hands of the hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders and massacres. By whose ministry, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wished ends, having it in his hope to work that by subtilty, which he had failed to perform by force: he sent for governor his bastard brother *Don John* of *Austria*, a prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But he, using the same papal advantage that his predecessors had done, made no scruple to take oath upon the Holy Evangelists, to observe the treaty made with the general states; and to discharge the *Low Countries* of all *Spaniards*, and other strangers, therein garrisoned. Towards whose pay

<sup>a</sup> Nether. Hist. l. 7. p. 313.

<sup>b</sup> History of the Netherlands



and passport, the *Netherlands* strained themselves to make payment of six hundred thousand pounds. Which monies received, he suddenly surpris'd the citadels of *Antwerp* and *Namure*, not doubting (being unsuspected by the states) to have possessed himself of all the mastering places of those provinces: for whatsoever he overtly pretended, he held in secret a contrary council with the secretary *Escovedo*, *Rhodus*, *Barlemont*, and others, ministers of the *Spanish* tyranny, formerly practis'd, and now again intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the duke's cruelties. First for himself, after he had murdered so many of the nobility, executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in six years; and most cruelly slain man, woman and child, in *Mecklin*, *Zutphen*, *Nacarden*, and other places; and after he had consumed thirty-six millions of treasure in six years, notwithstanding his *Spanish* vaunt, that he would suffocate the *Hollanders* in their own butter-barrels and milk-tubs, he departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole nation, leaving his master's affairs in a ten-fold worse estate, than he found them at his first arrival. For *Don John*, whose haughty conceit of himself, overcame the greatest difficulties; though his judgment were over-weak to manage the least; what wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the king his brother's jealousy and distrust, together with the untimely death that seized him, even in the flower of his youth. And for *Escovedo's* sharp-witted secretary, who, in his own imagination, had conquered for his master both *England* and the *Netherlands*; being sent into *Spain* upon some new project, he was at the first arrival, and before any access to the king, by certain ruffians, appointed by *Anthony Peres*, (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the king of *Spain's* carriage, his council, and success in this business; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred millions, and the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, for the loss of all those countries; which, for beauty, gave place to none; and, for revenue, did equal his *West-Indies*; for the loss of a nation, which most willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty years wars, are, in despite of all his forces, become a free estate, and far more rich and powerful than they were, when he first began to impoverish and oppress them.

Oh, by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and under what reasons of state and politic subtilty, have these fore-named kings, both strangers, and of our own nation, pulled the vengeance of God upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end have brought those things to pass for their enemies, and seen an effect so directly contrary to all their own counsels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded, if no such opposition had ever been made. God hath said it and performed it ever: *Perdam sapientiam sapientum*, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? And to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath been; and the children of the present time will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawful; and either we hope to hold them for ever, or at least we hope, there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge, in all things that concern our selves;



or perswade our selves, that God hath given us letters patent, to pursue all our irreligious affections with a *non obstante* : so we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body : we are by it joined to the earth ; we are compounded of earth ; and we inhabit it. The heavens are high, far off, and unsearchable ; we have sense and feeling of corporal things, and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are also earthly : and it is less to be wondered at, that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them ; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For as the prophet *Isaiab* cried out long ago, *Lord, who hath believed our reports ?* And out of doubt, as *Isaiab* complained then for himself and others ; so are they less believed every day after other. For although religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the discourse of every woman, who, for the greatest number, are but <sup>a</sup> *Idols of vanity* ; what is it other than an universal dissimulation ? We profess that we know God, but by works we deny him. For beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life ; for the devils know them better than men. *Beatitudo non est divinarum cognitio, sed vita divina.* And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the passionate dispute, the personal hatred, and the perpetual war, massacres, and murders, for religion among *Christians* ; the discourse whereof hath so occupied the world, as it hath well-near driven the practice thereof out of the world. Who would not soon resolve, that took knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of heaven ; and that the world it self were but used as it ought, and as an inn or place, wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our celestial habitation ? When, on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soul hath nothing but hypocrisy. We are all (in effect) become comedians in religion ; and while we act in gesture and voice, divine virtues, in all the course of our lives we renounce our persons, and the parts we play. For charity, justice, and truth, have but their being *in terms*, like the philosophers *Materia prima*.

Neither is it that wisdom, which *Salomon* defineth to be the *School-mistress of the knowledge of God*, that hath valuation in the world : it is enough that we give it our good word ; but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the world, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtain honour, with the many respects which attend it.

These indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own ; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future : and yet when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest ; He that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability that ever man had, hath told us that this is the use : <sup>b</sup> *When goods increase (saith Salomon) they also increase that eat them ; and what good cometh to the owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes ?* As for those that devour the rest, and follow us in fair weather ; they again forsake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steer away before the sea and wind ; leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of master *Daniel*, and use his

<sup>a</sup> Paul to Titus, ch. i. ver. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Eccles. v. 10.



own words : *Whilst the emperor Charles the fifth, after the resignation of his estates, stayed at Vlusching for wind, to carry him his last journey into Spain ; he conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinand's ambassadour, till the deep of the night. And when Seldius should depart, the emperor calling for some of his servants, and no body answering him (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleep) the emperor took up the candle himself, and went before Seldius to light him down the stairs ; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when he was come to the stairs foot, he said thus unto him : Seldius, remember this of Charles the emperor, when he shall be dead and gone, That him, whom thou hast known in thy time invironed with so many mighty armies, and guards of soldiers, thou hast also seen alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea even of his own domestick servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of God ; which I will by no means go about to withstand.*

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reverend respect that is held of great men, and the honour done unto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed : provided, that an inward love for their justice and piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power ; without which what is the applause of the multitude, but as the outcry of an herd of *animals*, who, without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noise they make ? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish virtue and fortune : the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded ; the most virtuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised. For as fortune's man rides the horse, so fortune her self rides the man. Who, when he is descended and on foot : the man taken from his beast, and fortune from the man ; a base groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt spurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which *Lactantius* spake of certain heathen philosophers, *a quod sapientes sunt in re stulta*. For when our spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortal bodies, and disposed by God : there remaineth in them no other joy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the wall of a king's palace ; nor any other sorrow for their poverty, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth up a beggar's cottage. *b Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii ; quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non intersunt.* The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children ; for the souls of those departed, are not conversant with their affairs that remain. And if we doubt of Saint *Augustine*, we cannot of *Job* ; who tells us, *c That we know not if our sons shall be honourable : neither shall we understand concerning them, whether they shall be of low degree.* Which *Ecclesiastes* also confirmeth : *d Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain : he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The living (saith he) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all. For who can shew unto man, what shall be after him under the sun ?* He therefore accounteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the world, not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wise man should enjoy the fruits thereof : *which made me (saith he) endeavour even to abhor mine*

<sup>a</sup> Lact. de falsa sap. 3. c. 29.  
9. 5. and 10. 2.

<sup>b</sup> S. Aug. de cura pro mort.

<sup>c</sup> Job 1. 14, 11.

<sup>d</sup> Ecclef.



*own labour.* And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowful estates after death God hath reserved? man's knowledge lying but in his hope; seeing the prophet *Esay* confesseth of the elect, <sup>a</sup> That *Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not.* But hereof we are assured, that the long and dark night of death: of whose following day we shall never behold the dawn (till his return that hath triumphed over it) shall cover us over, till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall again receive organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of angelical affections: in so great admiration shall the souls of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or less joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection, towards friends, kindred or children. Of whom whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure us; and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary; if a divine life retain any of those faculties, which the soul exercised in a mortal body; we shall not at that time so divide the joys of heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the world. No; be their estates greater than ever the world gave, we shall (by the difference known unto us) even detest their consideration. And whatsoever comfort shall remain of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised living: and in that piety, justice, and firm faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing, and neglect them, as unnecessary and vain? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdom of God, which hath distinguished his angels by degrees: which hath given greater and less light and beauty to heavenly bodies: which hath made differences between beasts and birds: created the eagle and the fly, the cedar and the shrub: and among stones, given the fairest tincture to the ruby, and the quickest light to the diamond; hath also ordained kings, dukes or leaders of the people, magistrates, judges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posterity, for a mark and ensign of the virtue and understanding of their ancestors: so, seeing <sup>b</sup> *Siracides* preferreth death before beggary: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other men's pity; I account it foolishness to condemn such a care: provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our own buildings out of other men's ruins. For as <sup>c</sup> *Plato* doth first prefer the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly, *Divitias nulla fraude quasitas*: so *Jeremy* cries, <sup>d</sup> *Woe unto them that erect their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers without equity*: and *Esay* the same, <sup>e</sup> *Woe to those that spoil, and were not spoiled.* And it was out of the true wisdom of *Solomon*, that he commandeth us, <sup>f</sup> *not to drink the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for blood; and not to swallow them up alive, whose riches we covet: for such are the ways (saith he) of every one that is greedy of gain.*

And if we could afford our selves but so much leisure as to consider; That he, which hath most in the world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he, which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past when we were not, or by that time which is to come in which we shall abide for ever: I say, if both, to wit our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath

<sup>a</sup> *Hab. 1. 16.*<sup>b</sup> *Sirac. c. 40. v. 28.*<sup>c</sup> *Plat. de leg. 1, 2, 6. & in Gorgias.*<sup>d</sup> *Jer. 22. 13.**Eccl. 10. 3.*<sup>e</sup> *Prov. 1. 18, 12. Prov. 23. 1. 3. 8. 9. 25. 9. 8.*



(in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coveting those mortal things of the world, as if our souls were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selves after the world were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the revenger esteem all negligent, that have not trodden down their opposites; the politician, all gross, that cannot merchandize their faith: yet when we once come in sight of the port of death, to which all winds drive us; and when by letting fall that fatal anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end: Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our health and felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selves can no longer exercise cruelty towards others: and it is only then, that we are stricken through the soul with this terrible sentence, *a That God will not be mock'd.* For if, according to St. Peter, *The righteous scarcely be saved: and that God spared not his angels:* where shall those appear, who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think, that the severe commandments of the All-powerful God were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of *Mercy* (without any kind of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? *O quam multi*, saith a reverend father, *cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt:* I confess that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it said, that we ended well: for we all desire (as Balaam did) *to die the death of the righteous.* But what shall we call a disesteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if those men do not oppose him, disesteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what do they otherwise, that die this kind of well-dying, but say unto God as followeth? We beseech thee, O God, that all the falsehoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that had no leisure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishness. For I shall prejudice my son (which I am resolved not to do) if I make restitution; and confess my self to have been unjust (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings have either found out a new God; or have made one: and in all likelihood such a leaden one, as *Lewis* the eleventh wore in his cap; which, when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kiss it: beseeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a *Cardinal* and a falsified sacrament, he caused the earl of *Armagnac* to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be used towards a leaden, but not towards the ever-living God. But of this composition are all the devout lovers of the world, that they fear all that is dureless and ridiculous: they fear the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings: they fear the opinions of men which beat but upon shadows: they flatter and forsake the prosperous and unprosperous, be they friends or kings: yea they dive under water, like ducks, at every pebble-stone, that's but thrown



towards them by a powerful hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and giant-like valour, against the terrible judgments of the All-powerful God: yea, they shew themselves gods against God, and slaves towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppressed, whom we account wretched: we shall find the happiness of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subject to interchange (witness the sudden downfall of the greatest princes, and the speedy uprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certain, whereof to boast; nor the other so uncertain, whereof to bewail it self. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health or life; but that he may be deprived of either or all, the very next hour or day to come. *Quid vesper veuat, incertum est; What the evening will bring with it, is uncertain.* And yet ye cannot tell (saith Saint James) what shall be to morrow. *a To day he is set up, and to morrow he shall not be found? for he is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth.* And although the air which compasseth adversity, be very obscure: yet therein we better discern God, than in that shining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearness thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let adversity seem what it will; to happy men, ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other men's misfortunes; and to those under the cross, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For be it that we have lived many years, and (according to Solomon) *in them all we have rejoyced*; or be it that we have measured the same length of days, and therein have evermore sorrowed: yet looking back from our present being, we find both the one and the other, to wit, the joy and the woe, failed out of sight; and death, which doth pursue us and hold us in chase, from our infancy, hath gathered it. *Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet: Whatsoever of our age is past, death holds it.* So as whosoever he be, to whom fortune hath been a servant, and the time a friend: let him but take the account of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserved, either of beauty and youth, or foregone delights; what it hath saved, that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of whatever else the amorous spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he shall find, that all the art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavy, secret, and sad sighs. He shall find nothing remaining, but those sorrows, which grow up after our fast-springing youth; overtake it, when it is at a stand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither: in so much as looking back from the very instant time, and from our now being; the poor, diseased, and captive creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and pains; as he, that is most bless'd in common opinion, hath of his fore-past pleasures and delights. For whatsoever is cast behind us, is just nothing: and what is to come, deceitful hope hath it. *Omnia quæ ventura sunt, in incerto jacent.* Only those few black swans I must except, who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endless glory.



For my self, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrows of this life, are but of two sorts : whereof the one hath respect to God ; the other, to the world. In the first, we complain to God against our selves, for our offences against him ; and confess, *Et tu justus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos ; And thou, O Lord, art just in all that hath befallen us.* In the second, we complain to our selves against God, as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites ; or for taking them again from us, having had them : forgetting that humble and just acknowledgment of *Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken.* To the first of which St. Paul hath promised blessedness ; to the second, death. And out of doubt he is either a fool or ungrateful to God, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean soever his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him : or doth not acknowledge, how sharp soever his afflictions be, that the same are yet far less, than those which are due unto him. And if an heathen wise man call the adversities of the world, but *tributa vivendi, the tributes of living* : a wise Christian man ought to know them, and bear them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them manlike, and resolvedly ; and not as those whining soldiers do, *qui gementes sequuntur Imperatorem.*

For seeing God, who is the author of all our tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play : and hath not, in their distribution, been partial to the most mighty princes of the world ; That gave unto *Darius* the part of the greatest emperor, and the part of the most miserable beggar, a beggar begging water of an enemy, to quench the great drought of death ; That appointed *Bajazet* to play the *Grand Signior* of the *Turks* in the morning, and in the same day the *footstool* of *Tamerlane* (both which parts *Valerian* had also played, being taken by *Sapores*) that made *Bellisarius* play the most victorious captain, and lastly the part of a blind beggar ; of which examples many thousands may be produced : why should other men, who are but as the least worms, complain of wrongs ? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great *Theatre*, is but as the change of garments on the less. For when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin ; the players are all alike. Now if any man, out of weakness, prize the passages of this world otherwise (for saith *Petrarch, Magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus*) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasy of ours, which forgeth in the brains of man all the miseries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is subject : therein it is, that misfortune and adversity work all that they work. For seeing death, in the end of the play, takes from all, whatsoever fortune or force takes from any one : it were a foolish madness in the shipwreck of worldly things, where all sinks but the sorrow, to save it. That were, as *Seneca* saith, *Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato ; To fall under fortune, of all other the most miserable destiny.*

But it is now time to sound a retreat ; and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit : and withal, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the picture of time past (which we call *History*) in so large a table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of divine providence, every-where found (the first divine histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) have persuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things ; to wit,

creation.



creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other: creation, inferring providence (for what father forsaketh the child that he hath begotten? and providence presupposing creation) yet many of those that have seemed to excel in worldly wisdom, have gone about to disjoin this coherence; the *Epicure* denying both creation and providence, but granting that the world had a beginning; the *Aristotelian* granting providence, but denying both the creation and the beginning.

Now although this doctrine of faith, touching the creation in time (for by faith we understand, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a work for *Aristotle's* rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the defences and fortresses of all his verbal doctrine: yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the world's beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary, even in the judgment of natural reason, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no less strange, that those men, which are desirous of knowledge (seeing *Aristotle* hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than terms in the rest) have so retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected themselves to the law of those philosophical principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the search of causes, they have condemned either for phantastical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of heathen philosophers, are undoubted grounds and principles indeed, because so called? Or that *ipsi dixerunt*, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against it self, as the same reason can hardly assail it, much less batter it down: the same in every question of nature, and finite power, may be approved for a fundamental law of human knowledge. For faith <sup>a</sup> *Charron*, in his book of wisdom, *Tout proposition humaine a autant d'autorite que l'autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference*; Every human proposition hath equal authority, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the upright and impartial judgment of man give a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And to this purpose it was well said of <sup>b</sup> *Lactantius*, *Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur*: They neglect their own wisdom, who without any judgment approve the invention of those that forewent them; and suffer themselves, after the manner of beasts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which sloth and dulness, ignorance is now become so powerful a tyrant: as it hath set true philosophy, physick, and divinity, in a pillory; and written over the first, *Contra negantem principia*; over the second, *Virtus specifica*; and over the third, *Ecclesia Romana*.

But for my self, I shall never be perswaded, that God hath shut up all light of learning within the lantern of *Aristotle's* brains: or that it was ever said unto him, as unto *Esdras*, *Accendam in corde tuo lucernam intellectus*: that God hath given invention but to the heathen; and that they only have invaded nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these, and these be the causes of these and these effects, time hath taught us; and not reason: and so hath experience, without art. The cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the philosopher, that sour runnet doth coagulate her milk into a curd. But if we ask a reason of this cause, why the sourness

<sup>a</sup> Charron de Sageſſe.

<sup>b</sup> Lact. de Orig. Erroris. l. 2. c. 8.



doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar philosophy, to satisfy this and many other like vulgar questions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the grass under his feet, why it should be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of nature's working, in those which are far less noble creatures than himself; who is far more noble than the heavens themselves: *Man* (saith <sup>a</sup> Salomon) *that can hardly discern the things that are upon the earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us*; that hath so short a time in the world, as he no sooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his understanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the essence of his own soul, and which the wisest of the naturalists (if *Aristotle* be he) could never so much as define, but by the action and effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else, doth know, but God that created it (*for though I were perfect, yet I know not my soul*, saith *Job*.) Man, I say, that is but an idiot in the next cause of his own life, and in the cause of all the actions of his life, will (notwithstanding) examine the art of God in creating the world; of God, *who* (saith <sup>b</sup> *Job*) *is so excellent as we know him not*; and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before mankind had a beginning of being. He will disable God's power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the moths of the air for a cause; cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on nature; make two powers, the one to be the author of the matter, the other of the form; and lastly, for want of a workman, have it eternal: which latter opinion *Aristotle*, to make himself the author of a new doctrine, brought into the world: and his sectators have maintained it; *parati ac conjurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri*. For *Hermes*, who lived at once with, or soon after, *Moses*, *Zoroaster*, *Musæus*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Animenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Melissus*, *Pherecydes*, *Thales*, *Cleanthes*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by *Steuchius Eugubinus*) found in the necessity of invincible reason, one eternal and infinite Being, to be the parent of the universal. *Horum omnium sententia quamvis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, ut Providentiam unam esse consentiant: sive enim Natura, sive Æther, sive Ratio, sive mens, sive fatalis necessitas, sive divina Lex; idem esse quod a nobis dicitur Deus*. All these mens opinions (saith <sup>c</sup> *Lactantius*) though uncertain, come to this, That they agree upon one Providence; whether the same be Nature, or Light, or Reason, or understanding, or destiny, or divine Ordinance; that it is the same which we call God. Certainly, as all the rivers in the world, though they have divers risings, and divers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while under ground, and seem to be lost in sea-like lakes; do at last find, and fall into the great ocean: so after all the searches that human capacity hath; and after all philosophical contemplation and curiosity; in the necessity of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolves it self.

As for others; and first touching those, which conceive the matter of the world to have been eternal, and that God did not create the world *ex nihilo*, but *ex materia præexistente*: the supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith <sup>d</sup> *Eusebias*) *Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annexere*. They seem unto me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to fortune. Insomuch as if God had not found this

<sup>a</sup> Salomon. 1. 9.<sup>b</sup> Job 26.<sup>c</sup> Lact. 5.<sup>d</sup> Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 8.



*first matter* by chance, he had neither been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the universal. For were the *matter* or *chaos*, eternal : it then follows, That either this supposed *matter* did fit it self to God ; or God, accommodate himself to the *matter*. For the first ; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the workman's will. For the second ; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an artificer he applied himself, according to the proportion of *matter* which he lighted upon.

But let it be supposed, That this *matter* had been made by any power, not omnipotent and infinitely wise : I would gladly learn how it came to pass, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was omnipotent and infinitely wise ; and no more, nor no less, than served to receive the form of the universal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient ; then must it be granted, That God created *out of nothing* so much of new *matter*, as served to finish the work of the world : or had there been more of this *matter*, than sufficed ; then did God dissolve and annihilate whatsoever remained and was superfluous. And thus must every reasonable soul confess, That it is the same work of God alone, to create any thing *out of nothing* ; and by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternal *matter*, be again changed into nothing ; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this *matter* was the cause of it self ; this, of all other, were the greatest idiotism. For, if it were the cause of it self at any time ; then there was also a time when it self was not : at which time of not being, it is easy enough to conceive, that it would neither produce it self, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible, *Nil autem seipsum præcedit, neque seipsum componit corpus ; There is nothing that doth precede it self, neither do bodies compound themselves.*

For the rest ; Those that feign this *matter* to be eternal, must of necessity confess, that infinite cannot be separate from eternity. And then had *infinite matter* left no place for *infinite form*, but that the *first matter* was *finite*, the *form* which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part ; whosoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light and eternal life : let eternal death be his reward. For it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth terms to express it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow, *quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant*) hath any thing wanting in it self, either for *matter* or *form* ; yea for as many worlds (if such had been God's will) as the sea hath sands ? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workman's will. Yea reason it self finds it more easy for infinite power, to deliver from it self a finite world, without the help of matter prepared ; than for a finite man, a fool and dust, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are *Dionysius's* words, *Deus in una existentia omnia præbabet* : and again, *Esse omnium est ipsa divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides* ; to wit, *causaliter*, or in better terms, *non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis*. Neither hath the world universal closed up all of God : For the most parts of his works (saith a *Siracides*) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdom be opened, by the glorious work of the world :



which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, that we seldom entitle God, the *all-shewing*, or the *all-willing*, but the *all-mighty*; that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, *That out of nothing, nothing is made*, infer the world's eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: it is true, if the word [*nothing*] be taken in the affirmative; and the *making*, imposed upon natural agents and finite power; that out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor *Aristotle* himself confesseth, *Quod omnes antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumque infinitum*; *That all the ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite*: and a little after, more largely and plainly, a *Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere*. It is strange that this philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if we compare the world universal, and all the unmeasurable orbs of heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the sun, moon, and stars, with *ipsum infinitum*: it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirmeth of his imaginary *Materia prima*, That they are neither *quid*, *quale*, nor *quantum*; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (*qui destruit omnem proportionem*) is no wonder in God's power. And therefore *Anaximander*, *Melissus*, and *Empedocles*, call the world universal; but *particulam universitatis & infinitatis*; *A parcel of that which is the universality and the infinity it self*; and *Plato*, but a *shadow of God*. But the other, to prove the world's eternity, urgeth this *maxim*; That, *A sufficient and effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted*: inferring, that God being for ever a sufficient and effectual cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also have been for ever; to wit, the world universal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a master, to confess a sufficient and effectual cause of the world (to wit, an almighty God) in his antecedent; and the same God to be a God restrained in his conclusion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when; For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but work matter being present; as fire, to burn things combustible.

Again, he thus disputeth, That every agent which can work, and doth not work; if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it self, or by somewhat else; and so it passeth from power to act. But God (saith he) is immoveable, and is neither moved by himself, nor by any other; but being always the same, doth always work: whence he concludeth, if the world were caused by God, that he was for ever the cause thereof, and therefore eternal. The answer to this is very easy; for that God's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for ever, did also withhold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it self sufficient, others add further, that the pattern or image of the world may be said to be eternal; which the *Platonicks* call, *spiritualium mundum*; and do in this sort

<sup>a</sup> Steuc. Eug. l. 3. c. 9. ex Arist. Phys. 3. 20.



distinguish the idea, and creation in time. <sup>a</sup> *Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali est architecto; fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus.* That representative, or the intentional world (say they) the samplar of this visible world, the first work of God, was equally ancient with the architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever shall be. This material world, the second work or creature of God, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from everlasting; and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come. The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confess: the other they understand no otherwise, than that after the consummation of this world, there shall be a new heaven and a new earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue; though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding; in this consideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporal effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded essence of the world (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, and knit to the divine Being, by an individual and inseparable power, flowing from divine unity; and that the world's natural appetite of God sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a goodness and understanding divine; and that this virtue, by which the world is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite virtue, the finite world (saith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporal nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material world is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed; as the shadow of a tree in a river, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying, that ever the world had any beginning, withal deny that ever it shall have any end; and to this purpose affirm, that it was never heard, never read, never seen, no, not by any reason perceived, that the heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appear any way the elder by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which, had they been subject to final corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time: to this it is answered, that the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newness, and that they have not continued so long; thar that they would continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive answer by conjectures, it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either <sup>b</sup> *Aristotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas*, and others, were grossly mistaken; or else those parts of the world lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the sun's heat; neither were the seas under the equinoctial, navigable. But we know by experience, that those regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the sea, over which we navigate, passable enough. We read also many histories of deluges, and how that in the time of *Phaeton*, divers places in the world were burnt up by the sun's violent heat.

<sup>a</sup> Mar. Ficin. de immort. animæ. l. 18. c. 1. ratione tñm. 11. c. 32. Thom. 1. p. q. 102. art. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Arist. Met. 2. Plin. l. 2. c. 8. Strab. l. 3. Beda de



But in a word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, that stone walls, of matter mouldering and friable, have stood two or three thousand years; and that many things have been digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to have been buried by the general flood, without any alteration of substance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in mines and rocks, under-ground, was created together with the earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alteration should we look for in celestial and quintessential bodies? And yet we have reason to think, that the sun, by whose help all creatures are generate, doth not in these latter ages assist nature, as heretofore. We have neither giants, such as the eldest world had; nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in general are reputed of less virtue, which from the heavens receive virtue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse, we might easily fetch store of proof; as that this world shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can be made to this objection: if the world were eternal, why not all things in the world eternal? If there were no *First*, no *Cause*, no *Father*, no *Creator*, no *incomprehensible Wisdom*, but that every nature had been alike eternal; and man more rational than every other nature: why had not the eternal reason of man, provided for his eternal being in the world? For if all were equal; why not equal conditions to all? why should heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of men rot and die.

Again, who was it that appointed the earth to keep the center, and gave order that it should hang in the air; that the sun should travel between the tropicks, and never exceed those bounds, nor fail to perform that progress once in every year; the moon to live by borrowed light; the fix'd stars (according to common opinion) to be fastened like nails in a cart-wheel, and the planets to wander at their pleasure? Or, if none of these had power over other; was it out of charity and love, that the sun, by his perpetual travel within those two circles, hath visited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the earth, and the creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the sun have of his own accord kept this course in all eternity, he may justly be called eternal charity, and everlasting love. The same may be said of all the stars, who, being all of them most large and clear fountains of virtue and operation, may also be called eternal virtues; the earth may be called eternal patience; the moon an eternal borrower and beggar; and man, of all other, the most miserable, eternally mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by millions, than ever *Hesiodus* dream'd of. But, instead of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes; and the eyes of our reason discern it better; that the sun, moon, stars, and the earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they have not constrained, nor could. *Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit; Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.*

Now for *nature*; As by the ambiguity of this name, the school of *Aristotle* hath both commended many errors unto us, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the creation, and in the governing of the world: so if the best defini-



tion be taken out of the second of *Aristotle's physicks*, or *primo de Cælo* or out of the fifth of his *metaphysicks*; I say, that the best is but nominal and serving only to difference the beginning of natural motion from artificial: which yet the *academics* open better, when they call it *A seminary strength, infused into matter by the soul of the world*, who give the first place to *Providence*, the second to *fate*, and but the third to *nature*. *Providentia* (by which they understand God) *dux & caput*; *fatum, medium* <sup>ex</sup> *Providentia prodiens*; *natura postremum*. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanswerable of <sup>a</sup> *Lactantius*: *Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam*; He only can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of nature, are in these words truly expressed by <sup>b</sup> *Ficinus*: *Potest ubique natura, vel per diversa media, vel ex diversis materiis, diversa facere: sublata vero mediorum materialiumque diversitate, vel unicum vel simillimum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari*; It is the power of nature by diversity of means, or out of diversity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diversity of means, and the diversity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being present. Now if nature made choice of diversity of matter, to work all these variable works of heaven and earth, it had then both understanding and will; it had counsel to begin; reason to dispose; virtue and knowledge to finish; and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the same; all of the matter of heaven; or all of the matter of earth. And if we grant nature this will, and this understanding, this counsel, reason, and power: <sup>c</sup> *Cur natura potius, quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the first and highest place to divine power*: <sup>d</sup> *Omnes homines rationem deorum habent, omnesque summum locum divino cuidam numini assignant*. And this I say in short, that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. *Vera philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vera sunt, & semper eadem*: True philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and nature: be it but in terms. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his own will; and maketh of one earth, vessels of honour and dishonour. It is nature that can dispose of nothing; but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God, that commandeth all; it is nature that is obedient to all; it is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth; it is nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himself; nature, nothing in it self. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it self it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it reason, which doth conduct every

<sup>a</sup> *Lact. de ira Dei, l. 1. c. 10.*  
de cælo, c. 3. T. 22.

<sup>b</sup> *Ficin. in Plat.*

<sup>c</sup> *Lact. de ira Dei, l. 1. c. 10.*

<sup>d</sup> *Arist. l. 1.*



river into the salt sea? Shall we term it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be affection, reason, and knowledge in these; by the same affection, reason, and knowledge it is, that nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things work as they do (call it by *form*, by *nature*, or by what you please :) yet because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest power, we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder, and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a nature in things, and such a faculty, as, neither knowing it self, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the virtue and power which it hath, doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himself for a ground that which is granted by all antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the world had; to wit, that there is a power infinite and eternal (which also necessity doth prove unto us, without the help of faith; and reason, without the force of authority;) all things do as easily follow which have been delivered by divine letters, as the waters of a running river do successively pursue each other from the first fountains.

This much I say it is, that reason it self hath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledge. <sup>a</sup> *Sapientia præcedit, religio sequitur; quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere*: Sapience goes before, religion follows; because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This sapience *Plato* calleth, *absoluti boni scientiam*; The science of the absolute good: and another, *Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum*. For faith (faith <sup>b</sup> *Isidore*) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples perswaded; *fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; sed ratione & exemplis suadetur*. I confess it, that to enquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his art, and by what mean he created the world; or of his secret judgment, and the causes; is not an effect of reason: *Sed cum ratione insaniunt*; but they grow mad with reason, that enquire after it. For as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a *French* author) *de faire arrest au but qu'on n'a seu surpasser*; For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to pass on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as <sup>c</sup> understanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the name and nature it hath, to be a teacher, that best knows the end of his own art. For seeing both reason and necessity teach us (reason, which is *pars divini spiritus in corpus humanum merse*) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us; and seeing the same reason and necessity make us know that the same infinite power is every-where in the world; and yet how every-where, it cannot inform us, our belief hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened by our ignorance; because it is the same reason that tells us, that such a nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I have been already over-long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following story, or in mine own excuse; especially in the excuse of this or that passage, seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the unsuitable division of the books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All men know that there is no

<sup>a</sup> Last. l. 4. c. 4. de verâ Sapientiâ. <sup>b</sup> Isaac de defin. <sup>c</sup> Quod est infinitum, & non secundum naturam terminatum, non continetur à scientiâ. Arist. Poster.



great art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many books of this age, which speak too much, and yet say little ; *Ipsi nobis furto subducimur*. We are stolen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good writer make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I believe as he doth ; that who so thinks himself the wisest man, is but a poor and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war against all the vanities and fooleries of the world, do always keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend themselves from themselves, from self-love, self-estimation, and self-opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the work, I have only taken counsel from the argument. For of the *Assyrians*, which, after the downfall of *Babel*, take up the first part, and were the first great kings of the world, there came little to the view of posterity : some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* excepted.

It was the story of the *Hebrews*, of all before the *Olympiads*, that overcame the consuming disease of time ; and preserved it self, from the very cradle and beginning to this day : and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many scriptures we are referred) are no-where found. The fragments of other stories, with the actions of those kings and princes which shot up here and there in the same time, I am driven to relate by way of digression : of which we may say with *Virgil*,

*Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*

*They appear here and there floating in the great gulf of time.*

To the same first ages do belong the report of many inventions therein found, and from them derived to us ; though most of the authors names have perished in so long a navigation. For those ages had their laws ; they had diversity of government ; they had kingly rule ; nobility, policy in war ; navigation ; and all, or the most of needful trades. To speak therefore of these (seeing in a general history we should have left a great deal of nakedness by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I have also made many others ; which, if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heap of human error. For, seeing we digress in all the ways of our lives, yea, seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression ; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the laws of history, and of the kinds.

The same hath been taught by many ; but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned gentleman Sir *Francis Bacon*. Christian laws are also taught us by the prophets and apostles, and every day preach'd unto us. But we still make large digressions ; yea, the teachers themselves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the rest ; after such time as the *Persians* had wrested the empire from the *Chaldeans*, and had raised a great monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found, it was agreeable to the order of story to attend this empire ; whilst it so flourished, that the affairs of the nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the fortunes of *Greece*, when they again began to get ground upon the *Persians*, as also towards the affairs of *Rome*, when the *Romans* grew more mighty than the *Greeks*.



As for the *Medes*, the *Macedonians*, the *Sicilians*, the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, who resisted the beginnings of the former empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their several beginnings, in such times and places, as they in their flourishing estates opposed those monarchies; which, in the end, swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best geographers, who seldom give names to those small brooks, whereof many, joined together, make great rivers; till such time as they become united, and run in a main stream to the ocean sea. If the phrase be weak, and the stile not every way like it self; the first shews their legitimation and true parent; the second will excuse it self upon the variety of matter. For *Virgil*, who wrote his *Eclogues*, *gracili avena*, used stronger pipes when he sounded the wars of *Æneas*. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers *Hebrew* words in my first book, and elsewhere; in which language others may think, and I my self acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant; but it is true, that some of them I find in *Montanus*; others in *Latin* character in *S. Senensis*, and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my learned friends. But say I had been beholden to neither, yet were it not to be wonder'd at, having had eleven years leisure to attain the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue: howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, that I might have been more pleasing to the reader, if I had written the story of mine own times; having been permitted to draw water as near the well-head as another. To this I answer, that whosoever, in writing a modern history, shall follow truth too near the heels, it may happily strike out his teeth. There is no mistress or guide, that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself; and he that walks after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kind of course temper or baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after mens opinions, when I might have made the best use of them; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate those, that, either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardice, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times; wherein also, why may it not be said, that, in speaking of the pass'd, I point at the present, and tax the vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge. But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that, finding themselves spotted like the tigers of old time, shall find fault with me for painting them over a-new, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely.

For I protest before the majesty of God, that I malice no man under the sun. Impossible I know it is to please all, seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions; but that they seem divers persons in one and the same day. *Seneca* hath said it, and so do I: *Unus mihi pro populo erat*: and to the same effect *Epicurus*, *Hoc ego non multis, sed tibi*; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient philosopher, *Satis est unus, satis est nullus*. For it was for the service of that inestimable prince *Henry*, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the christian world, that I undertook this work. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the world without a master; from which all that is presented, hath received both blows

and



and thanks. *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis judicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur.* But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably, so against those, *qui gloriantur in malitia*, my present adversity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not far to fall; and for rising again, as in the natural privation, there is no recession to habit; so it is seldom seen in the privation politic. I do therefore forbear to stile my readers *gentle, courteous, and friendly*, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough, and too much, and it is certain, let us claw the reader with never so many courteous phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought fools, that write foolishly. For conclusion; all the hope I have lies in this, that I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous readers of my love towards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall do again. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly have had this leisure to have made my self a fool in print.





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# T H E

# C O N T E N T S

## O F T H E

*Chapters, Paragraphs, and Sections, of the FIRST BOOK of the  
FIRST PART of the HISTORY of the WORLD.*

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### C H A P. I.

#### *Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
WORLD:

INTREATING of the  
*Beginning and First Ages of the same, from  
the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.*

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The FIRST BOOK.

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CHAP. I.

*Of the Creation, and Preservation of the WORLD.*

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SECT. I.

*That the INVISIBLE GOD is seen in his Creatures.*



GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a Power uneffable, and Virtue infinite; a Light by abundant clarity invisible; an Understanding which itself can only comprehend, an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the work of the world: In the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that Glory which cannot be measured, and withal, that one, and yet universal Nature, which cannot be divided. In the glorious lights of heaven, we perceive a Shadow of his Divine Countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold Goodness; and lastly, in creating and making existent the world universal, by the absolute art of his

own word, his Power and Almightyness; which Power, Light, Virtue, Wisdom, and Goodness, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of celestial and terrestrial bodies: terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermix'd, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent Cause, and by these motions, their almighty Mover.

In these more than wonderful works, God (saith <sup>a</sup> *Hugo*) speaketh unto man: And it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that live, witness in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: For, according to <sup>b</sup> *St. Gregory*,

<sup>a</sup> *Hugo super Eccles. Homil. 8.*    <sup>b</sup> *Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Unus verò ingenuus, & non apparens, & immantellus, omnia autem manifestans, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia solum generatorum est; nihil apparitio quam generatio*



*Omnis. hanc et ipsa quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet:* Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he, which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Joh*) which is, according to the fathers, *Dominationem illius conspiciere in creaturis*, To discern him in his providence by his creature. That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of <sup>a</sup>St. John and <sup>a</sup>St. Paul, *Ye have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape. And again, Whom never man saw, nor can see.*

And this I am sure agrees with the nature of God's simplicity, of which St. Augustine, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were <sup>b</sup>Origen, Cyril, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzene, Hierome, Augustine, Gregory the great, Evaristus, Alcuinus, Dionysius Areopagita, Aquinas, and all others of authority. But by his own word, and by this visible world, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his creatures, whose hieroglyphical characters are the unnumbered stars, the sun and moon; written on these large volumes of the firmament; written also on the earth and the seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned <sup>c</sup>Cusanus, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*; The world universal is nothing else but God express'd. As the invisible things of God (saith <sup>d</sup>St. Paul) are seen by the creation of the world, being considered in his creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding than his own will, no other matter than his own power, no other workman than his own word, no other consideration than his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged will moved, by his high wisdom disposed, and by his almighty power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectibus* (that is) both persuaded by his word, and by the effects of the world's creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sed vel ex rerum, quae factae sunt, quaeque sunt & gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*: For he, of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledge of cause or beginning (saith <sup>e</sup>Montanus) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the word of God himself.

## SECT. II.

*That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the world to have been created by God.*

**T**HIS work and creation of the world, did most of the ancient and learned philosophers acknowledge, though by divers terms, and in a different manner express'd; I mean all those who are intitled by St. Augustine, *summi philosophi*, philoso-

phers of highest judgment and understanding. <sup>f</sup>Morcurius Trismegistus calleth God, *principium universorum*, the original of the universal; to whom he giveth also the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Aeternitas, Necessitas, Finis, & Renovatio*. And wherein he truly with St. Paul casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by God's almighty word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus*. Zoroaster (whom Heraclitus followed in opinion) took the word Fire to express God by (as in <sup>g</sup>Deuteronomy and in <sup>h</sup>St. Paul it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*, All things (saith he) are caused or produced out of one fire.

So did Orpheus plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God: whose remarkable words are thus converted; <sup>i</sup>Cum abscondisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia: Of which I conceive this sense: *When great Jupiter had bidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth, into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most high, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus*. Plato calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universal; <sup>j</sup>Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous to remember the opinions of philosophers in matters of divinity (it being true, that the scripture hath not want of any foreign testimony) yet as the fathers, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so St. Paul himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not, as in the epistle to Titus he citeth Epimenides against the Cretans, and to the Corinthians, Menander; and in the seventeenth of the Acts, Aratus, &c. For, truth (saith St. Ambrose) by whomsoever uttered, is of the Holy Ghost; *Veritas, à quo-cunque dicatur, à Spiritu Sancto est*: And lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule; *Quae sacris serviunt, prophana non sunt*; Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.

## SECT. III.

*Of the meaning of In Principio, Genes. I. 1.*

**T**HIS visible world, of which Moses writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all; in which (saith Tertullian) things began to be. This word Beginning (in which the Hebrews seek some hidden mystery, and which in the Jews Targum is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent; but only to creation then. For before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor form to inform, nor any being, but the eternal. Nature was not, nor the next parent or time begotten, time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of matter already in being; then as the word Beginning could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of

<sup>a</sup> John 5. 3. <sup>1</sup> Tim. 6. 16. <sup>b</sup> Origen 1. 2. *περὶ ἀρχῶν* c. 22. Cyril. & Chrys. in Joh. hom. 14. Greg. Naz. 1. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Eusebium Aug. 1. 2. de Trin. c. 12 & 13. Greg. Mag. 1. 18. Mor. Evar. ep. 1. Decret. Alcuin 1. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D. Areop. <sup>c</sup> 4. Cael. Hierar. Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus qui natura invisibilis est, ut à visibilibus posset sciri, opus fecit quod Opithecum sui visibilibus manifestaret, ut per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur, Amb. in epist. ad Rom. <sup>d</sup> 1. <sup>e</sup> Cusan. de gen. dialog. <sup>f</sup> Rom. 1. 20. <sup>g</sup> A Mont. Nat. Hist. fol. 7. <sup>h</sup> Herm. in Parnandro, & in sermone sacro <sup>i</sup> Deut. 4. 24. Heb. 12. 19. <sup>j</sup> Orph. de sum. Jove. <sup>k</sup> Vid. c. 6.



matter proceeded from a greater power; than that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an one (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency; for it is an act of more excellency to make, than to dispose of things made? Whereupon it may be concluded, that matter could not be before this beginning; except we feign a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite; the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile est plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum*; There cannot be more infinites than one: for one of them would limit the other.

## S E C T. IV.

Of the meaning of the words *Heaven and Earth*, Genes. ii. 1.

THE universal matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven and Earth*) is by divers diversly understood; for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the *Peripateticks* understand it; to which *St. Augustine* and *Isidore* seem to adhere, *Fecisti mundum* (saith *St. Augustine*) *de materia informi; quam fecisti de nulla re, pene nullam rem*: that is, Thou hast made the world of a matter without form; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other than nothing.

But this potential and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exist without form. *Peter Lombard*, the *Schoolmen*, *Beda*, *Lyranus*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus*, and others affirm, that it pleased God first of all to create the *Empyrean Heaven*; which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This *Empyrean Heaven* *Steuchius Eugubinus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated*: an error, for which he is sharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seat of *Angels*, and just Souls, than in the former affirmation; for of the first, That God liveth in eternal light, it is written, *My soul, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himself with light*: and in the *Revelation*, *And the city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it*. And herein also *John Mercer* upon *Genesis* differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus*: for as by *Heaven* created in the beginning, was not meant the invisible or supercelestial; so in his judgment, because it was in all eternity the glorious seat of God himself, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem mundum super-cælestem meo iudicio creari* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necesse*.

But as *Moses* forbore to speak of *Angels*, and of things invisible and incorporate, for the weakness of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of those things which were most manifest (to wit) That God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their fore-fathers; but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceivable universal: so on the other side I dare not think, that any supercelestial heaven, or whatsoever else (not himself) was increate and eternal, and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the seat of infinite power, no more than infinite power itself can be limited: for his place is in himself, whom no magnitude else can contain: *How great is the house of*

God (saith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his possession! it is great, and hath no end; it is high, and unmeasurable*.

But leaving multiplicity of opinions, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the heavens, and orbs supernal, as of the globe of the earth and waters; which covered it over (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia, chaos, possibilitas, sive posse fieri*. Which matter (saith *Calvin*) was so called, *Quod totius mundi semen fuerit*; Because it was the seed of the universal: an opinion of ancient philosophers long before.

## S E C T. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mix'd in the body of the earth, is by *Moses* understood in the word *earth*: and that the earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the chaos of the ancient heathen.

M O S E S first nameth heaven and earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word *earth*; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his spirit began to distinguish the confused mass, and (as *Basil* saith) *Preparare naturam aque ad fecunditatem vitalem*; To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulness.

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures express'd: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is under the moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt seeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *David*) *and the heavens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Esay*. Neither were the waters the matter of earth; for it is written, *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear*: which proveth, that the dry land was mix'd and covered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seed of the earth, much less of the universal. *Initio tu, Domine, terram fundasti*; Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the earth: and again, *The earth was covered with the deep* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, saith *David*. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth us also, that earth rarified may become water: water, air: air, fire: and so on the contrary. *Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam convertit*; God turneth the substance of fire by air into water. For the heavens and the earth remained in the same state in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. *Cælum vero & terra in statu creationis remanserunt quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est*. And the word which the *Hebrews* call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the *Latin* translation simply, and as specific water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit*; For *Maim* (saith he) is a double liquor (that is, of divers natures) and this name or word the *Latins*, wanting a voice to express it, call it in the plural, *aquas*, waters.

<sup>a</sup> Cælum de mente, lib. 3. <sup>b</sup> Beda Hex. Strabo super Gen. Eng. Col. & de nat. in corp. <sup>c</sup> Pl. 101. 1. <sup>d</sup> Claritas divina  
<sup>e</sup> Cælum facta, sed sapientia Dei, non creata, sed nata, Apoc. 21. 23. <sup>f</sup> Mercer in Gen. 7. 7. <sup>g</sup> Bar. 3. 24. 25.  
<sup>h</sup> Cælum in Compend. fol. 224. Operis. <sup>i</sup> Cal. in Gen. <sup>j</sup> Pl. 102. 26. <sup>k</sup> Esay 31. <sup>l</sup> Gen. 1. 9. <sup>m</sup> Pl. 101. 6.  
<sup>n</sup> Gen. 1. 9. <sup>o</sup> Gul. Pat. 600. <sup>p</sup> A. Mont. de nat.



This mass, or indigested matter, or chaos, created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it afterwards acquired, when the spirit of God had separated the earth, and digested it from the waters. *And the earth was void*, that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that form, which it now retaineth; then did the earth bud forth the herb, which seedeth seed, and the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good; which attribute was not given to the earth, while it was confus'd; nor to the heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. God saw that it was good, that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera*; The works of the perfect God are perfect.

From this lump of imperfect matter had the ancient poets their invention of *Demogorgon*; *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that chaos: of which *Ovid*;

*Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) cælum,  
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,  
Quem dixere chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.*

Before the sea and land was made, and heaven, that all doth hide,

In all the world one only face of nature did abide:  
Which chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

#### SECT. VI.

*How it is to be understood, that the spirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be searched curiously.*

AFTER the creation of heaven and earth, then void and without form, the spirit of God moved upon the waters. The *seventy interpreters* use the word *superferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat* or *fovebat*, (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a *Syrian* doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*): which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. *Verbum translatus est ab avibus pullitiei suæ incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & plane innarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.

Some of the *Hebrews* convert it to this effect, *spiritus Dei volitabat*; The spirit of God did flutter: the *Chaldean* paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus a conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or, as others understand the *Chaldean*, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat*: The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon; according to the 147th *Psalms*, *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et spiritus Elohim Merachefet, id est, efficaciter motitans, consovens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; The spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, *Causa*, which is the divine goodness: 1. *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, sive erit*, let it be, or, it shall be. *Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*: Which voice (saith he) was the first that was uttered by the word of God. The third, *spiritus elo-*

*him*, the spirit of God, *id est, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, a certain divine power, or strength, every where active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth he calleth *Maim*, *id est, Materies ad omnem rem faciendam habilis*; Matter apt to become every thing. For my self, I am resolved (*Cum Deus sit superrationale omniratione*; Seeing God is in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderful ways of working, may in a measure be perceived by man's understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt non percipit*: For my thoughts (saith the Lord in *Esay*) are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways. And as the world hath not known God himself; so are his ways (according to *St. Paul*) past finding out. O righteous father, the world hath not known thee, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is only known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus, vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; For how God (saith *St. Augustine*, speaking of his ubiquity) is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend. *Nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana*; There would be no difference between God and man, if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternal majesty; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerful word of God wrought in the creation of the world, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gave form to the matter of the universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who, not contented with a known and safe ford, will presume to pass over the greatest river in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warm ourselves safely, while we stand near the fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, or enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eschew curiosity; this is true, that the *English* word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis causæ efficientis*, The force of the efficient cause, *St. Augustine* sometimes taketh for the Holy Ghost; sometimes for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine spiritus*, Under the name of a spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for *Virtualis creatura*, for a created virtuality: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tennem intelligibilem*, A pure or thin intelligible spirit: *Anaxagoras*, *Mentem*: *Tostatus*, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*, The will and mind of God; which *Aiens*, *Plato* in *Timæo* maketh *Animam mundi*, The soul of the world: and in his sixth book, *De Republica*, he calleth it, *The law of heaven*; in his epistles, *The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things past*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox filii, & non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum*; My mind faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine only,

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 1, 2, 12. <sup>b</sup> Ovid. Met. lib. 1. <sup>c</sup> Basil. Hexam. Col. fol. 13. <sup>d</sup> Ar. Mont. de natura, pag. 149. <sup>e</sup> Eccl. 55. 8

<sup>f</sup> Junius. <sup>g</sup> Psal. 147. 18. <sup>h</sup> Ar. Mont. ut sup. Ezech. 4. <sup>i</sup> Aug. Tract. 20. in Johan. 17. 25. <sup>k</sup> Lact. in Platon.



but even the voice of angels : so may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the ways and works of the creation ; for to him (saith <sup>a</sup> *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid ejus est, & quicquid est* ; Whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himself is.

But the spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth and giveth continuance to the universal. For the spirit of the Lord filleth all the world ; and the same is it which maintaineth all things, saith <sup>b</sup> *Solomon*. *If thou send forth thy spirit (saith David) they are created* : and *Gregory*, *Deus suo presentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa* : God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himself from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing. And this working of God's spirit in all things, <sup>c</sup> *Virgil* hath express'd excellently :

*Principio cælum ac terras, camposque liquentes,  
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,  
Spiritus intus alit : totamque infusa per artus,  
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

The heaven, the earth, and all the liquid main,  
The moon's bright globe, and stars Titanian,  
A spirit within maintains : and their whole mass,  
A mind, which through each part infus'd doth pass.  
Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce  
All this great body of the universe.

And this was the same spirit, which moved in the universal, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. <sup>d</sup> *His spirit hath garnished the heavens*, saith *Job*. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and natural motion ; motion brought forth heat ; and heat rarification, and subtilty of parts. By this spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and <sup>e</sup> chaos, disposed to all forms alike) was begotten air : an element superior, as lighter than the waters ; thro' whose vast, open, subtile, diaphanick or transparent body, the light, afterwards created, might easily transpierce : light for the excellency thereof being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostom* calleth a vital operation, *Aquis a Deo vitam, ex qua aque non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint*. He calleth it, *A vital operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living creatures*.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of the light created, as the material substance of the sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it : and of the excellency and use of it : and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.*

These waters were afterwards congregated, and called the sea : and this light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the sun, the organ and instrument of created light.

For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the sun's creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, <sup>f</sup> *Let there be lights in the firmament, to separate the day from the night* : which lights in the firmament of heaven, were also made for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, days and years are distinguished ; after which succeeded time, or together with which, that time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the sun's creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the fifth verse ; was but such a space, as afterwards by the sun's motion made a civil or natural day. And as waters were the matter of air, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the seas, and creatures therein ; earth, the matter of beasts, plants, minerals, and man's body : so may light (for expression sake) be called the chaos, or material substance of the sun, and other lights of heaven : howbeit, neither the sun, nor any thing sensible, is that light it self, <sup>g</sup> *Quæ causa est lucidorum*, Which is the cause that things are lightsome (tho' it make it self and all things else visible : ) but a body most illightned, which illuminateth the moon, by whom the neighbouring region (which the *Greeks* call *æther*, the place of the supposed element of fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our air. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium celestium virtutum, & impressionum* ; The conductor, and preserver, or nourisher of all celestial virtues and impressions, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or means of light. *Aristotle* calleth light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inherens diaphano* : but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it transporteth, and bringeth with it, or conducteth : which heat (say the *Platonicks*) <sup>h</sup> *Abeunte lumine residet in subiecto* ; The light being departed, doth reside in the subject, as warmth in the air, tho' the same be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academics* make incorporeal, and so doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium* ; Which neither hardness resisteth, nor space leaveth.

*Aristotle* findeth corporality in the beams of light ; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith <sup>i</sup> *Picolomineus, Democritus, Leuippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light it self, but improperly : for it passeth at an instant, from the heaven to the earth ; nor is it resisted by any hardness, because it pierceth thro' the solid body of glass, or other crystalline matter ; and whereas it is withstood by unclean, and unpure earthy substances, less hard, and more easy to invade than the former, the same is, <sup>k</sup> *Quod obstaculum natura terreum atque sordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem* ; Because an obstacle, by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure clearness of light : alluding to that most divine light, which only shineth on those minds, which are purged from all worldly dross, and human uncleanness.

But of this created light there is no agreement in opinion ; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the fathers, philosophers, school-men, or other ancient or latter writers, that any of them understood either it or themselves therein : all men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught

thereby.

<sup>a</sup> Nazian. lib. 2. Theol. <sup>b</sup> Wild. 1. 7. <sup>c</sup> Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724. <sup>d</sup> Job 26. 13. <sup>e</sup> Gen. 1. 5. <sup>f</sup> Gen. 1. 14. <sup>g</sup> Plotinus, quæ rebus omnia visibilia facit. Cusan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5. <sup>h</sup> From lib. de Lumine, cap. 11. <sup>i</sup> Picolomineus. <sup>k</sup> Plotin.



thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferior to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyranus*, and others : so is his own judgment herein, as weak as any man's ; and most of the schoolmen were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more subtile in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, than discoverers of any thing hidden, either in philosophy or divinity : of whom it may be truly said, *Nihil sapientiæ odiosius acumine nimio* ; Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, than too acute sharpness. Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men (which the same time hath brought forth and devoured) resolved us, whether this light be substantial, corporal, or incorporeal : corporal they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the air, nor those hard, solid, and diaphanous bodies, which it doth ; and yet every day we see the air illightned : Incorporeal it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no form so excellent as it self to inform it : neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject : for light being taken from the sun, the sun is no more the sun in existence. 2dly, If light were proceeding from matter and form, then either, or both, must be one of these, lucid or bright, dark or opaque, diaphanous or transparent ; but darkness cannot be parent of light, and things diaphanous (being neither light nor darkness, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or form, or both, be lucid and shining. 3dly, Lucid and shining obtain their so being of the light ; and therefore if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progress go on infinitely and against nature ; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it self, and is therefore the sun's form, and the form of all lucid and shining bodies : but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

But in my understanding, *Lumen* (which may be englished by the word *shine*) is an intentional species of that which may be englished by light ; and so, this shining, which proceedeth from the sun, or other lights of heaven, or from any other light, is an image, or intentional species thereof ; and an intentional species may be understood by the example of a red or green colour, occasioned by the shining of the sun through red or green glass : for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite ; which redness or other colour we call the *intentional species* of the colour in that glass. And again, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood, so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the sun inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the sun's creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the world, I gather, that the light, in the first day created, was the substance of the sun : for *Moses* repeateth twice the main parts of the universal : first, as they were created in matter ; 2dly, As they were adorned with form : first, naming the heavens, the earth, the waters, all confused ; and afterward, the waters congregated, the earth made dry land ; and the heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the earth, as it was earth, before it was un-

covered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry land ; and the waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their virtual forms : so the sun, although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of light) created ; and this light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the firmament of heaven : for, to light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation ; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, days and nights are distinguished) till then : because there was not yet any creature produced, to which, by moving, the sun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the earth (distinguished from waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herb, &c. God caused the sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visit every part of the inferior world ; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seeds of all natures : For, as a king, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained ; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the light to be ; which by his all-powerful word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof to the use and comfort of his future creatures.

But in that it pleased God to ask of *Job*, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth ?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under man's understanding ; and therefore let it suffice, that by God's grace we enjoy the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *Esdra*) and those which inhabit the heavens, do only know the Essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in cælo, nihil notum in terra* : Nothing unknown in heaven, nothing perfectly known on earth. *Res vere sunt in mundo invisibili ; in mundo visibili umbræ rerum*. Things themselves are in the invisible world ; in the world visible, but their shadows. Surely, if this light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth nearest unto spirituality ; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure ; for howsoever it is of all things seen, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficial. For it ministrerh unto men, and other creatures, all celestial influences ; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth ; it discovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an angelical swiftness, our eyes unto heaven, that by the sight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvels, may continually travel to surmount these perceived heavens, and to find out their omnipotent cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis* : Our knowledge doth not quiet it self in things created. *Et ipsa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet* ; It is the light (saith *St. Ambrose*) that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communiceth its goodness and beauty unto all. Of which *Ovid* out of *Orpheus* :

\* Lucidum corpus aut plenum luce, aliis tenebris impervium. Opaca sunt plena luce tenebris, alieno lumine. Transparentia autem Diaphana carent luce & lumine & tenebris : aliis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scilicet subiecta sunt. Gen. 1. 3. Quomodo enim rex aliquis, &c. *Procopius* in Gen. 1. 3. *Job* 38. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



*\* Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,  
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,  
Mundi oculus.*

The world discerns it self, while I the world behold,  
By me the longest years, and other times are told,  
I the world's eye.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of God's glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*, and the light, by *Hermes* named *lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Saviour said to be *that light, which lightneth every man that cometh into the world.* Yet in respect of God's incomprehensible sublimity, and purity, this is also true, that God is neither a mind, nor a spirit of the nature of other spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profecto non mens est, at vero ut sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit.* God (saith *Hermes* in *Pœmandro*) certainly is not a mind, but the cause that the mind hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the *mass* and *chaos* being first created, void, dark, and informed, was by the operative spirit of God, pierced and quickned, and the waters having now received spirit and motion, resolved their thinner parts into air, which God illightned: the earth also by being contiguous, and mixt with waters (participating the same divine virtue) brought forth the bud of the herb that seedeth seed, &c. and for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the light to be united, and gave it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those several species, which the earth (being made fruitful by the spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times succeeding.

### SECT. VIII.

*Of the firmament, and of the waters above the firmament: and whether there be any crystalline heaven, or any primum mobile.*

After that the spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters:* that is, those waters which by rarification and evaporation were ascended, and those of the earth and sea.

But these waters, separate above this extension, which the *Latin* translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expanse* (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the crystalline heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this fable. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the air above us, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the lower waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raquia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*) and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for air, and more properly for the air and *æther*, than for the heavens, as the best *Hebricians* understand them, *Quo suprema ac tenuia ab infirmis crassis diducta, subjectaque distarent;* For that whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and gross matters: and

the waters above the firmament, express'd in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the air, or in the uppermost region of the same.

And that the word heaven is used for the air, the scriptures every where witness; as in the *blessings* of *Joseph*, and in the 104th *Psalms*, *By these springs shall the fowl of the heaven dwell; and upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimstone and fire out of the heaven;* and in *Isaac's* blessing to *Jacob*, *God give thee therefore of the dew of heaven:* and in *Deuteronomy* the 11th, *But the land whither you go to possess it, is a land that drinketh water of the rain of heaven:* and in *Job*, *Who hath ingendered the frosts of heaven?* and in *St. Matthew*, *Behold the fowls of heaven, for they sow not.* So as in all the scriptures of the Old Testament throughout, is the word *heaven* very oft used for air, and taken also hyperbolically for any great height, as, *Let us build us a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, &c.* And in this very place *Basil* avoucheth, that this appellation of heaven for the firmament, is but by way of similitude: his own words be these; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio aliquid proprie accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem;* And God called the firmament heaven: this appellation (saith *Basil*) is properly applied to another (that is, to the starry heaven) but to this (that is, to the firmament dividing the waters) it is imposed by similitude. And if there were no other proof, that by the firmament was meant the air, and not the heaven; the words of *Moses* in the 8th verse, conferred with the same word *firmament* in the 20th verse, make it manifest: for in the 8th verse it is written, that God called the firmament, which divided waters from waters, heaven; and in the 20th verse he calleth the firmament of heaven, air; in these words, *And let the fowl fly upon earth in the open firmament of heaven.* And what use there should be of this icy, or crystalline, or watery heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, instead of this help, it would add an unmeasurable greatness of circle, whereby the swiftness of that first moveable would exceed all possibility of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia;* But no man ought to be held to impossibilities; and faith it self (which surmounteth the height of all human reason) hath for a forcible conductor the word of truth, which also may be called *Lumen omnis rationis & intellectus;* The light of all reason and understanding. Now that this supposed first moveable, turneth it self so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the scriptures teach it not) let those that can believe mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of these many heavens, let the reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius*; and of this watery heaven, *Basilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol. 40, 41, &c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his 2d book and 6th chapter. For my self, I am persuaded, that the waters called, *The waters above the heavens*, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermost air.

### SECT. IX.

*A conclusion, repeating the sum of the works in the creation, which are reduced to three heads: the creation of matter, the forming of it, the finishing of it.*

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the first chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there

Gen. Met. l. 1.    b Job. 1. 9 & 14. 46.    c Gen. 1. 11.    d Mont Nat. hist. fol. 15.    e Gen. 49. 25.    f Psal.  
1. 1.    g Gen. 19. 24.    h Deut. 11. 11.    i Job 38. 29.    k Matth. 6. 26.    l Gen. 11. 4.  
N. 1.    C    was



was no other nature, or being, but God's incomprehensible eternity. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three days he distinguished, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levity to that which ascended; to that which descended, the form of gravity: for he separated light from darkness, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the world: he set in the firmament of heaven, the sun, moon, and stars; filled the earth with beasts, the air with fowl, and the sea with fish, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their species, and kinds; to creatures vegetative and growing, their seeds in themselves; for <sup>a</sup> *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preserved.*

## S E C T. X.

*That nature is no principium per se; nor form, the giver of being: and of our ignorance how second causes should have any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working-power, which we call nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*; the same is nothing else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into every creature, having no other self-ability, than a clock, after it is wound up by a man's hand, hath. Those therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding, than such a one hath, who looking into the stern of a ship, and finding it guided by the helm and rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the piece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides, or of the judgment, which also directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all else, that by the virtue of the first act, all agents work whatsoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: For as the mind of man seeth by the organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choice by the will: and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, &c. and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and organs; so God worketh by angels, by the sun, by the stars, by nature or infused properties, and by men as by several organs, several effects; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the universal. For as it is God's infinite power, and every-where-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the sun power to draw up vapours, to vapours to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: so all second and instrumental causes together with nature it self, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether silent, virtueless, and dead: of all which excellently <sup>b</sup> *Orpheus*; *Per te vivescunt omnia*; All things by thee spring forth in youthful green. I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable virtues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his works in their virtues praise him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the heathen philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or ex-

press it, ever enrich his own understanding with any certain truth, or ever edify others (not foolish by self-flattery) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisdom of the philosophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic studio subjaceret, aliquando esset inventa; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam*; If in this study (saith he) were means to find out the truth, it had ere this been found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits have been worn out in the enquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisdom there to be had. <sup>c</sup> *Nam si de una re præcisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur*; If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the philosophers were ignorant in nature, and the ways of her working; so were they more curious, than knowing, in their first matter and physical form. For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not been taught, neither are these forms (saith a learned author) any thing, *si ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil est*. Again, how this first matter should be *subjectum formarum*, and passive, which is understood to precede the form, it is hard to conceive: for to make form, which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, divine and human: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference between heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rational consideration. Leaving therefore these riddles to their loves, who by certain scholastical distinctions wrest and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to prove a false eternity of the world, I think it far safer to affirm with *St. Augustine*, That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or estimation soever; from whence are the seeds of all forms, and the forms of all seeds and their motions; *A quo est omnis species, a quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cujuscunque generis est, cujuscunque estimationis est; a quo sunt semina formarum, forme seminum, motus seminum atque formarum*. And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confess. For all forms (saith he) are, *in primo motore*; which is also the opinion of <sup>d</sup> *Aristotle* in the 12th of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionysius*.

## S E C T. XI.

*Of fate; and that the stars have great influence: and that their operations may diversely be prevented or furthered.*

AND, as of nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning fate or destiny, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be safely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity, and made it more general, and universally powerful than it is, by giving it dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*:

<sup>a</sup> Wild. Sol. 1. 1. p. 1. <sup>b</sup> Natura cum remota providentia & potestate divina, prout nihil est. Lact. de falsa Sapientia. l. 1. <sup>c</sup> 28. <sup>d</sup> Cypri. de mente, l. 3. <sup>e</sup> 12. *Metaph.*



<sup>a</sup> *Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.*

*Servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphos.*

'Gainst fate no counsel can prevail.

Kingdoms to slaves by destiny,

To captives triumphs given be.

An error of the *Chaldeans*, and after them of the *Stoicks*, the *Pharisees*, *Priscillianists*, the *Bardisanists*, and others, as <sup>b</sup> *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* have observed: but that fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the *Platonist*. <sup>c</sup> *Plotinus* out of the astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestial orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolemy*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the *Stoicks*, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to <sup>d</sup> fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoque nostrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the stars are instruments of far greater use, than to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after sun-set: it being manifest, that the diversity of seasons, the winters, and summers, more hot and cold, are not so uncertain by the sun and moon alone, who always keep one and the same course; but that the stars have also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given virtues to springs and fountains, to cold earth, to plants and stones, minerals, and to the excremental parts of the basest living creatures, why should we rob the beautiful stars of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treasury of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every star) a peculiar virtue and operation; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautify the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious bodies set in the firmament, to no other end, than to adorn it; but for instruments and organs of his divine providence, so far as it hath pleased his just will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Genesis*, *Let there be light in the firmament*, &c. affirmeth, that the stars are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes;) but are as open books, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of human wisdom: which latter part I believe well, and this saying of *Synacides* withal: *That there are but yet greater things than these be, and we have seen but a few of his works*. And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost virtues of herbs and plants, which on themselves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestial bodies. For *harden* (saith <sup>e</sup> *Solomon*) *can we discern the things that are upon the earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before us: who can then investigate the things that are in heaven?* <sup>f</sup> *Multum est de rebus celestibus aliquid cognoscere*: It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of fate, the middle course is to be followed,

that as with the heathen we do not bind God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destiny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoiled God of his prerogative, or had God himself constrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celestial inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were justifiable; of whom St. <sup>g</sup> *Augustine*, *Impia perversitate in malis factis rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem syderum, quam commissorem scelerum*; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverseness urge, that rather the author and creator of the stars, than the doer of the evil, is to be accused.

But that the stars and other celestial bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora caelestia* (saith *Damasce*) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones*; The heavenly bodies (saith he) make in us habits, complexions, and dispositions; for the body (though <sup>h</sup> *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the mind, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in virtues; for those of cholerick complexions are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the mind hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her vassals, not her masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonless mind, I am resolved: for all those which were created mortal, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites; over all which, celestial bodies (as instruments and executioners of God's providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell; for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himself altogether under the power of his sensual appetite; <sup>i</sup> *Vincetur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris*; Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.

But that either the stars or the sun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is absurd to think, other than as aforesaid, as the same by the body's temper may be affected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit*: The light of the sun (saith St. <sup>j</sup> *Augustine*) helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet still as a minister, not as a master: *Bonus quidem est sol, in ministerio, non imperio*; The sun is good to serve, not to sway (saith St. <sup>k</sup> *Ambrose*.) And St. *Augustine*, *Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora*; God ruleth the bodies below by those above: but he avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporeal.

But howsoever we are by the stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in nature and art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation; and *Aristotle* himself confesseth, that the heavens do not always work their effects in inferiour bodies, no more than the signs of rain and wind do always come to pass. And it is divers times seen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. <sup>l</sup> *Est in juvenis patrum virtus*; In the young off-spring the fathers virtue is; and so on the contrary, *patrum vitia*: and here-

<sup>a</sup> *Chen fat* 2. 201. <sup>b</sup> *Basil*, *Epla*, 4. <sup>c</sup> *Aug*, de *heres*, 70. <sup>d</sup> 35. <sup>e</sup> *Tho*, cont. *Gent*, 3. c. 83. <sup>f</sup> *Flam*, in 12. d. leg. <sup>g</sup> *de fat*, c. 15. <sup>h</sup> *Eccl*, 42. c. 32. <sup>i</sup> *Wud*, 9. 19. <sup>j</sup> *Aristotle*, <sup>k</sup> *Aug*, 20. <sup>l</sup> *Aug*, ad *Gen*, ad *lit*, <sup>m</sup> *Gal*, 1. 1. <sup>n</sup> *de temp*, <sup>o</sup> *Quint*, <sup>p</sup> *Aug*, de *Civ*, Dei, 1. 5. <sup>q</sup> *Hlex*, 1. 4. de *term*, 3. <sup>r</sup> *Hon*, 1. 4. *Od*, 3.



in also there is often found an interchange; the sons of virtuous men, by an ill constellation, become inclinable to vice; and of vicious men to virtue.

*Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente :*

A worthy son is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after God's reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the world so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up, may fashion anew and reform them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reins being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Vessels will ever retain a favour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanse the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet favour of virtue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable constellation (allowing that the stars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding virtuous or vicious, heaven and earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the seeds of virtue may, by the art and husbandry of christian counsel, produce better and more beautiful fruit, than the strength of self-nature and kind could have yielded them; so the plants, apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into weeds, by being set in a soil suitable, and like themselves, are made more unsavoury and filled with poison. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terræ naturam*; A wise man assisteth the work of the stars, as the husbandman helpeth the nature of the soil. And *Ptolemy* himself confesseth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina sapientis medici dominabuntur astris*; A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise physician, shall prevail against the stars. Lastly, we ought all to know that God created the stars, as he did the rest of the universal; whose influences may be called his reserved and unwritten laws. But let us consider how they bind: even as the laws of men do; for although the kings and princes of the world have by their laws decreed, that a thief and a murderer shall suffer death; and though their ordinances are daily by judges and magistrates (the stars of kings) executed accordingly; yet these laws do not deprive kings of their natural or religious compassion, or bind them without prerogative, to such a severe execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conscience: the law in his own nature, being no other than a dead tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do sometimes for causes to themselves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himself, which his substitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodness, and charity it self. Otherwise that example of prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil*, had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own creatures truly) hath assured us, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble prayers and desires may not make frustrate and break atunder: for were it (as the *Stoicks* conceive) that fate or destiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependency, that God

himself should in a kind have shut up himself therein; *How miserable then were the condition of men* (saith *Augustine*) *left altogether without hope.*

And if this strength of the stars were so transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he *Pagan* or *Christian* that so believeth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary Gods of the other, would thereby be despoiled of all worship, reverence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himself claimed at the hands of the Father (*I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do*;) and the same God, who hath threatened unto us the sorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the destinies or influences of the stars, or subject our souls to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of *Plotinus*, that the stars were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less than their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God virtuelss: so I think that we derogate from his eternal and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortal souls, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it self, whereof the sun's clarity, and that of the stars, is by *Plato* called but a shadow, *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis*; Light is the shadow of God's brightness, who is the light of light: But to end this question, because this destiny, together with providence, prescience, and predestination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men have.

## SECT. XII.

### Of PRESCIENCE.

**P**rescience, or foreknowledge (which the *Greeks* call *Prognosis*, the *Latins* *Præcognitio*, or *Præscientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speak of God after the manner of men) goeth before providence: for God foreknew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and prescience is no other than an infallible foreknowledge. For whatsoever our selves foreknow, except the same be to succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that we foreknow it. But this prescience of God (as it is prescience only) is not the cause of any thing futurely succeeding: neither doth God's foreknowledge impose any necessity, or bind. For in that we foreknow that the sun will rise, and set; that all men born in the world shall die again; that after the winter the spring shall come; after the spring, summer, and harvest; and that according to the several seeds that we sow, we shall reap several sorts of grain, yet is not our foreknowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in us bind or constrain the sun to rise and set, or men to dye; for the causes (as men persuade themselves) are otherwise manifest and known to all. *The eye of man* (saith *Boetius*) *beholdeth those things subject to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their own natures.* And again out of the same author; *Divina providentia rebus gerendis non imponit necessitatem, quia omnia eveniunt ex necessitate, premia bonorum,*



*pena malorum periret*; Divine providence (saith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist; for if all come to pass of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of evil.

## S E C T. XIII.

## Of PROVIDENCE.

NOW providence (which the *Greeks* call *Pro-noia*) is an intellectual knowledge, both foreseeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore providence by the philosophers (saith St. *Augustine*) is divided into memory, knowledge, and care: memory of the past, knowledge of the present, and care of the future: and we our selves account such a man for provident, as, remembering things past, and observing things present, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as providence, the scriptures every where teach us; *Moses* in many places, the prophets in their predictions, Christ himself and his apostles assure us hereof; and besides the scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the providence of God; yea the *Turks* themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any peril whatsoever, though death therein do manifestly present itself.

The places of scripture proving providence, are so many, both in general and particular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: Sing unto God (saith *David*) which covereth the heavens with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains, which giveth the beasts their food, and feedeth the young green that cries: *b* All these wait upon thee, that thou mayst give them food in due season: *c* and thou shalt drink of the river Chereth (saith God to *Elijah*) and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there.

Behold, the fowls of the air, they sow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: Again, *e* Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are numbered: And St. *Peter*, Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his judgments are written, saith *David*.

God therefore, who is every where present, *h* Who filleth the heavens and the earth, whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance against them that do evil, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus*, an infinite eye, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other; for it is contrary to his own word, *i* *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*; I will not give my glory to another. No man commandeth in the king's presence, but by the king's direction; but God is every where present, and king of kings. The example of God's universal providence is seen in his creatures. The father provideth for his children: beasts and birds and all living, for their young ones. If providence be found in second fathers, much more in the first and universal: and if there be a natural loving care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose divine love was the

beginning, and is the bond of the universal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum universi* (saith *Plato*): *Amor Dei est nobis perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile sustentaculum, ac universæ machine fundamentum*; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain of the world, and the immovable pillar of every part thereof, and the basis and foundation of the universal. God therefore, who could only be the cause of all, can only provide for all, and sustain all; so as to absolute power, to every where presence, to perfect goodness, to pure and divine <sup>k</sup> love; this attribute transcendent hability of providence is only proper and belonging.

## S E C T. XIV.

## Of PREDESTINATION.

NOW for predestination, we can difference it no otherwise from providence and prescience, than in this; that prescience only foreseeth; providence foreseeth and careth for, and hath respect to all <sup>l</sup> creatures, even from the brightest angels of heaven, to the unworthiest worms of the earth: and predestination (as it is used, especially by divines) is only of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their salvation properly, in the common use of divines; or perdition, as some have used it. Yet *m* *Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus*, and others, take the word predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the fathers take it more largely sometimes: among whom St. *Augustine* speaking of two cities, and two societies, useth these words: *n* *Quarum est una, quæ prædestinata est in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum supplicium subire cum diabolo*; whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reign for ever with God, but the other is to undergo everlasting torment with the devil; for according to *Nonius Marcellus*, *Destinare, est præparare*; and of the same opinion are many protestant writers, as *o* *Calvin, Beza, Bucanus, Daneus*, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the divines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with *Gregory*, who saith, *p* *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt*; He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reason of his blindness. And again with St. *Augustine*, *Occulta esse causa potest, injusta esse non potest*; Hidden the cause of his predestination may be, unjust it cannot be.

## S E C T. XV.

Of fortune: and of the reason of some things that seem to be by fortune, and against reason and providence.

LASTLY, seeing destiny or necessity is subsequent to God's providence, and seeing that the stars have no other dominion, than is before spoken, and that nature is nothing, but, as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei organum*; The art, or artificial organ of God: And *Cusanus*, *divini præcepti instrumentum*; The instrument of the divine precept: we may then with better reason reject that kind of idolatry, or God of fools, called, *fortune* or *chance*; a goddess, the most revered, and the most reviled of all other, but not ancient: for *Homer* maketh her the daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pausanias* witnesseth in his *Messenicks*. The *Greeks*

<sup>l</sup> Pl. 1. 8. 9. <sup>b</sup> Pl. 104. 27. & 145. 15. <sup>c</sup> 1 Reg. 17. 4. <sup>d</sup> Matth. 6. 26. <sup>e</sup> Luke 12. 6. 7. <sup>f</sup> 1 Pet. 5. 7. <sup>g</sup> Pl. 1. 6. <sup>h</sup> Jer. 23. 24. <sup>i</sup> Play 42. 8. <sup>k</sup> 1 John 4. 1. *God is love*. <sup>l</sup> Rom. 8. & 9. <sup>m</sup> Lomb. 1. 1. diff. 39. *Thom.* part. 1. c. 23. *Bern. de Probl. de p. d.* <sup>n</sup> Aug. 1. 15. c. 1. *de Civ. Dei.* <sup>o</sup> Cal. in c. 9. ad Rom. 9. 11. *Beza. magn. annot. in c. ad Rom.* <sup>p</sup> Daneus 1. 3. *de Salut.* <sup>q</sup> Greg. Mag. Job 9. <sup>r</sup> Aug. ad Polim. ep. 59. <sup>s</sup> call



call her *τυχην*, signifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before *Homer's* time this great lady was scarce heard of; and *Hesiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*; yet afterwards she grew so great and omnipotent, as from kings and kingdoms, to beggars and cottages, she ordered all things, resisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the possessor thereof miserable; valuing the folly of the most foolish, by making their success prosperous: inasmuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her pastimes: of which <sup>a</sup>*Palladius*, *Vita hominum ludus fortunæ est*; The life of man is the play of fortune: and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels, have equal success to those by the best judgment conducted, therefore had fortune the same external figure with sapience; whereof *Athenæus*:

*Longissime a sapientia fors diffidet,  
Sed multa perficit tamen simillima:*  
From wisdom fortune differs far,  
And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the success of human actions and endeavours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato*, *Nihil est ortum sub sole, cujus causa legitima non præcesserit*; Nothing ever came to pass under the sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause. But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, besides the intention of the inferior, but not besides the intention of the superior; *Præter intentionem inferioris, sed non præter intentionem superioris* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith <sup>b</sup>*Melanchton*) *Quod poetæ fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; whom the poets call fortune, we know to be God. And that this is true, the scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of murder, <sup>c</sup>*He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death; and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee*. Now, where the scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, if he hurt him by chance: and in <sup>d</sup>*Deuteronomy*, where the slipping the ax from the helve, whereby another is slain, was the work of God himself; we in our phrase attribute this accident, to chance or fortune: and in <sup>e</sup>*Proverbs*, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*; so as that which seemeth most casual and subject to fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, that the same power which they called *Animam mundi*, the soul of the world, was no other than that incomprehensible wisdom, which we express by the name of God, governing every being as well in heaven as in earth; to which wisdom and power they sometime gave the title of necessity or fate, because it bindeth by inevitable or-

dinance: sometime, the style of fortune, because of many effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh *St. Augustine* in his questions upon *Genesis* the first book: the same hath *Seneca* in his 4th of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which sect he was: & *For whatsoever* (saith he) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by divers terms, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diversly*.

But it may be objected, that if fortune and chance were not sometimes the causes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice, whereby we express success; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fools? That riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of man's affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the time wherein we live: for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart and loving truth: if princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse than their own flatteries: then, I say, such an one, whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deserving well and receiving ill, we always falsely charge fortune withal. For whosoever shall tell any great man or magistrate, that he is not just; the general of an army, that he is not valiant; and great ladies, that they are not fair; shall never be a counsellor, a captain, or a courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wise prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities; fail with the tide of the time, and alter form and condition, as the estate or the estate's master changeth: otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an observant slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their dully actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to *Menander*, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur*; Every fool is won with his own pride, and others flattering applause: So as whosoever will live altogether out of himself, and study other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the season wherein he liveth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodness, fruitful) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to war or contend in vain against the nature of times wherein he liveth: for such a one is often the author of his own misery; but best it were to follow the advice, which the pope gave the bishops of that age, our of *Ovid*, while the *Avian* hereby raged:

<sup>b</sup> *Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.*

While fury gallops on the way,  
Let no man fury's gallop stay.

<sup>a</sup> Sen ep. 91. Aut. viét. de Pettinace, Sen. ep. 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes, in the great and often changes of his fortune, is said to have said to a great man, applying to him a verse of Æschylus. Tu me extulisti, eadem me is (tento) perdidisti. <sup>b</sup> Fe. tal. <sup>c</sup> Exod. 21. 12, 13. <sup>d</sup> Deut. 19. 5. <sup>e</sup> Prov. 16. 33. <sup>f</sup> Cic. ac. quod. <sup>g</sup> Ovid. Met. l. 1.



And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judgment) had followed the counsel of his brother *Quintus*, *Potuiſſet* (ſaith *Petrarch*) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro cadavere ſepeliri*; He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn and undiſſevered body buried; for, as, *Petrarch* in the ſame place noteth, *Quid ſtultius quam deſperantem (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari*? What more fooliſh than for him that deſpairs (eſpecially of the effect) to be entangled with endleſs contentions? Whoſoever therefore will ſet before him *Machiavel's* two marks to ſhoot at (to wit, riches, and glory, muſt ſet on and take off a back of iron to a weak wooden bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble; for as he, that firſt deviſed to add ſails to rowing veſſels, did either ſo proportion them as being faſtened aloft,

and towards the head of his maſt, he might abide all winds and ſtorms, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his own invention: ſo that man which prizeth virtue for itſelf, and cannot endure to hoife and ſtrike his ſails, as the divers natures of calms and ſtorms require, muſt cut his ſails and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himſelf with a ſlow and ſure navigation (to wit) a mean and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of fortune, and the reſt, or of whatſoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or cauſes, the wit (or rather fooliſhneſs) of man hath found out: let us reſolve with *St. Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is <sup>a</sup> *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diverſities of operations, but God is the ſame, which worketh all in all.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. 8. 6. 12. 6.

## CHAP. II.

### Of Man's eſtate in his firſt Creation, and of God's reſt.

#### SECT. I.

Of the image of God, according to which man was firſt created.

THE creation of all other creatures being finiſhed, the heavens adorned, and the earth replenished, God ſaid, <sup>a</sup> *Let us make man in our own image, according to our likenenſs*.

Man is the laſt and moſt admirable of God's works to us known: <sup>b</sup> *Ingens miraculum homo*; Man is the greateſt wonder (ſaith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*;) *Naturæ ardentiffimæ artificium*; The artificial work of the moſt ardent or fire-like nature (as ſaith *Zoroaſter*;) though the ſame be meant, not for any excellency external, but in reſpect of his internal form, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, becauſe it hath an eſſence, immortal and ſpiritual in qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, becauſe man was made lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

<sup>c</sup> *Sanctius hiſ animal, mentisque capacius altæ, Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera poſſet: Natus homo eſt.*

More holy than the reſt, and underſtanding more, A living creature wants, to rule all made before, So man began to be.

Of this image and ſimilitude of God, there is much diſpute among the fathers, ſchoolmen, and late writers: ſome of the fathers conceive, that man was made after the image of God, in reſpect chiefly of empire and dominion, as *St. Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and ſome others: which *St. Ambroſe* denieth to the woman in theſe words, *Ut ſicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus eſſet ſuper faciem totius terræ: unus igitur unum fecit, qui unitatis quæ haberet imaginem*; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kind ſhould be upon the face of the whole earth: therefore he being one, made one, that ſhould have the image of his unity. But whereas it is ga-

thered out of the following words of the ſame verſe, that man was after the image of God in reſpect of rule and power; it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number; *and let them rule over the fiſh in the ſea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that man is ſaid to be after the image of God in reſpect of his immortal ſoul only: becauſe as God is inviſible, ſo the ſoul of man is inviſible; as God is immortal and incorporeal, ſo is the ſoul of man immortal and incorporeal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, ſo but one ſoul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, ſo is the ſoul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*; The ſoul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof, according to *Ariſtotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men, deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe than potentially true, all the *Ariſtotelians* in the world ſhall never prove. Theſe and the like arguments do the *Jews* make (ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite man.

The ſchool-men reſemble the mind or ſoul of man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the mind there are three diſtinct powers, or faculties (to wit) memory, underſtanding, and will; and yet all theſe being of real differences, are but one mind: ſo in God there are three diſtinct perſons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the image and ſimilitude divers; and again, they diſtinguiſh between *imaginem Dei*, and *ad imaginem Dei*; and ſpin into ſmall threds with ſubtile diſtinctions many times the plainneſs and ſincerity of the ſcriptures: their wits being like that ſtrong water, that eateth thro' and diſſolveth the pureſt gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the image of God to be ſubſtantial, but not the ſimilitude: *Sed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declarativum*; A word declaring quality in the ſubſtance. Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the image and ſimilitude do greatly diſfer, ſo the ſinful ſoul doth not therefore leave to be the image of God; but it hath not his ſimilitude, except it be holy and righteous. *St. Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth,

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 1. 26. <sup>b</sup> Trif. Afel. 2. & de volunt. Dei. Plat. leg. 1. 1. <sup>c</sup> Sanctum, quia pars potior immortalis, animal, quia in ſenſu. In locum Ovid. Met. 1. 1. 70



that by sin, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his retractions maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the similitude is more largely taken, than the image.

But howsoever the school-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the fathers conceive; sure I am, that St. Paul maketh the same sense of the image, which Victorinus doth of the similitude, who saith, *As we have borne the image of the earthly, so shall we bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the scriptures, that the words *image* and *similitude* were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to express each other; whatsoever Lombard hath said to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himself in the scriptures, which neither Moses, the Prophets, or Apostles, ever conceived. Now as St. Paul useth the word (image) for both: so St. James useth the word (similitude) for both, in these words: *Therewith bless we God even the Father, and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God.* Howsoever therefore St. Augustine seemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make some difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in eternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri*; We confess that this image is found in eternity, but his similitude in manners, that is, in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi vero possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, proculdubio nec imago est*; As if (says he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image. The very words of the text make this most manifest, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness*; which is, *Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us*: and in the next verse following, God himself maketh it plain; for there he useth the word (image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first verse of the fifth chapter, the word (similitude) is used again by it self, as, *In the day that God created Adam, in the likeness of God made he him.* And this similitude St. Paul, calleth the image; *Put on (saith he) the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* And in Syracides it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may believe St. Paul before Peter Lombard and other school-men, then it is as manifest as words can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same; for St. Paul useth both the words directly in one sense. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

Zanchius laboureth to prove, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla pars in homine, quæ non fuerit hujusce imaginis particeps*; No part in a man (saith he) which was not participating God's image; for God said, *Let us make man according to our own image.* But the soul alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole man compounded of body and soul. *The body of man (saith he) is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body, must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his own objection seemeth to me suf-

ficient, where he alledgeth that it may be said, that Moses spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body only: so when God said, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the soul of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith St. Augustine;) Cursed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of man's body: *Deus enim non est humane forme particeps, neque corpus humanum divine* (saith Philo;) God is not partaker of human form, nor human body of the form divine. The Hebrew word for image, is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo*; Man passeth away in shadow: Let us then know and consider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition, for it is both against his nature and his word; an error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, against the very essence and majesty of God.

Surely Cicero, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more divine understanding than these gross Hereticks: *Ad similitudinem Dei propius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura*; The virtue which is in man (saith he) came nearer the similitude of God than the figure. For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God, God is merciful, God is charity it self, and (in a word) goodness it self, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himself to teach us, and to make us known of himself. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his unexcogitable power and perfectness? Certainly, not in *dominion* alone; for the devil is said to be the prince of this world, and the *kingdom of Christ* was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father: neither because man hath an immortal soul, and therein the faculties of memory, understanding, and will; for the devils are also immortal, and participate those faculties, being called *dæmones*, because *scientes* of knowledge and subtilty: neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who have rebelled against God? who have made gods of the vilest beasts, of serpents, of cats, of owls, yea, even of shameful parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? Yet do I not condemn the opinion of St. Chrysostom and Ambrose, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with justice and piety; for God did not only make man a ruler and governor over the fishes of the sea, the fowls of heaven (or of the air) and over the beasts of the field; but God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed kings to govern them, and judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude reason, as it is the ability of understanding. For I do not conceive, that Irenæus did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was *animal rationale* only; but that he understood it better, with Sybilla; *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens*; Man that is endued with right reason is said to resemble God (that is) by right reason to know and confess God his Creator, and the same God to serve, love, and obey; and therefore said St. Augustine (who herein came nearer the truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente*; God made man in respect of the intellect after his own image and similitude; and

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. 15. 49. <sup>b</sup> Jam. 3. 9. <sup>c</sup> Ut supra. <sup>d</sup> Aug. ut supra. <sup>e</sup> Coloss. 3. 10. <sup>f</sup> Rom. 8. 23. <sup>g</sup> Zanch. de op.   
 <sup>h</sup> In Gen. <sup>i</sup> Eph. 6. 12. <sup>k</sup> John 18. 36. <sup>l</sup> Plat. in Cratol. <sup>m</sup> Oforius de Just. l. 5.



\*Reynerius, *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei*; Man was made after the image of God, in mind, or, in that he hath a mind.

SECT. II.

*Of the intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the image of God; and that this image is much deformed by sin.*

BUT *mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is, *forma vel natura hominis*; The form or nature of man; but this faculty or gift of God, called *mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principal strength of the mind, [or soul] *cujus actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; whose act [exercise, or office] is the perpetual contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called *intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, & anima contemplativa*; A divine understanding, and an intellect or mind contemplative. *Est autem mens nostra (saith Cusanus) vis comprehendendi; & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum*; Our intellectual mind (saith he) is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: unto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the error of the *Machabees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) than the light from the sun: for this *mens*, or understanding (saith *Mercurius*) *est Deus in hominibus*; Is God in men; or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the sun is not of the same essence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *mens* or understanding in men, not of the essence of God's infinite understanding, but a power and faculty of our souls the purest; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal light illightned. And this *mens* others call *animam animæ*, the soul of the soul; or, as *St. Augustine*, the eye of the soul, or receptacle of sapience and divine knowledge, *Quæ amorem sapientie tanquam ducem sequitur*; Which followeth after the love of sapience as her guide (saith *Philo*;) between which and reason; between which and the mind, called *anima*; between which and that power which the *Latins* call *animus*, there is this difference: reason, is that faculty by which we judge and discourse; *anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, vivificat*; [or] The soul is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life; for death is the separation of body and soul: and the same strength (saith *Philo*) which God the great director hath in the world, the same hath this *anima*, or mind, or, soul in man. *Anima*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which calleth this *mens*, or divine understanding, *Perspicacem animæ partem*; The perceiving part of the mind, or, the light by which the soul discerneth: *Dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur*; & *in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet*: In men that sleep it is this (*mens*, or) understanding, and not the mind or soul, which is illightned, during which time it is but habitual in wise men, and in mad men this (*mens*) is extinguished, but not the soul; for mad men do live, though illightned.

Therefore this word being often used for the soul being life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we say that they are of a distract mind, in-

stead of a broken understanding: which word (*mind*) we use also for opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, he is of an honest mind, or, a man of a just mind: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's sake: and *Aristotle* sometimes useth this word (*mens*) for the phantasy, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without discourse: oftentimes for spirits, angels, and intelligences: but as it is used in the proper signification, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; a part or particle of the soul, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be dissevered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præest, mens animæ, anima corpori*; The soul (meaning that which giveth life) is the image of this understanding, or *mens*; and this (*mens*) or understanding is the image of God. God is president or ruler over this understanding, this understanding over the soul, and this soul over the body. This division and distinction out of the *Platonicks*, and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marcellus Ficinus* in his 9th book of the soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (saith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam, non eget mens organo; tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intueatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum a sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiā prolata*: To exercise the faculty of understand, the mind of man (saith he) needeth no instrument, as a mean, by which it may understand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasms, or the resemblances of things received from the sense, and carried to the phantasy. But in effect, this conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the phantasy, in representing the object to the understanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be understood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in man's imagination, are, to his understanding and mind, as colours are to the sight; whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasy it self is to the faculty of understanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing: and as this is an *Organum*, so that. Of this question, how the mind in all her actions maketh use of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the reader to a most grave and learned discourse in the last reply of *M. D. Bilson*, late bishop of *Winchester*, unto *Hen. Jacob*. Howsoever the truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the mind it self, by which we live, nor in respect of our souls simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selves to God *in mente*, and in respect of that pure faculty, which is never separate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; for *St. Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the mind or soul, and be-

\* De vi de ment. b Premand. c De mente, Idiot. l. 3. d Sen ep. 65. l. 8. 31. l. e Lib. 9. c. 3. f Zanch. de oper. Dei, l. 1. c. 2. g Page 185. & sequent. Ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, id est, sapientie, virtutis, ac bonitatis competentem, qui creatoris creatorem agnosceret suum; atque imitari, proque ingenio, proque auctoritate, sibi concessa ratione, studeret. Exam. No. 11.



tween the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the image of God: whose words are these, *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit mens, seque intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of St. *Augustine*;) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac diligere eum a quo facta est*, (that is) The mind (or *mens*) was not therefore the image of God, because it remembereth, understandeth, and loveth it self; but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it. And that this image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Basil*; *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiæ affectibus immergit*: Man was made after the image and similitude of God, but sin hath deformed the beauty of this image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscence.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of immortality, nor in reason, nor in dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these joyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the soul, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of original righteousness, most perfectly infused by God into the mind and soul of man in his first creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the seal of God's image (though reason may be said to be of her gift, which, joined to the soul, is a part of the essential constitution of our proper *species*) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodness, who breathed life into earth, and contrived within the trunk of dust and clay, the imitable hability of his own piety and righteousness.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which dominion hath) do those that are powerful retain the image of God, as according to his commandments they exercise the office or magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long retain this image, as they fear, love, and serve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sins. For the unjust mind cannot be after the image of God, seeing God is justice it self; the blood-thirsty hath it not, for God is charity and mercy it self; falsehood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soul, together with God: and to be short, there is no likelihood between pure light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteousness and reprobation. And though nature, according to common understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this image of God's goodness, which the sensual souls of beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude naturally more inclinable to follow and embrace the false and duncle pleasures of this stage-play world, than to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's wisdom, and the liberality of his mercy, formed eyes to our souls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest heavens, and thence bring knowledge and object to the mind and soul, to contemplate the ever-during

glory, and termless joy, prepared for those which retain the image and similitude of their Creator, preserving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the image of God, is created in righteousness, and holiness, as saith *St. Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by some of the fathers, as by *St. Augustine*, with whom *St. Ambrose* joyneth, that by sin, the perfection of the image is lost, and not the image it self: both opinions by this distinction may be reconciled (to wit) that the image of God, in man, may be taken two ways; for, either it is considered according to natural gifts, and consisteth therein; namely, to have a reasonable and understanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the image of God is more lost by sin than the very reasonable or understanding nature, &c. is lost (or sin doth not abolish and take away these natural gifts:) or, the image of God is considered, according to supernatural gifts, namely, of divine grace and heavenly glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the natural image; and this manner of similitude and image of God is wholly blotted out, and destroyed by sin.

### SECT. III.

*Of our base and frail bodies: and that the care thereof should yield to the immortal soul.*

THE external man God formed out of the dust of the earth, or (according to the signification of the word, *Adam*) of *Adamath*, of red earth, or *ex limo terræ*, out of the slime of the earth, or a mixed matter of earth and water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguisima & mollissima*: Not that God made an image or statue of clay, but out of clay, earth, or dust, God formed and made flesh, blood, and bone, with all parts of man.

That man was formed of earth and dust did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble fear he called unto God, to save *Sodom*: *Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speak, I that am but dust and ashes*: And, *In these houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, do our souls inhabit*, according to *Job*. And though our own eyes do everywhere behold the sudden and resistless assaults of death, and nature assureth us by never-failing experience, and reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our bodies are but the anvils of pain and diseases, and our minds the hives of unnumbered cares, sorrows, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which envy and fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our understanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this vassal and slave of death, and forget altogether (or only remember at our cast away leisure) the imprisoned immortal soul, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous men: seeing God's justice in the one, and his goodness in the other, is exercised for evermore, as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account? never while we have our vanity left us to spend: we plead for titles, till our breath fail us; dig for riches, while our strength enableth us; exercise malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature it self hatcheth the house of old age, we remember with *Job*, that



we must go the way from whence we shall not return; and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark; and then, I say, looking over-late into the bottom of our conscience (which pleasure and ambition had locked up from us all our lives) we behold therein the fearful images of our actions past, and withal this terrible inscription: *That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the sun.*

But what examples have ever moved us? what persuasions reformed us? or what threatnings made us afraid? we behold other mens tragedies play'd before us, we hear what is promised and threatened: but the world's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights (with which we only see) do neither look up towards termless joys, nor down towards endless sorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing else, at the world's hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

*Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi  
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, isque periculis  
Tentati; nibilo meliores reddimur unquam,  
Sub vitis nullo culparum sine manentes.*

Diseases, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought, [caught:  
What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare  
No time can our corrupted manners mend,  
In vice we dwell, in sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him, to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his laws and precepts. *b Frustra sperant, qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur;* They hope in vain, saith *Bernard*, which in this sort flatter themselves with God's mercy.

#### SECT. IV.

*Of the spirit of life, which God breathed into man in his creation.*

**I**N this frame and carcass God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living soul: (that is) God gave a body of earth and of corruptible matter, a soul spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men use, but God breathed the spirit of life and immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as love and fear him. *c The spirit of God* (saith *Elubu* in *Job*) *bath made me, and the breath of the Almighty bath given me life: In qua sententia* (saith *Rabanus*) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne late patemur Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis suis formasse in faciem formati, ut vivere possit & spirare, ut sic habere: nam & propheta cum ait, manibus fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis suam propria (id est, juxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari) locutus est:* In which sentence (saith he) the beggarliness of carnal sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we should think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the spirit of life: for the prophet also when he saith, thy hands have made me, spake this tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the custom which

men use in working. *Quantum est periculi his, qui scripturas sensu corporeo legunt?* In what danger are they that read the scriptures in a carnal sense? By this breath was infused into man, both life and soul, and therefore this (soul) the philosophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat;* Which doth animate and give life to the body. *The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding,* saith *Job*, and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the earth, out of which it was taken; according to *Ecclesiastes*: *d And dust shall return to the earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (spirit) usually otherwise taken in the scriptures, than for the soul; as when *Stephen* cried unto God: *e Domine, suscipe spiritum meum, Lord Jesus receive my spirit:* and in *St. John*, *f And Jesus bowed his head, and gave up the ghost,* or spirit; (which was) that his life and soul left his body dead. And that the immortal soul of man differeth from the souls of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *g Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beast of the earth, &c.* But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our own image, &c.* and further, that *h the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the water and earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life; so shall they again be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlasting, which God breathed into man, shall, according to *Ecclesiastes*, *i return again to God that gave it.*

#### SECT. V.

*That man is (as it were) a little world: with a digression touching our mortality.*

**M**AN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model, or brief story of the universal: in whom God concluded the creation, and work of the world, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his creatures, being internally endued with a divine understanding, by which he might contemplate and serve his Creator, after whose image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the world, and all other God's creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living natures (to wit) angelical, rational, and brutal; giving to angels an intellectual, and to beasts a sensual nature, he vouchsafed unto man, both the *k* intellectual of angels, the sensitive of beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto man, and therefore (saith *Gregory Nazianzene*) *l Homo est utriusque nature vinculum;* Man is the bond and chain which tyeth together both natures: and because in the little frame of man's body there is a representation of the universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little world. *m Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in terris statuit;* God therefore placed in the earth the man whom he had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the small and little world; for out of the earth and dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpish; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard

*a* Job. 33. 4. *b* Bern. in Pl. qui habitat. *c* Job. 33. 4. *d* Ecc. 12. 7. *e* Ar. Phys. 1. 8. c. 2. *f* John. 19. 30. *g* Gen. 1. 20. *h* Gen. 2. 7. *i* Ecc. 12. 7. *k* Ar. Phys. 1. 8. c. 2. *l* Greg. Naz. Epist. Omne in homine creatura, &c. *m* Aug. 1. qu. 83. q. 67. ret. l. 1. c. 2.

*n* Ecc. 12. 7. *o* Ar. 2. 59. *p* John. 9. 30. *q* Gen. 1. 20. *r* 1. 12. l. 1. *s* Greg. Naz. Epist. Omne in homine creatura, &c.



rocks and stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which *Ovid*:

*Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,  
Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati:*

From thence our kind hard-hearted is,

Enduring pain and care,

Approving that our bodies of

A stony nature are.

His blood, which disperseth it self by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by brooks and rivers over all the earth; his breath to the air, his natural heat to the inclosed warmth which the earth hath in it self, which, stirred up by the heat of the sun, assisteth nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the earth bringeth forth; Our radical moisture, oyl, or balsamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the earth; the hairs of man's body, which adorns, or overshadows it, to the grass, which covereth the upper face and skin of the earth; our generative power, to nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light wandring, and unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes, to the light of the sun and moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called *mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to those intellectual natures, which are always present with God; and lastly, our immortal souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the title of his own image and similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous (for, *In angelis deprehensa est stultitia*, Behold, He found folly in his Angels, saith *Job*;) yet, with such a kind of difference, as there is between the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his own righteousness. In this also is the little world of man compared, and made more like the universal (man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the four complexions resemble the four elements, and the seven ages of man the seven planets; whereof, our infancy is compared to the *Moon*, in which we seem only to live and grow, as plants; the second age to *Mercury*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to *Venus*, the days of love, desire, and vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of man's life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth age is ascribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh to *Saturn*, wherein our days are sad, and over-cast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more

greedily is our end desired, whom when *time* hath made unsociable to others, we become a burthen to our selves: being of no other use, than to hold the riches we have from our successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both sleeping and waking: neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doors lie open at all hours; and to all persons. For this tide of man's life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual ebb and falling stream, but never floweth again: our leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the sun or the summer adorn us again, with the garments of new leaves and flowers.

*Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas;  
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.*

To which I give this sense.

The plants and trees made poor and old  
By winter envious,  
The spring-time bounteous  
Covers again from shame and cold:  
But never man repair'd again  
His youth and beauty lost,  
Though art, and care, and cost,  
Do promise nature's help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

*Soles occidere & redire possunt:  
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,  
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

The sun may set and rise:  
But we contrariwise  
Sleep after our short light  
One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or rest, in the course or race of man's life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academics*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the sap and juice, wherein the life of plants is preserved, both evermore ascend or descend; so is it with the life of man, which is always either increasing toward ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

SECT. VI.

*Of the free power, which man had in his first creation, to dispose of himself.*

THESE be the miseries which our first parents brought on all mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one only prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortal and immortal life, a nature celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himself, to be his own guide, his own workman, and his own painter, that he might frame or describe unto



himself what he pleased, and make election of his own form. <sup>a</sup> *God made man in the beginning, (saith Siracides) and left him in the hands of his own counsel.* Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonless, brought with them into the world (saith *Lucilius*) and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their dams, the nature, which they could not change; and the supernal spirits or angels were from the beginning, or soon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of seeds and grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of plants, the sensual of beasts, the rational of man, and the intellectual of angels; whereof which soever he took pleasure to plant and cultivate, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man *Adam*, and our first father, was enigmatically described by *Asclepius Atheniensis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the *Pythagoreans*, and ancient poets, wherein it was feigned, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from reason to brutality, from virtue to vice, from meekness to cruelty, and from justice to oppression. For by the lively image of other creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortal men; as by serpents were signified deceivers; by lions, oppressors and cruel men; by swine, men given over to lust and sensuality; by wolves, ravening and greedy men; which also *St. Matthew* resembleth to false prophets, <sup>d</sup> *which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves*: by the images of stones and flocks, foolish and ignorant men; by vipers, ungrateful men; of which <sup>e</sup> *St. John Baptist, O ye generation of vipers, &c.*

## SECT. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the universal created was exceeding good.

IN this work of man, God finished the creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse*; With whom to will is to make, saith *Beda*. Neither did God so rest, that he left the world made, and the creatures therein to themselves: for <sup>d</sup> *My father worketh to this day (saith Christ) and I work*; but God rested (that is) he created no new species or kinds of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living creatures, to plants and flowers, their seeds in themselves; and commanded man to <sup>e</sup> multiply and fill the earth, and the earth and sea to bring forth creatures according to their several kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his works were good, but that he foreknew not, and comprehended not, the beginning and end before they were; for God made every plant of the field before it was in the earth, but he gave to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose bounteous purity and from so excellent a cause there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For

man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of man's heart, was the earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first age destroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his family, with those creatures which the ark contained, reserved by God to replenish the earth.

## CHAP. III.

## Of the place of PARADISE.

## SECT. I.

That the seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that men should err.

CONCERNING the first habitation of man, we read, that *the Lord God planted a garden east-ward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, Gen. ii. 6.* Of this seat and place of *Paradise*, all ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgments have been in effect, as divers, among those, that have written upon this part of *Genesis*, as upon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terrestrial *Paradise*, without all regard of the world's geography, and without any respect of east and west, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what region of the world this garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first interpretation; or trusting to their own judgments, understood one place for another; and one error is so fruitful, as it begetteth a thousand children, if the licentiousness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant spectators of those masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, than to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his epistle of *Paradise*) *magnum errorem, magnorum virorum auctoritate persuasi, transmittimus*; We pass over many gross errors, by the authority of great men led and perswaded. And it is true, that many of the fathers were far wide from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I my self dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their learning and their piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare*. And to the end that no man should be proud of himself, God hath distributed unto men such a proportion of knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakness: *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus*; God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one. <sup>f</sup> *St. Paul* confess'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third heaven in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and *Christ* himself acknowledges thus much, <sup>g</sup> that neither men, nor angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to <sup>h</sup> *St. Jude*) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi invenitur?* (saith *Job*) But where is wisdom found? <sup>i</sup> *and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the land of the living.* And therefore seeing God found folly in his angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in the houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and to the fathers,

<sup>a</sup> Eccles. 1. 11. <sup>b</sup> Matth. 7. 15. <sup>c</sup> Matth. 3. 7. <sup>d</sup> John 5. 17. <sup>e</sup> Gen. 1. 28. & ver. 22. 24. <sup>f</sup> 2 Cor. 12. 2. <sup>g</sup> 1 Cor. 13. 8. <sup>h</sup> Jude 1 p. ver. 27. <sup>i</sup> Job 28. 12, 13. 4. 18.



and other learned men, excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our salvation dependeth not.

## SECT. II.

### *A recital of strange opinions touching Paradise.*

NOW touching *paradise*, first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a *paradise*, or no? or whether *Moses's* description were altogether mystical and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of those four rivers, *Pison*, *Gebon*, *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge, there were delivered unto us other mysteries and significations; as, that by the <sup>a</sup> four rivers, were meant the four cardinal virtues, *Justice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude* and *Prudence*; or (by others) *Oil*, *Wine*, *Milk* and *Honey*. This allegorical understanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Fran. Georgius* received (saith *Sixtus Senensis*;) whose frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34th annotation of his 5th book, fol. 338. the last edition.

<sup>b</sup> *St. Ambrose* also leaned wholly to the allegorical construction, and set *Paradise* in the third heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *Et in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our souls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of *Paradise*, was meant the soul or mind; by *Adam*, *mens* or understanding; by *Eve*, the sense; by the *serpent*, delectation; by the *tree* of good and evil, sapience; and by the rest of the trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon 1 *Corinth. cap. 6.* he in direct words alloweth both of a celestial and terrestrial *Paradise*; the one, into which *St. Paul* was wrap'd; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysamenis* was of opinion, that a *Paradise* had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the earth: the same being not only defaced, but withal the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

The *Manichees* also understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole earth; to which opinion *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two several places. First, upon this; *Fill the earth*, *Gen. 10.* of which he gives this judgment: *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis animantibus, subjicite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram extantem, Et omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus consistam, sedem Et hortum illum Adæ, Et posteritatis future fuisse*; These words (saith he) in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the universal earth, set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and seat of *Adam*, and of his future posterity. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the <sup>c</sup> *Acts*, *Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideo factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra paradisus ille erat*; The apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (saith he) was that *Paradise*. Which conjectures I will answer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar garden; which place *Goropius* findeth near the river of *Accefines*, in the confines of *India*.

<sup>d</sup> *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradise* under the equinoctial; and *Postellus*, quite contrary, under the north pole: the *Chaldeans* also for the most part, and all their sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs; who would either make *Paradise* a figure, or sacrament only, or else would have it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote region of the air. *Strabus* and *Rabanus* were both sick of this vanity, with *Origen* and *Philo*: So was our venerable <sup>e</sup> *Bede* and <sup>f</sup> *Peter Comestor*, and <sup>g</sup> *Moses Barcephas* the *Syrian*, translated by *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* says of *Philo Judeus*, that he wonder'd, *Quo malo genio afflatus*, By what evil angel he was blown up into this error; so can I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who so grossly and blindly wander'd; seeing *Moses*, and after him the prophets, do so plainly describe this place by the region in which it was planted, by the kingdoms and provinces bordering it, by the rivers which water'd it, and by the points of the compass upon which it lay, in respect of *Judea*, or *Canaan*.

*Noviomagus* also upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the ocean was that fountain from whence the four rivers, *Pison*, *Gebon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates* (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one fountain, were it not out of the fountain of the ocean.

## SECT. III.

*That there was a true local Paradise eastward in the country of Eden.*

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, <sup>h</sup> *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made*: and howsoever the vulgar translation, called *Jerom's* translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis a principio*: The Lord God planted a *Paradise* of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (*pleasure*) for *Eden*, and (*from the beginning*) for *eastward*: it is manifest, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a region. For, what sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a garden of pleasure, or, that a river went out of pleasure to water the garden? but the seventy interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, The *Paradise* of *Eden*; and so doth the *Chaldean* paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a noun appellative; which region, in respect of the fertility of the soil, of the many beautiful rivers and goodly woods, and that the trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, pleasantness, or delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the country, opposite to the isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as *Florida* was a country, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was *Eden* a region, called pleasure or delicacy for its pleasure or delicacy: and as *Florida* signifieth flourishing; so *Eden* signifieth pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of countries; for *Eden* be-

<sup>a</sup> Bartol. sem. 2. l. 1. c. 133.  
<sup>ap</sup> 4. *Moses* Barcephas de Par.

<sup>b</sup> Amb. de Parad.

<sup>c</sup> Act. 17. 26

<sup>d</sup> Bart. 16. l. 26

<sup>e</sup> Bed. in Gen. Pet. Comest.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. cap. 2



ing the proper name of a region (called pleasure in the Hebrew) and *Paradise* being the choice seat of all that region, *Paradise* was truly the garden of *Eden*, and truly the garden of pleasure.

Now, for *eastward*, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrary to the translation of the seventy; to the antient Greek fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the *Latins*, *Severinus*, *Damascenus*, &c. who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a region, and set the word (*eastward*) for *ab initio*; for *Damascene's* own words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad orientem mirabiliter constitus*; *Paradise* is a place marvellously planted by the hands of God in *Eden*, towards the east.

And after all these fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of latter times, do both understand these words of *Eden* and of the *east*, contrary to the vulgar translation; *Parisensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words; After this I will begin to speak of *Paradise* terrestrial, which God planted from the beginning, or eastward, &c. *Post hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad orientem*, &c. And then *Senensis*; *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum a Deo constitum in regione terræ orientalis, quæ dicitur Eden: Eden autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus, Cham habitasse ad orientalem plagam Eden*; For *Moses* (saith he) doth shew most clearly, that *Paradise* was planted of God in a region of the east country, which is called *Eden*: but that *Eden* is a proper name, it appeareth in *Genesis*, where we read, that *Cham* dwelt on the east border of *Eden*. *Pererius* endeavoureth to qualify this translation; for this particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alledging this place of *Christ*, that although the devil was said to be a *Man-slayer* from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I think (referring my self to better judgment) the devil was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till man's creation. And for conclusion, *St. Hierome* (if that be his translation) adviseth himself better in the end of the 3d chapter of *Genesis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by *ante*; and not (*a principio*) as, God did set a cherubin before the garden of *Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante paradisum voluptatis, cherubin*; and *Pererius* himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew, *Posuit a parte orientali horti Eden, cherubin*; He set on the east side of the garden of *Eden*, a cherubin. *Becanus* affirmeth, that the Hebrew word *Be* signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the text teacheth this sense; That God planted a garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, only to the end to set *Paradise* upon the river of *Acesines*; for that he hath heard of the *Indian* fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and would therefore set *Paradise* to the fig-tree: which conceit of his shall answer hereafter.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* towards the east, thence came the custom of praying towards the east, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*; and therefore all our churches are built east and west, as to the point where the sun riseth in the east, which is directly over *Paradise* (saith *Da-*

*mascenus*;) affirming, that we always pray towards the east, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the temple of *Solomon* had their priests and sacrifices, which turned themselves in their service and divine ceremonies, always towards the west, thereby to avoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But because east and west are but in respect of places (for although *Paradise* were east from *Judea*, yet it was west from *Persia*) and the serving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great, which way we turn our faces, so our hearts stand right; other than this, that we who dwell west from *Paradise*, and pray turning our selves to the east, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adam's* fall we have lost the *Paradise* on earth; so by *Christ's* death and passion we may be made partakers of the *Paradise* celestial, and the kingdom of heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other mystery in adding the word (east) to *Eden* by *Moses*, than to shew, that the region of *Eden*, in which *Paradise* was, lay eastward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the scriptures always called the people of those nations, the sons of the east which inhabited *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Persia*: of which *Ovid*,

*Eurus ad aurozam, Nabathæaque regna recessit,  
Persidaque, & radiis juga subdita matutinis.*

The east wind with *aurora* hath abiding  
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Persian* Hills,  
Whom *Phæbus* first salutes at his up-rising.

And if it be objected, that *Jeremy* the prophet, threatening the destruction of *Jerusalem*, doth often make mention of *northern* nations, it is to be noted, that the *north* is there named, in respect of those nations that followed *Nabuchodonosor*, and of whom the greatest part of his army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it self stood *north* from *Jerusalem*, though inclining from the *east* towards the *north*.

Now to the difference of this translation, *Peter Comestor* giveth best satisfaction: for he useth the word, *from the beginning*, that is, *from the first part of the world (a principio) id est* (saith he) *a prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *a principio*, and *ad orientem*, have the same signification: *from the beginning*, and *east-ward*, is all one; *a principio idem est quod ad orientem*.

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this story of mankind was not allegorical, it followeth in the text of the 2d chapter and 9th verse, in these words; *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meat, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* elsewhere as in the world at large, and then put him into the garden: and the end why, is express'd, verse 18, *that he might dress it and keep it*: *Paradise* being a garden or orchard filled with plants, and trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradise* was a terrestrial garden, garnished with fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of allegorical construction, he affirmeth, verse 10, that it was watered and beautified with a river; expressing also the region, out of which this river sprang, which he calleth *Eden*; and that *Eden* is also a country near unto *Charon* in *Mesopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

But to all these cabalists, which draw the truth and story of the scriptures into allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these words; *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est*



*flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia; non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates; non est ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore; non est Adam, non sunt homines, sed veritas jam fabula est, & omnia ad allegorias revocantur;* If *Paradise* be not sensible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no such four heads or branches, and then not any such river as *Pison*, or *Gehon*, *Tigris*, or *Euphrates*; no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves; *Eve* then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any *Adam*, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back into allegories. Words to the same effect hath *St. Hierome* upon *Daniel*; *Conticescant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent allegoriæ legibus se debere subruere*: Let the dotage of them be silent, who following shadows and images in the truth, endeavour to subvert the truth it self, and think that they ought to bring *Paradise*, and the rivers, and the trees, under the rules of allegory.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the story, is the place made more manifest. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every tree of the garden (the tree of knowledge excepted) which trees *Moses* in the 9th verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third heaven, nor near the circle of the moon, nor beasts in imagination: for if all these things were enigmatical or mystical, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezekiel*, speaking of the glory of the *Assyrian* kings, useth this speech; *“All the trees of Eden, which were in the garden of God, envied him; which proveth both Eden, and Paradise, therein seated, to be terrestrial: for the prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But Moses wrote plainly, and in a simple style, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of Paradise, than in any other place of scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not described both the region and the rivers, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the unbelieving Israelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this story of mankind. And, is it likely, there would have been so often mention made of Paradise in the scriptures, if the same had been an Utopia? For we find that the valley, wherein *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* stood (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principal cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unnatural sin purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the land of *Egypt* toward *Zoar*: in like manner was *Israel* resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the *Babylonians* wasted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradise* it self, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a feat and soil of far exceeding excellency.*

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcmæon's* gardens, as *Justin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses's* description of *Paradise*? *Gen. ii.* And whence are their praises of the *Elysian* fields, but out of the story of *Paradise*? To which also appertain those verses of the golden age in *Ovid*:

*“Ter erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,  
Mullebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.*

The joyful spring did ever last,  
And Zephyrus did breed  
Sweet flowers by his gentle blast,  
Without the help of seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their sectators, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the stolen treasures of divine letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what region *Heden*, or *Eden* was; if we prove the river that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into four branches; together with the kingdoms of *Havila*, and *Cush*; and that all these are eastward from *Canaan*, or the desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceive, that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the allegorical sense of the scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the Old Testament throughout: the story being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith *St. Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt*; (that is) There are three opinions of *Paradise*: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporal: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the church: the third of those, which take it in both senses; which third opinion *St. Augustine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgment: *“Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & hujus sanctissimum nemus sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est præditum*; (that is) As man was created at one time, both sensible, and intelligible, so was his holy grove, or garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.

#### SECT. IV.

*Why it should be needful to intreat diligently of the place of Paradise.*

**B**UT it may be objected, that it is needless, and a kind of curiosity, to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the story be necessary, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that *Paradise* were not on the earth, but lifted up as high as the moon; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known world; from whence, *Adam* was said to wade through the sea, and thence to have come into *Judea* (out of doubt) there would be few men in the world, that would give any credit unto it. For what could seem more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this feat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pishon* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the east *India*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*: and these two rivers so far distant, as except all the world were *Paradise* these streams can no way be comprised therein?



Secondly, If the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were said to have been in some such country, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his miracles had been performed in the air, or no place certainly known: I assure my self, that the Christian religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, If we should rely, or give place to the judgment of some writers upon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the world so set by it self, and separated, as to hang in the air under the circle of the moon? or who so doltish to conceive, that from thence the four rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, should fall down, and run under all the ocean, and rise up again in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found? which lest any man think that I enforce, or strain to the worst, these are *Peter Comestor's* own words. *Est autem locus amoenissimus, longo terræ & maris tractu a nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeo elevatus, ut usque ad lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone, by a long tract of land and sea, elevated so, that it reacheth to the globe of the moon.

And *Moses Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atque hæc nostra extet terra, eoque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eoque impetu impulsæ præcipue sub oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rursus præstant ebulliantque in hoc a nobis culto orbe:* which have this sense: Furthermore (saith he) we give this for an answer, that *Paradise* is set in a region far raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to pass, that from thence these rivers fall down with such a headlong violence, as words cannot express; and with that force so impelled and press'd, they are carried under the deep ocean sea, and do again rise and boil up in this our habitable world: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ishram*, which is this: *Ishram dicit, Paradisum ambire terram, atque ultra oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, similiter atque lunæ orbis lunam cingit;* (which is) That *Paradise* doth compass or embrace the whole earth, and is so set beyond the ocean, as it envieth the whole orb of the earth on every side, as the orb of the moon doth embrace the moon. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions do not bring question unto truth it self, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover the true place of *Paradise*, which God in his wisdom appointed in the very navel of this our world, and (as *Melanchton* says) in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a center, the universal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of nations, and of the world's inhabitation: for near unto this did the sons of *Noah* also disperse themselves after the flood, into all other remote regions and countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their own forefathers have come, and out of what regions and nations; it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first ancestor, from whence all the stems and branches of mankind have followed

and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine several opinions before remembred, by the truth it self; and to see how they agree with the sense of the scripture, and with common reason; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the region in which God first planted this delightful garden.

SECT. V.

*That the flood hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradise, nor caused hills in the earth.*

AND first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Cyprianensis*, that the flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the flood the cause of those high mountains, which are found on all the earth over, with many other strange effects;) for mine own opinion, I think neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the flood withered, and grown old, in respect of the first beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things time hath changed;) yet if there had been no sign of any such place, or if the soil and seat had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850 years after the flood, have described it so particularly, and the prophets long after *Moses*, would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very garden it self were not then to be found, but that the flood, and other accidents of time, made it one common field and pasture with the land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the rivers still remain the same rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to find in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these rivers, which afterward doth divide it self into four branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the garden it self.

For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a river to water the garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads; now, whether the word in the *Latin* translation (*unde*) from thence, be referred to *Eden* it self, or to *Paradise*; yet the division, and branching of those rivers, must be in the north, or south side of the very garden (if the rivers run as they do, north and south;) and therefore these rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered, as future ages knew it not; so is there no probability that either these rivers were turned out of their courses, or new rivers created by the flood which were not, or that the flood (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high hills, or deep valleys. For what descent of waters could there be in a spherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of wind, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebb or flood of the sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a wind to pass upon the earth, and the waters ceased.* So as it appeareth not, that, until the waters sank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodness, caused the wind to blow, to dry up the abundant



slime and mud of the earth, and make the land more firm, and to cleanse the air of thick vapours, and unwholsome mists: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore disperse the violence of outrageous winds, and beat down, and level the swelling and mountainous billows of the sea: for any ebbs and floods there could be none, when the waters were equal, and of one height, over all the face of the earth, and when there were no indraughts, bays, or gulfs to receive a flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the earth and waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or over-bearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the flood made no such destroying alteration, *Josephus* avoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seen in his days; which pillars were set up above 1426 years before the flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joseph* himself to have lived some forty or fifty years after Christ: of whom, altho' there be no cause to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruin thereof might then be seen. Now, that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all antiquity hath avowed. It is also written that *Berosus* (to whom, altho' I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the city of *Enoch*, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus* was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruins thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) saith, were to be seen in his days, who liv'd in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this city of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cujus maxime & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt*; The foundation of which huge mass is now to be seen, and the place is called by the people of that region, the City of *Cain*, as both our strangers and merchants report. It is also avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the city of *Joppa* was built before the flood, over which *Cepha* was king: whose name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their religion, was found graven upon certain altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruins of this other city, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seen, tho' founded in the first age: but it could not be of the first city of the world, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the flood was not the cause of mountains, but that there were mountains from the creation, it is written, that *the waters of the flood overflowed by fifteen cubits the highest mountains*. And *Masius Damascenus*, speaking of the flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadam excelsa mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo coefferentes multos, sermo est, diluvii tempore liberatos*; And upon *Minyada* there is an high mountain in *Armenia* (called *Baris*) unto which, it is said, that many fled in the time of the deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon. Now, tho' it is contrary to God's word, that any more were saved than eight persons (which *Masius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that such mountains were before the flood, which

were afterwards, and ever since, known by the same names, and on which mountains it is generally received that the ark rested; but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the mount *Sion* (tho' by another name) was known before the flood; on which the *Thalmudists* report, that many giants saved themselves also; but (as *Annius* saith) without all authority, either divine or human.

Lastly, it appeareth that the flood did not so turn upside down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that <sup>b</sup> *when Noah sent out the dove the second time, she returned with an olive-leaf in her mouth*, which she had pluck'd, and which (until the trees were discovered) she found not: for otherwise she might have found them floating on the water; a manifest proof, that the trees were not torn up by the roots, nor swam upon the waters, for it is written, *folium olivæ raptum, or decerptum*, a leaf pluck'd; which is, to take from a tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seen to succeeding ages, especially unto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the world's creation, and unto the prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this discovery.

#### SECT. VI.

*That Paradise was not the whole earth, as some have thought: making the ocean to be the fountain of those four rivers.*

THIS conceit of *Aug. Chrysamenfis* being answered, who only giveth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the *Manichees*, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole earth. But in this I shall not trouble the reader with many words, because by those places of scripture formerly remember'd, this universality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, <sup>c</sup> *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the earth and subdue it, rule over every creature, &c.* with this of the *Acts*, <sup>d</sup> *And hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell on all the face of the earth*, do no way prove such a generality: for the world was made for man, of which he was lord and governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now, altho' all men were of one and the same fountain of blood originally; and *Adam's* posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the earth: yet it disproveth in nothing the particular garden, assigned to <sup>e</sup> *Adam* to dress and cultivate, in which he lived in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the universal, *Moses* would not then have said <sup>f</sup> *eastward in Eden*, seeing the world hath not east nor west but respectively. And to what end had the angel of God been set to keep the east side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adam's* expulsion, if the universal had been *Paradise*? for then must *Adam* have been chased also out of the world. For if all the earth were *Paradise*, that place can receive no better construction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the world into the world, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise* except we should believe with *Alethodorus*, that there were infinite worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one as to affirm, *That in so large a field as the*

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 1. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. 8. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. 1. 28.

<sup>d</sup> Acts 17. 26.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. 2. 8.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. 3. 24.



*universal, there should grow but one thistle.* *Noviomagus* upon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus* and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the world so far distant) to rise out of one fountain, except the ocean be taken for the well, and the world for the garden.

And it is true, that those four rivers, being so understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that *Pison* was falsely taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falsely for *Nilus*, altho' *Ganges* be a river by *Havila* in *India*, and *Nilus* runs thro' *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the *Mani-lics*, and the mistakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius* and *Iudianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more probable than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus* and *Athanasius*, That *Paradise* was seated far beyond the Ocean sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the country in which he was created, and was buried at mount *Calvary* in *Jerusalem*. And certainly, tho' all those of the first age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the flood, yet *Adam's* shin-bones must have contained a thousand fathom, and much more, if he had forded the ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the moon: and of others which make it higher than the middle region of the air.*

THirdly whereas *Beda* saith, and as the school-men affirm, *Paradise* to be a place altogether removed from the knowledge of men (*locus a cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the east, but mounted above the ocean, and all the earth, and near the orb of the moon (which opinion, tho' the school-men charge *Beda* withal, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his master *Rabanus*) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his geography of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest heaven; it may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for heaven it self, into which the souls of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these philosophers durst not for fear of the *Areopagites* (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one only powerful God; and therefore did the devil himself do him that right, as by an oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justin Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the scriptures; and *St. Augustine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Augustinus* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place *Paradise*, meant the celestial *Paradise*, and not this *earthly*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightful, and healthful, upon the top of mount *Atlas* (called *Acrithonos*) which lies above all clouds of rain, or other inconveniences, the people (by reason of their so many years) called *Macrobi* (that is) long-liv'd. A further argument is used for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from

the violence of the flood: approved by *Isidore* and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed souls were preserved till the last judgment: which *Irenaeus* and *Justin Martyr* also believed. But this opinion was of all catholic divines reprov'd, and in the *Florentine council* damned; of which *St. Augustine* more modestly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum est Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, an in paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) As it is certain that *Enoch* and *Elias* do now live; so where they now live, in paradise, or elsewhere, it is uncertain. But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great ocean, and afterward have forced their passage thro' the earth, and have risen again in the far distant regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against scripture and reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the answerer, not much inferiour to that of the inventor.)

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the moon, it had been too near the sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joyn'd a neighbour to the element of fire. Thirdly, because the air in that region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swiftness, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the earth and the moon (according to *Ptolemy* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the diameter of the earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole earth for a basis and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the sun's light all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the east, as they suppose. Now, to fortify the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell near those falls of waters, are dead from their infancy, like those that dwell near the *Catadupe*, or over-falls of *Nilus*. But this I hold as feigned. For I have seen in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling near them are not dead at all. *Tostatus* (better to strengthen himself) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego haec apud Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis, quae nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*; But I do not remember (saith he) that I ever read those things either in *Basil* or *Ambrose*.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestial *Paradise*, for ought we know. For altho' flesh and blood, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *St. Paul*) *but all shall be changed*: which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easy to him that is almighty. But for the rest, the scriptures are manifest, that by the flood all perished on the earth saving eight per-



fons; and therefore in the terrestrial *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tostatus*'s own opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised above the middle region of the air, and twenty cubits above all mountains; that the flood did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter school-men also believed; for, say they, there were no finners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to overwhelm it:) this is also contrary to the express letter of the scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that <sup>a</sup> *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven*. And were it otherwise, then might we as well give credit to *Masius Damasceus*, and the *Thalmudists*, who affirm, that there were of the giants that saved themselves on the mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the rest of the school-men are) full of distinctions, saith; that the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the <sup>b</sup> red sea, and at *Jordan*; and as the flood was not natural, so was *Paradise* saved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifyeth his high conceit with this supposition, that it was not believed, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Bede* and others seem to affirm in words, but by *hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty so resembled. But this I dare avow of all those school-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their followers to thirt, than to resolve, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confess that it is written, that the mountains of *Olympus*, *Atbo*, and *Atlas*, over-reach and surmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the hills both springs and fruits; and the *Pagan* priests, sacrificing on these mountain-tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blown thence, nor thence washed off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath resolved us, that these reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these mountains is far under the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these self hills the air is so thin (saith *St. Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of air to mount her self by.

#### SECT. VIII.

*Of their opinion that seat Paradise under the Equinoctial: and of the pleasant habitation under those climates.*

**T**HOSE which come nearer unto reason find *Paradise* under the *Equinoctial line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Dionandus*; judging, that thereunder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soil: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the sun; but this is *non causa pro causa*; for although *Paradise* could not be under the line, because *Eden* is far from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* under it (*Ganges* being one of the four rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, considering the age, when those fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every country, as it lay by degrees nearer the tropick, and so toward the *Equinoctial*, did so

much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reasonable conjecture, that those countries which were situated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better and so did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough: and though (perchance) in those days it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are which go against the vulgar;) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight, that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt zone, or within the tropicks, and nearest to the line it self. For hereof experience hath informed reason, and time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden, and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed it hath so pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconveniences which we contemplate afar off, are found by trial and the witness of mens travels, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless lump to fashion out the rest. For *God himself* (saith *Isaiah*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited*. Now we find that these hottest regions of the world seated under the *Equinoctial* line, or near it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of easterly wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth evermore blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the downright beams of the sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconvenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my self have seen, near the line and under it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equal temper, only there are some tracts, which by accident of high mountains are barr'd from this air and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soils we find also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those regions have so many goodly rivers, fountains and little brooks, abundance of high cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with blossom and fruit, both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any times despise her withered husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these countries called *Terre vitiosæ*, vicious countries: for nature being liberal to all without labour, necessity imposing no industry or travel, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the school-men were gross in this particular.

#### SECT. IX.

*Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Cœlesyria, there is a country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved out of Isaiah xxxvii, and Ezek. xxvii.*

**T**HESSE opinions answered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth the

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 7. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. 14. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Isaiah 45. 18.



now we discover and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficulty of which search resteth chiefly in this, that as all nations have often changed names with their masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all historians and geographers as well ancient as modern.

Besides, we find that the *Affyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* only and few others excepted) sought to extinguish the *Hebrews*. The *Greeks* hated both their nation and their religion; and the *Romans* despised once to remember them in any of their stories. And as those three monarchies succeeded each other; so did they transform the names of all those principal places and cities in the east: and after them, the *Turks* hath sought (what he could) to extinguish in all things the ancient memory of those people, which he hath subjected and intralled.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) that it lay eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all others the most beautiful and fertile. First in respect of situation, the next country to *Judea* eastward was *Arabia Petrea*; but in this region was *Moses* himself when he wrote: and the next unto it eastward was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*, neither have any of the *Arabians* any such rivers, as are expressed to run out of it: so as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petrea*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it self, and by the fertility and the rivers only described, we must seek it in other scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour nations better described. In the prophet *Isaiah* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent countries, in these words spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by *Rabsakeb*. <sup>a</sup> *Have the Gods of the nations delivered them, which my fathers have destroyed, as Goshan and Haran and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar.* and in *Ezekiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrans*: <sup>b</sup> *They of Haran and Canneh, of Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants, &c.*

But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the prophet *Isaiah* remembreth, where he divideth *Syria* into three provinces, whereof the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapolitan*: the second part is that valley called *Azenis*, otherwise *Corvallis*, or the foot of *Chamath*, where *Affyria* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Desart* and where <sup>c</sup> *Ptolemy* placeth the city of *Arctus*: and the third is known by the name of *Damascus*, or *Celestria*, otherwise *vallis arva*, or the hollow valley, because the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coile* in *Greek* is called *L. arva*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seek: neither doth this province lie east from *Canaan*, but north, and so joyneth unto it as it could be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, because there is a little city therein called *Paradise*, the Jews believed this *Celestria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, that he confoundeth this *Eden* with the other *Paradise*: tho' to give *Beroaldus* his right, I perceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to other later writers, saying that he failed in dis-

tinguishing these two regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether misunderstood two of the four rivers, to wit, *Pison* and *Gebon*, as shall appear hereafter. Now, to find out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth us) lay eastward from the *Deserts*, where he wrote after he had passed the red sea; we must consider where those other countries are found, which the prophet *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel* joyneth with it. For (saith *Isaiah*) *Goshan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar*. Also <sup>d</sup> *Ezekiel* joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Ashur* and *Chilmad*, were the merchants that traded with the city of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *Ezekiel*) *the mart of the people for many isles*. And it hath ever been the custom, that the *Persians* conveyed their merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those cities upon *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the port of the *Mediterranean* sea: as in ancient times to the city of *Tyre*, afterwards to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarke them at the port of *Alexandretta*, in the bay of *Issicus*, now *Laiazzo*. *Ezekiel*, in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the nations of the east, as the only mart-town of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities every country yielded: and having counted the several people and countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised. <sup>e</sup> *They were thy merchants (saith the prophet) in all sorts of things, in rayments of blue silk, and of broi-dered works, fine linen, coral and pearl: and afterwards speaking of the merchants of Sheba and Raamah, and in what kinds they traded, he hath these words. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy fairs, with the chief of all spices, and with all precious stones and gold.* Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia felix* yield: and because *Sheba* and *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the sea, called the *Persian gulf*, therefore did those nations both vent such spice, sweet gums, and pearls, as their own countries yielded, and withal having trade with their neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of spices, and plenty of gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebans* or *Arabians* entered by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the city of *Terredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonosor*, now called *Balsara*) thence lent up all these rich merchandises by boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended westward, and afterwards by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over land they pass'd to *Tyre*, as they did afterwards to *Tripoly* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the merchants of *Canneb*, which *Ezekiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the river, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, also which they received out of *Persia*, which bordered them. *St. Jerome* understandeth by *Canneb*, *Seleucia*, which is seated upon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into four heads, and which took that name from *Selencus*, who made thereof a magnificent city. *Hierosolymitanus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated down low upon *Tigris*, and *Canneb* cannot be on that side, I mean on the east side of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the valley of *Shinar*. <sup>f</sup> *Pliny* placeth the *Schemite* upon *Euphrates*, where

<sup>a</sup> Ezek. 27. 23. <sup>b</sup> Amos. 1. 1. <sup>c</sup> Strabo

<sup>d</sup> Ezek. 27. 23. <sup>e</sup> Ezek. 27. 24. <sup>f</sup> Plin. l. 6. c. 26.



the same beginneth to be fordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where the river of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Desart* of *Palmirena*: for these people of *Canneh* (afterwards *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their own city of *Canneh* in *Shinar* westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the city of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolemy* appointed the fords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whose words are these; <sup>a</sup> *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schœnitas*; The merchants which travel from *Syria* to *Seleucia* and *Babylon*, take their way by the *Schenites*. Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charran* do much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from <sup>b</sup> *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not upon *Euphrates* itself, but upon the river of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezekiel*, as *they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad were thy merchants*. Wherefore *Charran*, which is sometimes called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Aran fluviorum*, the Greek word *Mesopotamia* importing a country between rivers: for *Mesos* in Greek is *medius* in Latin, and *Potamos fluvius*. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the city itself, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo*, in the description of *Arabia*, giveth that tract of land from the borders of *Cœlesyria* to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenitæ*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in after-ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabit *Batanea* and the north part of the *Desarts*, stretching themselves towards the uninhabited solitude of *Palmirena*, which lyeth between *Syria* and *Arabia* the *Desart*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran* and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the prophet *Ezekiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneth, and Eden, &c.* But *St. Jerome* made a good interpretation of *Canneth*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*, for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witness *Appian*;) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his commentaries upon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from *Chalne* or *Canne*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other cities, standing in triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next unto it, as *Thelbe-canne* and *Mann-canne*, the one a little to the west of *Seleucia*, and the other opposite unto it, where these rivers of *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are ready to join. Therefore which of these the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain seat thereof, that so many other cities did retain a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the east and the west, or the greater and the less *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish cities by, are ordinary in all the regions of the world.

Now of the other city joyned with *Eden*, as *Ha-*

*ran*, or *Charran*, *St. Jerome* on the *Judges* speaking thereof in these words: <sup>c</sup> *Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die*; When they returned, they came to *Charran* (which is the midway against *Nineveh*) the eleventh day.

This city is by the martyr *Stephen*, named *Charran* (speaking to the high-priest:) <sup>d</sup> *Ye men, brethren, and fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran*. But the seat of this city is not doubted of: for it is not only remembred in many scriptures, but withal exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Crassus* the Roman, who, for his unfatiable greediness, was called *Gurges avaritiæ*; the gulf of avarice. Whereof *Lucan*:

<sup>e</sup> *Affyrias Latio maculavit sanguine carras.*

With Roman blood th' *Affyrian* car he defil'd.

But this city *Canne*, or *Chalne*, is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of *Nimrod*: <sup>f</sup> *And the beginning of his kingdoms was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalne, in the land of Sinaar, or Shinar*: where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the *Babylonian* empire, and what cities and people were subject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the said valley of *Shinar*, or near it; and this valley of *Shinar* is that tract afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth itself, *Chaldea, Babylonia, Sinar, idem sunt* (saith *Comestor*.) Three names of one country: which region of *Babylonia*, took name of the tower *Babel*; and the tower, of the confusion of tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in these words: <sup>g</sup> *And as they went from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and there they abode*: in which plain *Babylon* was built (as aforesaid.)

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod's* greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off nations, being one part of his dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proveth that *Canneh* joyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezekiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that those of *Eden* were also the merchants which traded with the *Tyrians*: and *Isaiab* in the threats of *Senacherib* against *Jerusalem* (with other nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telassar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it self lyeth, it is necessary to describe those other countries which *Ezekiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as those of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Genesis*: <sup>h</sup> *Moreover the sons of Ham were Cush, &c. And the sons of Cush were Seba, and Havila, and Sabtah, and Raamah, &c. And the sons of Raamah were Sheba, &c.* And anon after; *Cush* begat *Nimrod*: so as *Sheba* was the grandchild of *Cush*, and *Nimrod* the son of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah*. though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth, who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Raamah* or *Regina* took that part adjoyning to *Shinar*, toward the sea side and *Persian* gulf (called afterwards *Perma* and *Sheba*, by the father, and his sons, which possessed it.) For (saith *Ezekiel*) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all spices and all*

<sup>a</sup> *Strabo*, l. 16.

<sup>b</sup> *Gen.* 11. 31.

<sup>c</sup> *Jud.* 1.

<sup>d</sup> *Act.* 13.

<sup>e</sup> *Lucan* l. 1. 105.

<sup>f</sup> *Gen.* 10. 10.

<sup>g</sup> *Gen.* 11. 2.

<sup>h</sup> *Gen.* 10. 7.



previous stones, and gold. So as *Sheba* was that tract of country, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Felix*, and which joyneth to the sea, where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themselves to the ocean. This part and the confining country, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the best myrrh and frankincense is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the east side of the *Persian* gulf. By this it appears who were the *Shebeans*, spoken of by *Ezekiel*, and said to have been the merchants of *Tyre*, for gold, spices, and precious stones: of which they had not only plenty of their own, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their aromatics, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eratosthenes*, *In Persicæ oræ initio insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi uniones gignantur: in aliis vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli. Eratosthenes* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, In the beginning of the *Persian* gulf, there is an island, in which there are many precious pearls bred: and in other, very clear and shining stones. Now, the difference between *Sheba* the son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the son of *Cush*, is in this, that *Seba* is written with the *Hebrew* (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin*;) but whatsoever the difference may be in the *Hebrew* orthography, their countries and habitations are diverse. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Persian* sea, and *Saba* (whence the queen of *Saba*) neighboured the red sea; and so that place of the 72d *Psalms* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the *Hebrew* this sense, *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ*.

The *Shebans*, *Ezekiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited upon the out-let of the same river, upon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Sheba*, towards the sea-coast and upon it, pass'd up the country, by *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, being joyned in one main stream, and so through the region of *Eden*, which *Tigris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandize toward *Tyre*. And as the cities of *Charran*, and *Canneh*, border *Eden* on the west and north-west: so doth *Sheba* on the south, and *Chilmad* on the north-east: *Chilmad* being a region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean* paraphrast: which country, by the geographers is called *Coromana* (I) placed by exchange for (R) which change the *Hebrewes* also often use.

Thus much of those countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telassar*: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telassar* lay most convenient, both to receive the trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to convey it over into *Syria* and to *Tyris*. Now, to make these things the more plain, we must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these monarchies were utterly disjoyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esaie* the 37th, and in *2 Kings*, by the threats of *Rabsache*, the chief of the army of *Affyria* lay before *Jerusalem*, that the cities of *Gosan*, *Haran*, *Reseph*, and the *Edenites* had resisted the *Affyrians*: tho' by them (at last) mastered and recovered. *Have the Gods delivered them whom my fathers have subdued, as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib*'s death, that these nations formerly contending, were then freed from all other subjection: for *Esar-Haddon* held *Affyria*;

and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabsache* which lay before *Jerusalem* (*Hezekiah* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the angel of God destroyed; the king of *Babel* sent to *Hezekiah*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Affyrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himself was slain by his own sons in the temple of his idols, *Esar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Affyria*. To the *Babylonian* ambassadors sent by *Merodach*, *Hezekiah* shewed all his treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the suspicion of war encreasing between *Babylon* and *Affyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the north, and towards *Affyria*, were employ'd to bear off the incursions of the *Affyrians*; and their garrison-place was at *Telassar*: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Junius*, signifying as much as a bulwark against the *Affyrians*. This place *Hierosolymitanus* takes for *Reseph*, others for *Selencia*: but this *Telassar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the history of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprise of *Persia*) calleth *Thilutha* instead of *Telassar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24th book: it is seated in an island of *Euphrates* upon a steep and unassailable rock, insomuch as the emperor *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a garrison against the *Affyrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the country adjoyning were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Reseph* (which he calleth *Resepba*) on the left hand; and *Canneh* (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is also found the city of *Mann-Canne*, upon *Tigris*; and all these seated together, as *Esaie* and *Ezekiel* have sorted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Affyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*) and *Mesopotamia*, were so often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchange of dominion. *Affyria & Mesopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen transferunt* (saith *Niger*;) *Affyria* and *Mesopotamia* took the name of *Babylonia*. Lastly, It appeareth, by those adjacent regions by the prophets named, in what part of the world *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Canneh* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantaverat autem Jehovah Deus hortum in Eden, ab oriente*; The Lord God planted a garden in *Eden* eastward: that is (saith he in his annotations) *Jusserat nasci arbores in Eden, regione orientali, in sinibus Arabiæ & Mesopotamiæ*; He commanded trees to grow in *Eden*, an eastern region in the borders of *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*.

#### SECT. X.

*Of divers other testimonies of the land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.*

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seems by the two epistles of the *Nestorian* Christians, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*: which epistles in the year 1552, they sent to the pope about the confirming of their patriarch, and *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into *Latin*. By these epistles (I say) it seems we may have some farther light for the proof of that, which we have said about the region of *Eden*



in those parts. For in them both, there is mention of the island of *Eden* in the river *Tigris*, or at least, *Tigris* in both these epistles is called the river of *Eden*. This island, as *Masius* in his preface to these epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith he) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the island *Eden* may (doubtless) remain to this day; tho' in the rest of the region so called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing kingdoms of *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This island of *Eden* hath up the river, and not far beyond it, the city of *Hafan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mofal* or *Mosel*, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appear out of *Masius*) it is not above twelve miles distant. Neither is it to trouble us, that *Mofal* or *Mosel* by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the cities higher up *Tigris*, in these words, *Juxta autem Tigrim, civitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Mosel dicitur; magna sane, &c.* (that is) By *Tigris* are these cities, *Dorbeta* near unto mount *Taurus* (which is now called *Mosel*) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mosel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I say) needs not here to trouble us: seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwelt there (the seat of whose patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Mofal* (or *Mozal*) is in the confines of *Mesopotamia* and *Affyria*, seated upon *Tigris*, and in the neighbourhood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Nestorian* Christians in their former epistle, call it *Attur* in these words: *Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ sunt circum civitatem Mosal (hoc est) Attur, in vicinia Nineves;* Of all the cities and towns which are about the city of *Mofal* (that is) *Attur* in the neighbourhood of *Nineve*. As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesiphon* a city thereabout to be called *Affur* (which is the same as *Attur*, after the dialect of those nations, which change *Sb* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesiphon* (which is not far off *Seleucia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Affur*. By this then we may come somewhat near the end of our purpose. For the isle of *Eden*, which lieth in the breast of *Tigris*, is but twelve miles from *Mofal* and that ancient city, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the scriptures *Nineve*; *Philostratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Mosula*, and *John Lean*, *Mofal*, others *Mosse* (tho' it be not the same with *Mofal*) is set but a little higher upon the same river of *Tigris*, near *Mofal*: so that we are like to find this isle of *Eden* hereabout. For the same *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it above *Mofal*, makes it to be below *Hafan-Cepha*, which is upon the same river of *Tigris*.

The only difficulty is this, that some perhaps may think, that the words of the *Nestorians* in both their epistles, speak not of any isle in *Tigris*, called the isle of *Eden*, but of an isle in *Tigris*, a river of *Eden*. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more improbable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a testimony from the learned of those parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but also *Tigris*, was a river of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worn out, tho' the region hath been subject to the same change that all other kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conquest and corruption of other languages, received new and differing names. For the south part of *Eden*, which stretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the flood called *Shinar*, and then, of the tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*, and the north part of *Eden* is

that tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris* between mount *Taurus* and *Seleucia*. And of this region of *Eden* that ancient *Æthicus* maketh mention (not that latter *Æthicus*, disciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Istri*, who lived in *Egypt* in the reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the same being made *Latin* out of the *Greek* by *St. Jerome*. And tho' by corruption of the ancient copy it be written, in *Æthicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*: yet *Adonis*, being a river of *Phœnicia*, cannot be understood to be the region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a country, and not a river, and joyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus* *Æthiopia*, after the vulgar, and septuagint. And lastly, the river which watereth the regions (saith *Æthicus*) falleth into the gulf of *Persia*: which river he calleth *Armodius* for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftness thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a river, or rivers, to water the garden, both which rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverse *Mesopotamia*, regions first of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaves are always green, and therefore therein a perpetual spring. Also *Stephanus, de Urbibus*, mentioneth the city of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in use in *Amos's* time, tho' he spake not of *Eden* in the east, but of *Eden* in *Cœlesyria*. But to the end I may not burthen the readers patience with too long a discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once joined together, and afterwards separate) are two of those four heads, into which these rivers which are said to water the garden of *Paradise*, were divided: whose courses being known, *Eden* (out of which they are said to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the *Seventy* and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel*, *Tigrim omnes exponunt*; and all men understand *Hiddekel* by *Tigris* (saith *Vatablus*.) And because that which I have said of the isle of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of self-invention, I have hereunder set down the words out of the two general epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Masius (ad verbum)* hath converted them into *Latin*. The occasion of those letters and supplications to the pope, were, that the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in queen *Mary's* time they had) fifteen churches in one city called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* upon the river *Tigris*; having no sufficient authority to choose themselves a patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three metropolitan bishops at the least) sent to the bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1552 (as aforesaid) a petition to obtain allowance unto such an election, as themselves had made: having three hundred years before that, upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian church in those parts: for, upon the death of their patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himself, had forbore to institute metropolitan bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult



of the church-government. And because all the patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one house and family to the prejudice of the church, and that there yet remained one bishop of the same stock and kindred, who aspired to the same dignity which his predecessors had held, the rest of the professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a governour more sufficient, the teachers in all the churches assembled themselves. The words of the general epistle to the pope were these, about the middle of the said epistle; *Verum nos non acceptavimus, neque proclamavimus ipsum; sed subito convenimus ex omnibus locis orientalibus, & ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ sunt circum civitatem Mosel (hoc est, Attur) in vicinia Nineves, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbella, ex Insula quæ est in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, &c. i. e.* But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the east, and out of all the cities and villages which are about *Mosel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring upon *Nineve*; and out of *Babylon*, *Charra*, *Arbella*; and out of the island which lieth in the middle of *Tigris*, a river, of *Eden*, or rather out of the isle of *Eden*, which lieth in the river *Tigris*. And in a second epistle at the same time sent, they used these words: *Neque supersunt apud nos metropolitæ, quorum est ordinare catholicum; sed soli pauci episcopi, episcopus Arbela, episcopus Salmasi, episcopus Adurbeigan; en e vestigio convenimus in insulam, quæ est intra Tigrim flumen, Eden; fecimusque compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any metropolitan bishops, to whom it belongs to ordain a patriarch, but only a few bishops, as the bishop of *Arbela*, the bishop of *Salmasi*, and the bishop of *Adurbeigan*: but lo, we assembled speedily in the island of *Eden*, which is in *Tigris*, and agreed between our selves, &c.

Now this island of *Eden*, *Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* epistles, and the state of the church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the four sorts of Christians in those parts of the world, and in the south part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Copti*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox, audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuoso in illam quam modo dixi Tigris insulam, quæ duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem fere millia passuum suo ambitu continet, maris undique cincta, & a paucis aliis quam Christianis hominibus habitata*: which is, Now hearing of the death of the patriarch (as those that came to *Rome* reported) they ran tumultuously together into that island of *Tigris* or *Eden* before spoken of, which island is situated about twelve miles above *Mosal*, containing very near ten miles in compass, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men than Christians. And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian churches; among the rest he addeth the isle of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta*, *insula Tigris, sive Geserta*. Furthermore, describing the city of *Hosan-Cepha*, or *lontis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædictam Tigris insulam, rupi asperæ impositam*; Above the afore-said island of *Tigris*, being seated on a steep rock. Of this island of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his 10th book of his general cosmography, in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la riviere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie*; *Geserta* or *Gesire* is in the middle of *Tigris*, the soil the most fertile of all *Asia*.

By this we may see that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth; and of that *Eden* which lieth eastward from

*Arabia Petraea*, and the desert where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charra* according to *Ezekiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said prophet, and joined with those nations of *Reseph*, *Canneth*, and *Charra*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two regions of *Assyria*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Telasfar* were garrisoned to resist the *Assyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above-written;) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

# SECT. XI.

*Of the difficulty in the text, which seemeth to make the four rivers to rise from one stream.*

**B**UT it may be objected, that it is written in the text, *That a river went out of Eden*, and not rivers in the plural: which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his chronology: The *Latin* translation, saith he, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: quæ verba melius consentiunt cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur; & fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita*: which is, And a river went out of the place of pleasure to water *Paradise*, and thence was divided into four heads; which words (saith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated; And a river was going forth of *Eden* (that is) rivers went forth, and ran out of the region of *Eden* to water the orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads. The *Tigurine* differs from the vulgar or *Latin*; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis*; And a river went out of pleasure, instead of *Eden*; and the *Latin* addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis*; And a river went out of the place of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a region most delightful and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the country of *Eden*, and not to the garden it self.

And for the word (*river*) for rivers, it is usual among the *Hebrews*: for it is written: *Gen. i. 11. Let the earth bud forth the bud of the herb that seedeth seed, the fruitful tree, &c.* Here the *Hebrew* useth the singular for the plural, *herb and tree*, for *herbs and trees*; and again, *Gen. iii. 2. We eat of the fruit of the tree*, instead of (*trees*;) And thirdly, *Gen. iii. 8. The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradisi*; In the middle of the tree of the garden, for (*trees*;) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi* and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrews* do often put the singular for the plural, as *illud*, for *unumquodque illorum*; and he giveth an instance in this question it self, as, *A river* (for rivers) *went out of Eden*.

And this answer out of divers of the learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection, that *Moses* speaketh but of one river, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into famous countries. And so we may take the word (*river*) verse the 10th for one river (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this river

(after



(after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have been) divides it self, and ere long yielded four notable passages into several countries, tho' not all the way down stream (for this is no where in the text) where it is noted, that following the river downward, there is conveyance into the countries named in the text, tho' part of the way to one of the countries (to wit, to *Affyria*) were up *Tigris*.

To this end the text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the river of *Eden*, doth not say, it compasseth or washeth the whole region of *Affyria* (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gebon*) but that it runneth towards *Affyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nabar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Basilus*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* under *Apamia*; whence ariseth the name of *Pasi-Tigris*, as it were *Piso-Tigris*. This leadeth to the land of *Havila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gebon*, is that which in historians is *Nabarsares* or *Narragas*, for *Nabar-ragas*: both which names signify *flumen derivatum* (a river derived) also *Acracanus*, quasi *Ranofus*, by reason of the froggy fens which it maketh: this *Gebon* leadeth to the first seat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper stream of *Pison*, or *Basilus*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tigris*) above *Seleucia*, where it sheweth a passage up *Tigris* into *Affyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tigris*, having before no known proper name, the text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the river *Euphrates*, which runneth thro' *Babylon* and *Otris*. But be it a river or rivers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not far from these rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses* eastward towards *Affur*, as we find, that *Tigris* is the river of *Affyria* proprie dicta, whose chief city was *Nineveh*, as in *Genesis* the 10th it is written: That out of that land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Affur*, and builded *Nineveh*, which was the chief city of *Affyria*.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the text, speaking of four heads; tho' the heads of rivers be (properly) their fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. *Caput aquæ* (saith *Ulpianus*) *illud est, unde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascatur fons; si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima mitia, &c.* If the beginning of the water be out of a fountain, then is the fountain taken for the head: if out of a lake, then the lake; and if from a main river any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new banks, there is that part of the river, where the branch forsaketh the main stream, called the head of the river.

#### SECT. XII.

*Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian soil, as it is certain that Eden was such.*

IT may also be demanded, whether this region of *Eden*, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the earth, nor the same virtue to any plant thereon

growing, that they had before the food; and therefore this region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing country, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First in *Herodotus*, *Clia. lib. 1.* who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self, for the isle of *Eden* is but twelve miles or thereabout from *Nineveh*, and so from *Mosul*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod urbs Ninus sita erat, hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c.* Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not far from the place where *Ninus* is seated; this region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent. And he addeth afterward, *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non fere ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) It is so fruitful in bringing forth corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: the leaves of wheat and barley being almost four fingers broad: as for the height of millet and sesam, they are even in length like unto trees, which altho' I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the country of *Babylon*. They have commonly in all the country palm-trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing fruit; out of which they make both meats, and wine, and honey, ordering them as the fig-trees. Thus far *Herodotus*.

To this palm-tree, so much admired in the *East-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that it yieldeth bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; of which these people make bread, wine, honey, and vinegar. But *Antonius* the eremite findeth a fifth commodity, not inferiour to any of those four, which is, that from this self-same tree there is drawn a kind of fine flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in *East-India* they prepare the cordage for their ships; and that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the eremite confesseth, saying, *That he received a garment made thereof from the eremite himself, which he brought with him out of this region*. So therefore those trees, which the *East-Indies* so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the earth yieldeth no plant comparable to this) those trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or region of *Eden*, as common as any trees of the field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *Strabo*) *passim per omnem regionem palmæ sua sponte nascentes*; there are of palms over all the whole region, growing of their own accord. Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report, *Euntibus a parte læva Arabiæ odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, jacens tam ubere & pingui solo, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat* (that is) As you travel on the left hand of *Arabia* (famous for plenty of sweet odours) there lieth a champain country placed between *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so fruitful and fat a soil, that they are said to drive their cattle from pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. *Bis in anno segetes Babylonii secant*; The *Babylonians* cut their corn twice a year (saith *Niger*.) And as countries generally are more fruitful to the southward, than in the northern parts: so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the south part of *Armenia*, which is the north border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his words be these in the *Latin*, *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper virentibus*; This region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and trees always green: which witnesseth a perpetual spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the sun's neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of nature in a per-



a perpetual activity. In brief, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow down their corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with sheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the valley of *Mexico*, for the first forty years, could not make out kind of wheat bear seed, but it grew up as high as the trees, and was fruitless. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds (saith <sup>a</sup> *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that soil, That the second year the very stubble (or rather falling down of the seeds again) yieldeth them a harvest of corn without any further labour: his words are these: *Uberatis tantæ sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat seget.*

SECT. XIII.

*Of the river Pison, and the land of Havilah.*

AFTER the discovery of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gebon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certainty of these two rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessity itself (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both, be that river or rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*, which river or rivers *Moses* witnesseth afterward; divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gebon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy in the world, than when we find both these, namely, *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two rivers as far distant, as any of fame known or discovered in the world: the scriptures making it so plain, that these rivers were divided into four branches; and with the scriptures, nature, reason and experience bearing witness. There is no error, which hath not some slippery and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability resembling truth, which when men (who study to be singular) find out (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformity of mens minds to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their help to nurse and cherish such weak babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the river of *Pison*) seemeth to have grown out of the not distinguishing of that region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah*, which adjoineth to *Babylonia*, afterwards known by the name of *Susiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tigris* took name from *Havilah* the son of *Cush*; and *Havilah* in *India* from *Havilah* the son of *Jocan*; the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*, the other where <sup>b</sup> *Moses* setteth down the generations of *Noah* and his sons after the flood. For the sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havila*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the sons of *Jocan* were *Ophir* and *Havilah*, &c. of which latter, to wit, of *Ophir* and *Havilah*, the sons of *Jocan*, that island of *Ophir* (whence *Solomon* had gold) and *Havilah* adjoining had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous river of the *East-India*, and *Havilah* a country of the same, and is situated upon *Ganges*, hence it came, that *Ganges* is taken for <sup>c</sup> *Pison*, which river is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those four rivers, named by *Moses*, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next

great and famous river after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, they chose out this river to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another river, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than *Ganges*; for the river *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty, for nearness, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*; but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be one of the four heads: seeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tigris*; and between *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large empire of *Persia*, consisting of many kingdoms. And again, farther towards the east, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample dominions of *India* intra *Gangem*, which lie between those two proud rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much less *Ganges*, which falleth into the ocean, little less than forty degrees to the eastward of *Indus*? Surely whosoever readeth the story of *Alexander* shall find, that there is no river in *Asia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himself and the greatest part of his army, and in sailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deep, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having besides this, the rivers of *Coas*, of *Suastus*, *Acesines*, *Adris* (otherwise *Hirodis*) *Hispalis* and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one stream, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaja* visiteth the ocean sea.

But because *Pison*, which compasseth *Havilah*, as also <sup>d</sup> *Gebon*, which watereth *Cush*, must somewhere be joined with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceed out of the same country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed, out of doubt they cannot, either the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the uttermost of the south, and runneth northward into the *Mediterranean* sea; and the river *Ganges* riseth out of the mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucasus*, which divides the northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from north to south into the *Indian* ocean. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not far off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gordiean* mountains, so as *Ganges* who only travellet in her own *India*, and *Nilus* thro' *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never saw the land of *Eden*, or joined themselves in one channel, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Therefore the river *Pison*, which enricheth *Havilah*, is the same which by joining itself with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Pisi-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris*, of *Pison* and *Tigris*, which river watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the son of *Cush* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, so called of *Havilah* the son of *Jocan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the east. And this *Havilah* of the *Cushites* hath also <sup>e</sup> gold, bdellium, and the onyx-stone. This bdellium is a tree, of the bigness of an olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain gum, sweet to smell to, but bitter

<sup>a</sup> *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 18. c. 17.*

<sup>b</sup> *Gen. 10. 7. 10. 29*

<sup>c</sup> *Gen. 2. 11.*

<sup>d</sup> *Gen. 2. 13.*

<sup>e</sup> *Gen. 2. 12.*



in taste, called also bdellium: The *Hebrews* take the loadstone for bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in *Hebrew* signifieth pearl: so doth *Eugubinus*; and *Jerome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing gum or pearl: *Havilah* or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this country of *Susiana* or *Havilah* stretcheth itself towards the north, as far as the altars of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all the tract of land southward, as far as the *Persian* gulf, on the east side thereof: from which east-side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the city of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold, which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

The <sup>a</sup> *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Pison* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-ezra* (saith <sup>b</sup> *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, translateth *Pison* into *Nilus*: but *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the sea of *Hellepont* and all *Asia* the less, between it and *Tigris*. Now *Pison*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retain some sign of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other under the city of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange unto me, that from so great antiquity there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* itself, which dwelleth so near these rivers, is by some writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by <sup>c</sup> *Postellus*, by *Castaldus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by <sup>d</sup> *Andrew Theuer*; and yet all those that have lately seen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this river of *Pison*, <sup>e</sup> *Ptolemy* indeed, with many others, give the name of *Basilus* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they term *Maharsares* and *Marsias*, and *Baarsares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the spring and fountain, by *Strabo* and <sup>f</sup> *Pliny* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puckperab*, out of the *Hebrew*, that is, the profusion or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh thro' the mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrews* *Parath* (saith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Pcrath*: *Josephus*, *Phorab*: *Eusebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Gislilanus* and *Colinutius* term it *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Affyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as, *Diglito*, and *Diglatb*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (saith he) stream into four branches, two of which keep their ancient names, and the other two are called *Pison* and *Gehon*. The reason why these two rivers joynted in one (below *Apamia*) lose their names, and are called *Piso-tigris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channel of *Gehon*, sinketh into the lakes of *Chaldea*, not far from *Ur*, the city of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian* sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pison* doth.

This error, that *Pison* was *Ganges*, was first broached by *Josephus* (whose fields, tho' they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the

examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Jerome*, take this for current; whereof it followed, that as *Pison* was transported into the *East India*, to find out *Havilah*: so was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa*, to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a region, adjoyning to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsely interpreted *Ethiopia*) fastned to it on the other side, we shall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impose upon men the transportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other uses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the son of *Ham* first sat down with his sons, *Sheba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtab*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the son of *Cush*, did that region take name, which *Pison* compasseth; and the land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cush* himself. For as the sons of *Joſtan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, seated themselves as near together as they could in *India*, so did the sons of *Cush* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah* or *Chavilah* was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the desarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalekites* possess all the interjacent countries: for <sup>g</sup> *Saul* smote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur* the *Chaldean* paraphrast converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* upon the red sea, to *Havilah* in the *East India*; for *Saul* was no such traveller or conqueror, and therefore *Havilah* must be found nearer home, where the sons of *Ismael* inhabited, and which country *Saul* wasted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* possessed that neck of country, between the *Persian* sea, and the red sea; *Havilah* being the extreme of the one towards the east, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the west, leaving that great body of *Arabia Felix* towards the south; and they spread themselves with the *Midianites* and *Edumeans*, from the east part, or back-side of the holy land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best parts of *Arabia Petra* and *Deserta*.

#### SECT. XIV.

Of the river *Gehon* and the land of *Cush*: and of the ill translating of the *Ethiopia* for *Cush*, *Chron. xxi. 16.*

NOW, as *Havilah* in the *East India* drew *Pison* so far out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seventy translated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latins* followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But <sup>h</sup> *Ethiopians* are, as much, as *black* or *burnt* faces, whose proper country is called *Thebaides*, lying to the southward of all *Egypt*. And altho' there be many other regions of *Ethiopians*, and far south in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembered in the *Egyptian* stories, and out of which nation they had many times their kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopians* are very near, or else directly under the *Equinoctial* line, which is very far from that land inhabited by the *Chusites*; who are neither black of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualify in this manner. There are (saith he) two *Ethiopia's*, the east, and the west: and this division he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *He-*

<sup>a</sup> Steuch. <sup>b</sup> Hopk. de Par. <sup>c</sup> Post. Cosmog. <sup>d</sup> Theuer  
15. 7. <sup>e</sup> See more of this point, c. 7. §. 10.

Cosmog <sup>f</sup> Asia tab. 4. <sup>g</sup> Plin. l. b. 5. c. 24.

<sup>h</sup> 1 Sam.



mer. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy, with the region of *Midian*) to be the east *Ethiopia*.

Now if it be granted, that *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites*, be that tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the scriptures: <sup>a</sup> *Habitavit Ismael ab Havilah usque Sur, quæ respicit Ægyptum introeuntibus Assyrios*; *Ismael* dwelt from *Havilah* unto *Sur*, that is, towards *Egypt*, as thou goest towards *Assyria*: The same sufficeth to prove that *Gebon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a river which watereth *Cush*, and not *Ethiopia*. But this place of scripture *Habitavit Ismael*, &c. hath this sense: *Ismael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Assyria*, or the country bordering *Assyria*; and *Sur*, which lyeth towards *Egypt*, which is as much to say, as, the issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelve princes) whom God had promised to make a great people; inhabited all those regions between the border of *Egypt* and *Assyria*. And that they were (according to the word God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when <sup>c</sup> *Zerah* the *Chusite*, which others call *Tharantba*, brought an army of ten hundred thousand against *Aza* king of *Juda*. Which army came not out of *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had been a strange progress for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mighty a king as the king of *Egypt*, between *Palestina* and *Ethiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalekites*, *Midianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Aza* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an army, he in following his victory took some of the cities of king *Zerah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a city of the *Ethiopians*, it cannot be suspected: for these be the words of the scripture disproving it: <sup>d</sup> *And Abraham departed thence towards the south country, and dwelt between Cadesh and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar*; Now *Sur* is that part, upon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first set their feet after they passed the red sea, where the <sup>e</sup> *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had been weary, and unable to resist. Again, in the story of *Isaac* it is written, *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech, and the Philistines unto Gerar*: and I am sure *Abimelech* and the *Philistines* were no *Ethiopians*. And lastly, *Moses* himself, where he describeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath these words: <sup>f</sup> *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar*: for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the north, and *Gerar* by *Gazah* towards the south. But indeed, howsoever *Pererius* doth with an honest excuse solve his translation of *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint*, and *Josephus* did altogether misunderstand this place. And first, for *Homer's* east and west *Ethiopia*, they are both found elsewhere. For *Pliny* in his fifth book and eighth chapter, citeth *Homer* for an author, of two *Ethiopia's*. But the east *Ethiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the south of *Egypt*, and is the south border thereof; now a part of the empire of the *Abyssines*, under *Prester John*; and the west *Ethiopia* is that, which joyneth it self with the river *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: in thereabouts are these *Ethiopians*, called *Perossi*, *Duantes*, with divers other names, which <sup>g</sup> *Pliny* nameth. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the deserts thereof, saith *Pliny* out of *Homer*, *Thappa*, and *Juba*, which regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Prester John*, and the

*Troglodites*) lie due east and west. But as for *Cush*, and the region of the *Ismaelites*, &c. they are extended directly north from that *Ethiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Josephus* was exceeding gross herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of *Moses* when he served *Pharaoh*, in the wars against the *Ethiopians*: for in that (to make *Chus Ethiopia*) he transporteth *Midian* by miracle over the red sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and setteth it in *Ethiopia*, as shall be shewed more at large in the chapter of the world's plantation. Again, that *Gebon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greek copy, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the prophet *Jeremy*. <sup>i</sup> *And what hast thou now to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Ægypti, ut bibas aquam Gebon?* To this saith *Pererius*, *profecto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gebon sed Sichor, quæ significat nigrum & turbidum*; Truly (saith *Pererius*) the word *Gebon* in this place, is not found in the *Hebrew*, but *Sichor*, which signifieth black and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Ethiopia*. <sup>k</sup> *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro*, prince and priest of *Midian*, whom both the Greek and *Latin* call a *Midianite*, and not <sup>l</sup> *Ethiopissam*, as (with *Josephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it helps it a little with a marginal note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the country of *Midian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petraea*, bordering the red sea; for it is written in *Exodus*, that *Moses fled from Pharaoh into the land of Midian, and sat down by a well, &c.* and again, <sup>m</sup> *When Moses kept the sheep of Jethro his father-in-law, priest of Midian, &c.* Indeed, these four nations are every where mixt in the scriptures, because they dwell confusedly with one another (to wit) the *Midianites*, the *Ismaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chusites*, which were all in one general word, *Arabians*, and in the scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in *Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28*, that *Joseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and again, *v. 36.* it is written, that the *Midianites* sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh's* steward. The *Genevians*, in a marginal note (to avoid this confounding of the nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who took the *Midianites* and *Ismaelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any man's opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all *Arabians*, and so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Joseph*: for their <sup>n</sup> camels were laden with spicery, and balm, and myrrh, which are the trades of *Arabia Felix*, from whence chiefly, and from the *East India*, all the world is served with myrrh and frankincense; and their spices they received from the east side of the *Arabian Gulf*, as aforesaid. And in chap. 39. ver. 1. it is said: That *Potiphar* bought *Joseph* of the *Ismaelites*, which the *Chaldean* paraphrast in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written, in *Judges vi. 3.* That when *Israel* had sown, then came up the *Midianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the east, and came upon them: they of the east, were *Arabians* of the *Desart*; so as where before, in the buying of *Joseph*, the *Midianites* and the *Ismaelites* were confused, here the *Midianites* and *Amalekites*, are made one nation. For in the prosecution of the story of *Gideon*, the <sup>o</sup> *Midianites*

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 25. 16. <sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 14. 9. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 10. 11. <sup>e</sup> Exod. 17. 8. <sup>f</sup> Gen. 26. 1. <sup>g</sup> Gen. 10. 19. <sup>h</sup> Jer. 2. 18. <sup>i</sup> Exod. 2. 21. 3. 1. <sup>j</sup> Numb. 12. 1. <sup>k</sup> Exod. 2. 15. <sup>l</sup> Exod. 3. 1. <sup>m</sup> Gen. 37. 25.



only are named, as comprehending both nations; and these nations are all called *Ismaelites*, and neither *Midianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gideon* desired, that every man would give him the golden ear-rings, which they had taken, after the victory against *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, kings of *Arabia*, amounting to seventeen hundred sheckles of gold, it is written: *a For they had gold ear-rings, because they were Ismaelites.* And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant nation, and ever in action of war. *b Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum; His hand (saith God of Ismael) shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him.* Of these *Ismaelites* came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the *Desarts* of *Sur* and *Pharan* (saith *Josephus*) use poison upon their arrows, as the *Indians* do. Towards the south-east are the *Midianites*, and *Chusites*: and beyond them, towards the *Desarts* of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*; and all are one nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill translation of *Ethiopia* for *Chus*, is, amongst other places, made most apparent, in *Chronicles*, in these words: *c So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirit of the Philistines and the Arabians, which confine the Ethiopians*; so *Jerome* reads it; the *Geneva* translation hath it, *which were besides the Ethiopians*. Now, how far it is off, between the *Philistines*, and the *Negroes*, or *Ethiopians*, every man that looketh in a map may judge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* do mix and join with the land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Ethiopia* about 32 or 33 degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the *Desarts* of *Sur*, and *Pharan*, are between them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have been translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirits of the Philistines, and Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chusites*, who indeed are their next neighbours. *d Nulla superest dubitatio, quin Æthiopia in sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua*; There remaineth no doubt (saith *Steuclius*) but *Ethiopia* in the scriptures is taken for that country, which joineth to *Arabia*.

Now may we think it is probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No; he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would never have named *Gebon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gebon*. Surely if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gebon*, he would have called the river (into which he was cast upon reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the *e daughter of Pharaoh*) a river of *Egypt*, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides, the river of *Nilus* is often named in the scriptures, but never by the name of *Gebon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had been a river of *Paradise*, they might justly have thought that he had derided them: for they had lived there all the days of their lives, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except we shall believe the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (saith *Pliny*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild olives instead of golden apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Isaiab*, and once in the prophet *Jeremy*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a river of *Ethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Israelites* had never any communion or affairs with the *Ethiopians*, nor

any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Egypt*, to the south; but the enemies, which they had on the south, and east parts, were these nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: who being often governed by many little kings, or *reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the fathers and heads of those nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the north-side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cœlesyrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest cities upon the sea-coast, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others: yea, *Jerusalem* itself was withheld from *Israel* (from the days of *Moses* even unto the time of *David*) by the *Jebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty is, that it doth not appear, that any part of *Gebon* watereth that part of *Arabia the stony*, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was, that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two rivers, and call them *Gebon*, and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*, for I find none such in *rerum natura*, as he hath described: by which rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia the Desart*.

And as he well proved that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gebon Nilus*: so where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this river of *Gebon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterranean* at *Gaza*, and whose springs he findeth far east in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the current by *Gaza* is but a small stream, rising between it and the red sea, whose head from *Gaza* itself is little more than twenty *English* miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their near neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the flood, *Chus* and his children never rested, till they found the valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself with his sons first inhabited. *Havilah* took the river-side of *Tigris* chiefly on the east, which after his own name he called *Havilah* (now *Susiana*): *Ramah* and *Sheba* farther down the river, in the entrance of *Arabia Felix*. *Nimrod* seated himself in the best of the valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gebon*, which falleth into the lakes of *Chaldea*, and in process of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more westerly towards the red or *Arabian* sea: from whence *Mizraim* pass'd over into *Egypt*, in which tract the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now because there could be no such river found in *Arabia the stony*, which they might entitle *Gebon*, they translated *Chus Ethiopia*, and *Gebon Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first people of this island, had arrived upon the river *Thames*, and calling the island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a river that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and con-

<sup>a</sup> Judges 8. 24. <sup>b</sup> Gen. 16. 12. <sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 21. 16. <sup>d</sup> Steuch. Eugeb. in Gen. 2. <sup>e</sup> Exod. 2. <sup>f</sup> Plin. lib. 5. <sup>g</sup> *quæ*

<sup>h</sup> Gen. 24. 3. <sup>i</sup> Jer. 2. 18.



SECT. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of some things spoken of before.

quered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the river *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the daughter of the king of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, lib. 1. § 4. and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of some river in *Thrace*, which then watereth as much of *Europe*, as he first discovered, shall we in like sort resolve, that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, &c. are no part of *Europe*, because that river is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Moses*, in his description of *Gebon*, that it watered the whole land of *Chus*; but not the whole land which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after-ages they became lords of many nations, and they might (perchance) have been masters in time (as the *Saracens* which came of them were) of a great part of the world. For tho' the *Babylonian* empire, which took beginning in *Nimrod* the son of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of four cities (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet we find, that his successors within a few years after commanded all the whole world in effect: and the fame of *Babel* consumed the memory of *Chusea*. For of this tower of confusion did all that land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatness of that empire, founded by *Nimrod* a younger son, obscured the name and nation of his father *Cush* in those parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian* empire, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastened to the soil and territory by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think that *Chus* or any of his could in haste creep thro' those desert regions, which the length of 130 years after the flood had (as it were) fortified with thickets, and permitted every bush and briar, reed and tree, to join themselves (as it were) into one main body and Forrest. For if we look with judgment and reason into the world's plantation, we shall find, that every family seated themselves as near together as possibly they could; and tho' necessity enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creep out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times resort, and succour one another by river, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength usurped dominion over the rest, sat down in the very confluence of all those rivers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was to which the greatest troops of *Noah's* children repaired; and from the same place whence mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increase. The first father of men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The second father of mankind *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made choice of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleanted and enriched; so did *Havilah* place himself upon *Piso-Tigris*: *Raamah* and his son *Sheba* farther down upon the same river, on the sea coast of *Arabia*: *Chus* himself upon *Gebon*, the furthest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they always fastened themselves to the rivers sides: for *Nimrod*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Cameh*, *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and the other first peopled cities, were all founded upon these navigable rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembered.

BUT now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the scriptures, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our earth and habitable world, seated in the lower part of the region of *Eden*, afterwards called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this region standing in the most excellent temper of all others (to wit) 35 degrees from the *Equinoctial*, and 55 from the north pole: in which climate the most excellent wines, fruits, oil, grain of all sorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this said soil and temper, than the abundant growing of the palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein soever the earth, nature, and the sun can most vaunt, that they have excelled, yet shall this plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: this tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggeth at nature's hand. And tho' it may be said, that these trees are found both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, which countries are also blessed with a perpetual spring and summer, yet lay down by those pleasures and benefits the fearful and dangerous thunders and lightnings, the horrible and frequent earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous beasts and worms, with other inconveniences, and then there will be found no comparison between the one and the other.

What other excellences this garden of *Paradise* had, before God (for mans ingratitude and cruelty) cursed the earth, we cannot judge; but I may safely think that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular garden exceed all parts of the universal world, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the trees of life, of knowledge; plants only proper, and becoming the *Paradise* and garden of so great a lord.

The sum of all this is, that whereas the eyes of men in this scripture have been dim-sighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our known world: some, above the middle region of the air: some, elevated near the moon: others, as far south as the line, or as far north, as the pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like castles in the air, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*;) eastward, in respect of *Judea*, that God planted this garden, which *Eden* we find in the prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A river went out of *Eden* to water this garden, and from thence divided it self into four branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming thro' *Eden* do join in one, and afterward taking ways apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moses*: the true seats of *Chus* and his sons then being in the valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joined cannot be divided. *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the rivers of *Eden*; that *Gebon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibility, and this river is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for altho' there are between *Tigris* and *Ganges* above four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the world; but *Nilus* is begotten in the mountains of the moon, almost as far off as the *Cape of Good Hope*,



*Hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterranean* sea: and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the gulf of *Persia*: the one riseth in the south, and travelleth north: the other riseth in the north, and runneth south, threescore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following, I have added a chorographical description of this terrestrial *Paradise*, that the reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labours may but receive an allowance suspended, until such time as this description of mine be reprov'd by a better.

## C H A P. IV.

## Of the two chief trees in the garden of PARADISE.

## S E C T. I.

*That the tree of life was a material tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subject to death.*

FOR eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*, in *exilium vite temporalis*, into the banishment of temporal life, saith *Beda*. That these trees of life and knowledge were material trees (tho' figures of the law and of the gospel) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned writers: altho' the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fix them, and so slippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the world an imaginary doctrine.

The tree of life (say the *Hebrews*) hath a plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum*, the tree of lives, because the fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adam's* transgression) had prolonged his own days, but also given a durable continuance to all posterity; and that, so long as a body compounded of elements could last.

And altho' it is hard to think, that flesh and blood could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged law of God imposed on his creatures, man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of most divines) he should have been translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the flood, the days of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after the flood, of two hundred years and upwards even to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobey'd God's first and easy commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chrysostom*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adam's* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not have contained mankind; or else, that millions of souls must have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number, wherewith the earth was replenished, had abode thereon forever: and therefore that of *Chrysostom* must be understood of immortality of bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or species this tree of life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which re-

spect many have conceived, that the same was not material, but a mere *allegory*, taking their strength out of *Solomon*, where wisdom is compared to the tree of life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the tree of life, and out of the *Apocalypsis*, <sup>b</sup> *I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God*. But to this place *St. Augustine's* answer may suffice (which is) that the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestrial *Paradise*, so there was a celestial. For altho' *Agar* and *Sara* were figures of the *Old* and *New Testament*, yet to think that they were not women, and the maid and wife of *Abraham*, were mere foolishness. And so in this place the sense of the scripture is manifest. *For God brought out of the earth every tree fair to sight, and sweet to taste; the tree also of life in the midst of the garden:* which sheweth, that among the trees, which the earth by God's commandment produced, the tree of life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this tree was also brought to the ancient poets: for as from the indigested matter or *chaos*, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, steal the invention of the created world; so from the garden of *Paradise*, they took the platform of the orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the tree of life, their *Nectar*, and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortality; and therefore said to be the meat and drink of the Gods.

## S E C T. II.

*Of Becanus's opinion, that the tree of knowledge was Ficus Indica.*

NOW for the tree of knowledge of good and evil, some men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himself the honour to have found out the kind of this tree, which none of the writers of former times could ever guess at, whereat *Goropius* much marvelleth. But as he had an inventive brain, so there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himself. Surely howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above six hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himself referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his author *Philoxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* useth, both concerning the tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his treatise of *Paradise* (the first part, and fol. 48.) saith, that the tree of knowledge was *ficus Indica*, the *Indian* fig-tree, of which the greatest plenty (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acesines*, one of the rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his fleet of gallies in, or near the kingdom of *Porus*.

This tree beareth a fruit of the bigness of a great pea, or (as *Pliny* reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a tree *se semper serens*, always planting itself; that it spreadeth itself so far abroad, as that a troop of horsemen may hide themselves under it. <sup>d</sup> *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no less than a shield. *Aristotle* affirmeth that fifty horsemen may shadow themselves under one of these trees. *Onesicritus* raiseth this number to four hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bigness, which *Pliny* and *Onesicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which these authors give such a magnitude, as I



shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speak by an ill-understood report. For this *Indian* fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, because he found it no where else, would needs draw the garden of *Paradise* to the tree, and set it by the river *Acesines*. But many parts of the world have them, and I my self have seen twenty thousand of them in one valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner. After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some less, according to the soil) they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or stem: for from the utmost end of the head-branches there issueth out a gummy juice, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few months reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it self a tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs of these young trees there fall again the like cords, which in one year and less (in that world of a perpetual spring) become also trees of the bigness of the nether part of a lance, and as strait as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of grove, as no other tree in the world can do. Now one of these trees considered, with all his young ones, may (indeed) shroud four hundred or four thousand horsemen, if they please; for they cover whole vallies of ground where these trees grow near the sea-bank, as they do by thousands in the inner part of *Trinidado*. The cords which fall down over the banks into the sea, shooting always downward to find root under water, are in those seas of the *Indies*, where oysters breed, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling up one of these cords out of the sea, I have seen five hundred oysters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, that oysters grew on trees in *India*. But that they bear any such huge leaves, or any such delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus*. This tree (saith he) was good for meat and pleasing to the sight, as the tree of knowledge of good and evil is described to be.

Secondly, This tree having so huge a trunk (as the former authors report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themselves from the presence of God, for no other tree (saith he) could contain them. But first it is certain, that this tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or stem, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to find any one bigger than the rest, and these are all of a mean size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated in *medio ligni*, are by all the interpreters understood in the plural number (that is) *in the midst of the trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, that when *Adam* and *Eve* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the tree it self was a fig-tree, or that a fig-tree grew near it: because *Adam* being possess'd with shame, did not run up and down the garden to seek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it self; and these leaves of all others were most commodious, by reason of their largeness, which *Pliny* avoweth in these words; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazonum habet*, the breadth of the leaves hath the shape of an *Amazonian* shield: which also *Theophrast* confirmeth; the form of which target *Virgil* touches:

*⁠Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis  
Penthesilea furens.*

The *Amazon* with crescent-formed shield  
*Penthesilea* leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed discovery, using this confident (or rather cholerick) speech. *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hæc a nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Mosi narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inveniri posse, quæ cum illa magis quadret;* Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things, which we have reported of this fig-tree, and out of ancient writers delivered, with the narration of *Moses*, as to dare to avow, that any other tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith. But for my self, because I neither find this tree, sorting in body, in largeness of leaves, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: that the earth never brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind: only thereby, and by the easy commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleased God to make trial of his obedience: *⁠Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum puræ ac simplicis obedientiæ bonum;* Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodness of pure and simple obedience.

### SECT. III.

Of *Becanus's* not unwitty allegorizing of the story of his *Ficus Indica*.

**B**UT in this I must do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this tree, allowing his supposition of the tree it self to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few words. As this tree (saith he) so did man grow straight and upright towards God, until such time as he had transgressed and broken the commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughs of this tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adam's* posterity after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastening themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiousness of this tree he compareth to the dark and shadowed life of man, thro' which the sun of justice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climb the tree of the cross for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaves, may be compared (saith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate; so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choler and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest sorrows and repentances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shews and publick ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seek for the fruit, which ought to be their vir-

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 3. 7. <sup>b</sup> Pl. l. 12. c. 5. <sup>c</sup> Virg. Æn. l. 1. 494. <sup>d</sup> Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.



tuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigness of the smallest pea; glory, to all the world apparent; goodness, to all the world invisible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body, and boughs of this tree, by so much exceed all other plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly ability surpass the meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthiest shrub, and humblest briar, or the poorest and basest man, than such a flourishing stateliness and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobey'd God, and beheld his own nakedness and shame, sought for leaves to cover himself withal, this may serve to put us in mind of his and our sins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which we use so many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

## S E C T. IV.

*Of the name of the tree of knowledge of good and evil: with some other notes touching the story of Adam's sin.*

NOW, as touching the sense of this tree of knowledge of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the property of the tree itself, *Moses Bar-Cephas*, an ancient *Syrian* doctor (translated by *Masius*) giveth this judgment, that the fruit of this tree had no such virtue or quality, as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* also noteth, *Arbor scientiæ boni & mali (id est) experientiae boni & mali ab eventu*; The tree of knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event. For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phrase) by the workmanship of God's own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created plant, out of whose seed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or spirit of God, he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of God's commandment was the fearfulest evil, and the observation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceive, that sickness is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himself another terror than he had forethought, or could image. For looking into the glass of his own guilty soul, he beheld therein the horror of God's judgments, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evil, which could not be express'd. He then saw himself naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of God's grace and former felicity: and therefore was this tree called the tree of knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation, by any self-quality or effect: for the same phrase is used in many places of the scriptures, and names are given to signs and sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort as this tree was called the tree of knowledge, because of the event (as is aforesaid) so was the well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the well of hatred *Situath*, because the herdsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the

heap of stones, called the *heap of witness*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*, not that the stones bare witness, but for a memory of the covenant. So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*, the well in the desert, *viventis & videntis*.

But *Adam* being both betray'd and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himself, and looking but slightly (as all his issues do) into the miseries and sorrows incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtain by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blown forward by the gentle wind of pleasing persuasions unawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtle arguments of *Satan*, who laboured to poison mankind in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himself perished for ever.

But what means did the devil find out, or what instruments did his own subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to work this mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the woman; so as by *Adam's* hearkening to the voice of his wife, contrary to the express commandment of the living God, mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife, &c.* (saith God himself) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts, into whom the devil entred and persuaded.

Secondly, What was the motive of her disobedience: even a desire to know what was most unfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her sex. Thirdly, What was it that moved the man to yield to her persuasions? even the same cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent, namely, an unwillingness to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Solomon* the son of *David*, God's chosen servant, and himself a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the persuasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the persuasions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness.

## C H A P. V.

*Of divers memorable things between the fall of Adam, and the flood of Noah.*

## S E C T. I.

*Of the cause and the revenge of Cain's sin: and of his going out from God.*

THE same pride and ambition which began in angels, and afterwards possess'd *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptance of his brother's prayer and sacrifice) slew him, making himself the first man-slayer, and his brother the first martyr: the revenge of which

<sup>a</sup> Numb. 20. 13.    <sup>b</sup> Gen. 26. 20.    <sup>c</sup> Gen. 26. 21.    <sup>d</sup> Gen. 31. 48.    <sup>e</sup> Gen. 28. 10.    <sup>f</sup> Gen. 16. 14.    <sup>g</sup> Bart. sem. unnotat.



unnatural murder, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his punishment was greater than he could bear. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all mankind, but *Noah* and his family: for it is written, <sup>a</sup> *The earth also was corrupt before God*: of which in the same place *Moses* giveth a reason; for, saith he, *The earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon, after God himself made the cause known unto *Noah*, saying, *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the earth, or from the earth*: Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men only, but in all sorts of injustice and oppression. After this murder of *Abel*, <sup>b</sup> *Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, towards the east-side of Eden*: in which words, the going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense; God being wholly in all parts of the world. <sup>c</sup> *Totus in cœlo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed utrumque simul*; God (saith *S. Augustine*) is wholly in heaven, and wholly in earth, and not by interchanged times, but all at once: and that this is true, *David* witnesseth. <sup>d</sup> *If I be in heaven* (saith *David*) *thou art there; if in hell, thou art there also*: but what is meant thereby? <sup>e</sup> *Exiit a facie Dei* (saith *Chrysostom*) *Cain went out from the presence of the Lord*, that is, he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.

## SECT. II.

*Of Cain's dwelling in the land of Nod : and of  
his city Enoch.*

THIS word *Nod*, or *Naid*, <sup>f</sup> *St. Jerome* and many others understand to signify wandering, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Junius*: but the *Seventy* convert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a country, and so doth <sup>g</sup> *Josephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a vagabond or wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the murder committed, justly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: <sup>h</sup> *And whosoever findeth me (saith Cain) shall slay me.* Now that *Nod*, or *Naid*, was a region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word [*dwelt*] for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and we call those people wanderers and vagabonds that have no dwelling-place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, <sup>i</sup> *Moses* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the east-side of *Eden*. Secondly, It is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or favour of God, he built a city, and called it by the name of his first-born, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortify himself against revenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Christ* and of the *Jews*; and that *Cain*, after that he had slain *Abel* unjustly, had thereafter no certain abiding in the world: so the *Jews*, after they had crucified the Son of God, became runnegates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never since any certain estate, commonweal, or prince of their own upon the earth. Now this land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia the Desert* is not

eastward, or on the east-part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular people or nation. For all these, in what part of the world soever, which in old time lived by pastorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon white-meat without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greeks Nomades*, and by the *Latins Pastores vagi*, as the northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britons*, and the northern *Irish*: yea, such were the inhabitants of *Italy* itself, till such time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the husbandry of tillage used at this day. But the region eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Assyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Calena*, which also might be derived of *Carena*, the county of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts it may be gathered by the first possession of his father *Adam*; for thus it is written, <sup>k</sup> *Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken*: and in the verse following, *Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the east-side of the garden of Eden he set the Cherubins*: which sheweth that the entry into *Paradise* was from the east, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of *Paradise* which was eastward, according to the text: *Cain* also in the same region sought his dwelling-place. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do signify *profugus*, that is, a fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, than till he built the city of *Enoch*, the first of the world, which he inclosed either for his own defence, or (as *Josephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as for my own opinion, I am resolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a region; and for the word [*vagabond*] which *Cain* useth of himself, it seemeth by the perclose of the same verse, that [*vagabond*] is therein understood for such an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *for whosoever findeth me (saith Cain) shall slay me*; or else [*vagabond*] is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the city *Henoch*, were the first society and civil assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in the memory of *Noah* and his sons; so that after the flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some virtuously, some impiously, disposed, and every active mind setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Enochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it self where *Enoch* stood before the flood, and whereof the monuments might remain (as the pillars or the foundation of *Joppe* did) gave occasion to the planters of that place to call themselves by the same names: for of those *Enochians* there were many nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the same name many mountains, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged time hath covered over or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of <sup>1</sup> *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith satisfy our selves, if of so great and almost worn-out antiquity, if of the eldest people's names and nations, there remain any print or footsteps to posterity.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. 6, 11, 13.    <sup>d</sup> Gen. 4, 16.    <sup>e</sup> Aug. de civitate Dei, l. 12, c. 19.    <sup>f</sup> Psal. 139, 8.    <sup>g</sup> Chrystost. in Gen. Homil. 2.    <sup>h</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>i</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>j</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>k</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>l</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>m</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>n</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>o</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>p</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>q</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>r</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>s</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>t</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>u</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>v</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>w</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>x</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>y</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>z</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>aa</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ab</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ac</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ad</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ae</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>af</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ag</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ah</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ai</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>aj</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ak</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>al</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>am</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>an</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ao</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ap</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>aq</sup> Gen. 1, 1. 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<sup>gd</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ge</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gf</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gg</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gh</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gi</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gj</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gk</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gl</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gm</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gn</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>go</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gp</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gq</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gr</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gs</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gt</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gu</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gv</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gw</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gx</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gy</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>gz</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>ha</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hb</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hc</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hd</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>he</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hf</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hg</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hh</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hi</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hj</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hk</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hl</sup> Gen. 1, 1.    <sup>hm</sup> Gen. 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## SECT. III.

Of Moses's omitting sundry things concerning Cain's generation.

In <sup>a</sup> *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find those *Henochi* described, though diversly written, as in *Pliny* sometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela* *Eniochi*, in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*, in *Lucan* *Enochii*, all which inhabit upon the sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the east side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses*'s words) eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any region, was so exceeding precise, as sometimes he useth the word east or south without borrowing, or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as eastward or southward, or towards the east or south. In the place of *Genesis* xi. ver. 2. he writeth the word [east] simply and directly. And as they went from the east, they found a plain in the land of *Shinar*, but this of *Cain* he addeth the word [towards] as, in the land of *Nod* towards the east side of *Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the north or to the south of the east.

But as we may conjecture that these nations took name of *Henoch*, the city of *Cain*, or of the region wherein it stood, when the same was repeopled after the flood: so it is probable that these *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoining, were not the first of that name, after the sons of *Noah* began to fill the world again: because, had this *Henoch* the city of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then been seated north, and not east or eastward from *Eden*. But as <sup>b</sup> *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; <sup>c</sup> *Ptolemy* *Zani*; beyond which, an hundred and fifty miles eastward, he findeth another nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these again he discovereth a third nation, from whence all the rest took beginning, which inhabited on the west side of the mountains of *Paro-panisus*, between them and the great river of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the north side; and these *Henochii* are due east from the region of *Eden*, and eastward from the very garden it self.

And altho' we cannot be assured, that these *Henochii* took name from the memory of the city of *Henoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due east from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves westward (as all *Noah*'s sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable, than that of *Annian* the frier, who sets *Henoch* in *Phenicia*, quite contrary to *Moses*'s word: *Phenicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly west.

And besides these several nations of the *Henochii*, <sup>d</sup> *Stephanus* findeth a region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the east, with divers mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana* of the same name. Only the *Grecians* (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word [*Heniochi*] which signifieth carts or coach-men, make these nations to have sprung from the waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) <sup>e</sup> *Amphipes* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Jason* into *Colchis*. And tho' I do not deny, but that *Jason* with other *Greeks* ranged the coasts of *Asia* the less, in an open boat or kind of small galley, <sup>f</sup> of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden fleece was for the most part poetical; and withal that in such an open boat, which could hardly carry their own rowers, being fifty-four, there was no place, and less use of coach-horses or waggoners.

BUT of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the city of *Henoch* in prophane story, thus much may suffice; now it followeth to answer some few objections against certain particulars in the fourth and fifth chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance than his son *Henoch*) to perform such a work as the building of a city, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a mass of all sorts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, that of *Cain* (because he was the parent of an impious race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his divine reason, seeing that he containeth the whole story of the first race, which lasted by the least account 1656 years, in five short chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakest reason, that seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens lives, so long a measure, as 800 and 900 years, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such cities as *Henoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the world soever: for in what age of *Cain*'s life he built it, the scriptures are silent: as of those times, and the times of his issues *Moses* had the least care. And as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a city: so was it said of *Noah*, that his three sons peopled all the world: but in both, the process of time required to be understood: which advice seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth it, as knowing that he writ the scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos, or a fine dierum* (that is) in process of time it came to pass that *Cain* brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to be understood of *Cain*, that many years fore-gone, and when his people were increased he built the city of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of <sup>g</sup> *Solomon*, that he built the temple of *Jerusalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he employed in that work 150000 labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, the king invaded; when he caused an invasion to be made: and he built, when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing we find, that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cain*'s issues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he also passeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: <sup>h</sup> *Cain also knew his wife, who conceived and bare Enoch, and he built a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son Enoch. And to Enoch was born Irad, and Irad begat Methusael, and Methusael begat Methusael, and Methusael Lamech.*

Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth far otherwise, and in this manner. <sup>i</sup> *And Seth lived 105 years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch 87 years, and begat sons and daughters: so as all the days of Seth were 912 years, and he died, as for the years and times of the wicked they were not numbered in libro viventium, saith Cyril.* But in *Seth*

<sup>a</sup> Plin. l. 6. c. 9, 11, & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. ult. Strabo, lib. 11. Val. Flac. l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37. <sup>b</sup> Plin. l. 6. c. 45. <sup>c</sup> Ptol. lib. Asiae 3. <sup>d</sup> Steph. de urb. <sup>e</sup> Nat. Com. colluthum Rheci: Nat. Com. l. 8. c. 9. Strabo, l. 11. <sup>f</sup> Jud. <sup>g</sup> 2 Kings. 6. <sup>h</sup> Gen. 4. 17, 18. <sup>i</sup> Gen. 5. 6.



was the church of God established, from whom *Christ* descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moses* walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the reprobate generation (as aforesaid.) Of the line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth:

I. A D A M.

- |                                                        |                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Cain</i> .                                       | 2. <i>Seth</i> .       |
| 3. <i>Enoch</i> .                                      | 3. <i>Enos</i> .       |
| 4. <i>Irad</i> .                                       | 4. <i>Cainan</i> .     |
| 5. <i>Mabujael</i> .                                   | 5. <i>Mahaleel</i> .   |
| 6. <i>Mathusael</i> .                                  | 6. <i>Jarad</i> .      |
| 7. <i>Lamech</i> , who by <i>Ada</i> had               | 7. <i>Enoch</i> .      |
| 8. <i>Jubal</i> and <i>Tubal</i> , and by <i>Silla</i> | 8. <i>Methusalem</i> . |
| <i>Tubalcain</i> and <i>Noëma</i> .                    | 9. <i>Lamech</i> , and |
|                                                        | 10. <i>Noah</i> .      |

These be the generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the scriptures mention: but *Josephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threescore and seventeen sons and daughters, by his two wives *Ada*, and *Silla*: and to these three sons of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the invention of pastorage, of musick, and the working in metal; for it seemeth that *Jubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into herds and droves: *Tubal* invented musick, and *Tubalcain* the working in brass and iron: the one being addicted to husbandry, the other was mechanical, the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of shepherds, handy-crafts men, and musicians. And in the issues of *Seth* began the services of God, divinity, prophecy, and astronomy: the children of the one beheld the heavens, the other the earth.

SECT. IV.

Of the diversities in the ages of the patriarchs when they begat their children.

A Second scruple hath been made, how it came to pass that the patriarchs begat their children at so divers ages as *Cainan* or *Kenan* at seventy years, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threescore and five years, whereas *Jarad* begat not any of his until he was 162 years old: *Methusalem* begat at 187; *Lamech* at 182, and *Noah* at 500 years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jarad*, *Methusalem*, or *Lamech* abstained from marriage out of the religion of abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, begat children before he was threescore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the generations before the flood precisely, according to the first-begotten and eldest sons of the patriarchs; but he drew down the line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterwards from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true ancestors, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Enoch* was not the eldest of *Jarad*, nor *Lamech* the first-born of *Methusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though these three were only named, and surviving, and which by God were reserved to be the fathers of mankind after the flood; and therefore when we find *Mabujael* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threescore and ten

years who was the first son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187th year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* rejecteth all the other sons of *Methusalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the father of *Noah* as aforesaid. Of this *St. Augustine* hath somewhat else in his 20th and 21st chapters *de civitate Dei*.

But as *Moses* counted the generations of the first age, and so to *Abraham*, and the children of the promise after him; so doth *St. Matthew* recite the genealogy of *Christ*, not by the eldest sons; but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the *Evangelist* nameth *Isaac* and not *Ismael*, tho' *Ismael* were first in time: so doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Esau* the elder; neither is *Christ* derived from any of the three eldest patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth brother, and so from *David* a younger son of *Jessai*; and lastly we find, that the kingdom it self of *Juda* was not given to the heir in nature, but to the heir of grace, namely *Solomon*.

SECT. V.

Of the long lives of the patriarchs: and some of late memory.

THE third objection is, that the great difference of years between those of the first age, whereof some of them had well near seen a thousand years, makes it disputed, whether the account of times were of the same measure is in after-ages, seeing that soon after the flood men lived not a third part of that time, and in succeeding ages and to this day not the tenth.

They that have hereon resolved that those years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a month or thereabouts, or Egyptian years, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enos* in the year of his life one hundred and five, if those years be taken but for months, then had *Seth* lived but eight years and one month when he begat *Enos*: and if the time of *Enos* have the same allowance, when he begat *Cainan*, then could *Enos* at that time have been but six years and forty-eight weeks old; and so it may be gathered of the rest excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the trees in their kind, bearing fruit and seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at six, seven or eight years, agreeth with the short lives of the pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workmanship of God's hands, and begotten and born in the strong youth of the world, had length of days and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourscore and ten and odd years; which were not only less by far than the patriarchs lived after the flood, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit age of the world, wherein many exceed fourscore, and some an hundred years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen. xxv.* that *Abraham* died in a good age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former account were of Lunary years) makes but seventeen and an half of our years.



And if we seek for a cause of this long life in nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equal strength or little differing: for of the first and purest seed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfulest plants. Secondly, the earth it self was then much less corrupt, which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmful quality, as since that time the curse of God for the cruelty of man's heart brought on it and mankind: neither had the waters of the flood infused such an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all plants, herbs, and fruits upon the earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the sun have one time of strength, and another of weakness, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: so time it self (under the deathful shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worn out that lively virtue of nature in man, and beasts, and plants, yea the heavens themselves being of a most pure and cleansed matter shall wax old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative virtue from the superiour.

But besides the old age of the world, how far doth our education and simplicity of living differ from that old time? the tender bringing up of children, first fed and nourished with the milk of a strange dug; an unnatural curiosity having taught all women (but the begger) to find out nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: the hasty marriages in tender years, wherein, nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her, and replant her branches, while her self hath not yet any root sufficient to maintain her own top; and such half-ripe feeds (for the most part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their infancy. But above all things the exceeding luxuriousness of this gluttonous age, wherein we press nature with overweighty burdens, and finding her strength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of strong waters, hot spices, and provoking sauces; of which *Lucan* hath these elegant verses:

— O prodiga rerum

*Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu:*

*Et quæstorum terra pelagoque ciborum*

*Ambitiosa fumes, & lautæ gloria mensæ,*

*Discite quam parvo liceat producere vitum:*

*Et quantum natura petat.*

*Non auro myrrhaque bibunt: sed gurgite puro*

*Vita redit: satis est populis fluviusque ceresque.*

O wastful riot, never well content

With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious

Of cates by land and sea far fetcht and sent:

Vain glory of a table sumptuous,

Learn with how little life may be preserved.

In gold and myrrh they need not to carouse,

But with the brook the people's thirst is served:

Who fed with bread and water are not starved.

The *Egyptians* affirm, that the longest time of man's life is an hundred years, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty years, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Berosus* to a hundred and seventeen years. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples

to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and review of the eighth region of *Italy*, there were found in the roll (saith *Pliny*) fifty-four persons of an hundred years of age: fifty-seven of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred twenty-five: four, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and thirty-five, or an hundred and thirty-seven years old: and last of all, three men of an hundred and forty: and this search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the father and the son.

The simple diet and temperate life of the *Æthiops* gave them long account of many years: so did it to the secretaries of *Egyptian* ceremonies, to the *Persian Magicians* and *Indian Brachmans*. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* lived three ages, and *Tiresias* six, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the less *Asia*, little less: also *Masinissa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred years (saith *Ephorus*) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them live full two hundred years: and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that these reports are not fabulous, *Josephus* bringeth many witnesses with himself, as *Marethon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Estius*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Hecataeus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, general of the *Turks* army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my self knew the old countess of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who lived in the year 1589, and many years since, who was married in *Edward* the fourth's time, and held her jointure from all the earls of *Desmond* since then; and that this is true, all the noblemen and gentlemen of *Munster* can witness. *Strozzius Cicogna*, out of *Torquemada Maffæus*, and the like authors, telleth of some that have not only far exceeded the term prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in those days wherein *Galen* the physician lived, it may easily prove unto us what reeds we are in respect of those cedars of the first age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let blood six pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at six ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting constellations) which are the natural causes of a long and healthful life (to wit) strong parents, a pure and thin air, and temperate use of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldering stone, cannot stand long upright; on air we feed always and in every instant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure air, and a temperate use of those things which nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

#### SECT. VI.

*Of the patriarchs delivering their knowledge by tradition: and that Enoch writ before the flood.*

A Fourth scruple hath been made, how the certain knowledge of the creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no story thereof written, and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of antiquity perished in the universal flood.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder ages, we shall find that knowledge was the great



est treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publick dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wise men to posterity equally zealous, *Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo*; From mind to mind without letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by *Esdra*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not only upon the mount receive the law from God, but withal *secretiorem* & *veram legis enarrationem*, a more secret and true explanation of the law, which (saith he out of the same authors) he delivered by mouth to *Joshua*, and *Joshua* to the elders: for to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quam dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere margaritas*, than to give holy things to dogs, and to cast pearls before swine. In succeeding times this understanding and wisdom began to be written in ciphers, and characters, and letters bearing the form of beasts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to such, as served in their temples, and to their kings and priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an imitation: the invention of the other is inscribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a law received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in *Hebrew* is *receptio* in *Latin*, and a *receiving* in *English*. And this custom was also held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our ancient *Britons*, and of later times by the *Irish* chroniclers called *rymers*. If then such as would seem wisest in the use of reason, will not acknowledge, that the story of the creation or beginning of all things was written by inspiration, the Holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain presumption, than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their successors: which their wise men (as they term them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himself two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no less than five hundred years: and before *Noah* died *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old; from whence this knowledge, by an easy and ordinary way, might come to *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this tradition, it is questionless, that the use of letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and brick by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even to his time (meaning belike some ruin or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch* *St. Jude* testifieth; and some part of his books (which contained the use of the stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix* in the dominion of the queen *Saba* (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had seen and read some whole parts. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the creation and story of the first age, seeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instruct-

ed and inspired him as he did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the books of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gaxenus*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten traditions, alledgeth that *pope Gelasius* among other the *Apocryphal* scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was delivered by tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with *Pererius* that such a book there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the apostles, and many things added thereunto by hereticks, who took occasion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Misbael* contending with the devil about the body of *Moses*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greatest arguments against these books, is that neither *Philo*, nor *Josephus* (the most diligent searchers of antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of *St. Augustine*, *Scriptissemus quidem nonnulla divina Enoch illum septimum ab Adam negare non possumus*; That *Enoch* the seventh from *Adam* did write divers divine things we cannot deny. Now his writings, which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of giants supposed to be begotten of angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such book was found among those canonical scriptures, kept by the diligence of the *Hebrew* priests in *Armario Judaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this might be preserved by *Noah*. Surely that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembered by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity I know not, whether by the *Jews Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but man's conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the stars; and afterwards to some of his sons, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seen and might preserve this book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been said before. And therefore if letters and arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*: it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and tradition, had the undoubted word of God need of any other proof than self-authority.

#### SECT. VII.

Of the men of renown before the flood.

NOW let us consider the relation of *Moses*, who named seven descents of *Cain's* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being given by God instead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enoch* begotten, in whose time men began to profess religion, and to offer sacrifice in publick. For altho' *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enoch*, men began publicly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by communion and in publick manner, or calling up-

<sup>a</sup> Gen. Arcep. <sup>b</sup> Fol. 18. <sup>c</sup> Cabala est scientia Theologicæ non revelata P. M. 32 Mirand. 110. fol. <sup>d</sup> Jos. 1. 1. <sup>e</sup> Jud. 14. <sup>f</sup> Origen. Homil. 1. in Num. <sup>g</sup> Orig. Homil. 23. in Num. <sup>h</sup> Comment. in Evang. Johan. Gelas. dist. 15. <sup>i</sup> de habet mulierum



on the name of the Lord, and thereby were the sons of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enos* the son of *Seth*, to the time of *Enoch* the son of *Jarad*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their own births, the births of their sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Enoch* it is written, *that he walked with God, and he was no more seen*: for God took him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obey'd God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah*. *Noah was a just and upright man in his time, and Noah walked with God*. The *Seventy* convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo*; *Enoch* pleased God. And altho' *Aben-Ezra* and others understand this place [*tulit eum Deus*] *scilicet, mortuus est*, God took him away (that is) he died, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God took him away, when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh between the piety of *Enoch* and the rest of the *patriarchs*, and by omitting the word [death] which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Enoch* was not dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of the *patriarchs*, *Moses* useth these words, *and he died*; but of *Enoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *he was missing, or he was not seen*. *Et non inveniebatur* (saith the apostle to the *Hebrews*) *quia Deus eum translulit*; And he was not found, for the Lord took him away. In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kind of changing, which *St. Paul* promisseth when he saith, that *when the end shall come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed*, I leave it to the learned divines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth over to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saving that *Lamech* prophesied of his son *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed*. Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply, than of any of the rest of *Adam's* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first age, whom God (with his family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the war, peace, government, and policy of these strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining, whose stories if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and natural wits had the experience added of eight hundred and nine hundred years) how much of necessity must the same add of wisdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*, *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus praeceps* (which is) life is short, art is long, and time is headlong. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*, *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown*. But these men of renown (whom the scripture afterwards calleth giants, both for strength of body and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their own abilities, as they for-

got altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Enoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evil, and continually evil*. And this wickedness was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then universal, when the children and sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their idolatrous wives, the daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men loving themselves and the world only.

That these *sons of God* were angels, which being taken with the beauty of women accompanied them and begat giants, some of the fathers supposed, namely, *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* misled by *Josephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterwards changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers and very needful: the question being incapable of dispute, especially since *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Augustine* have answered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of God's children, it doth every where appear in the scripture; and on the contrary, to think that angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) behold the face of God (that is) always attend his commandments, should, after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to nature and grace, were more than madness to imagine.

#### SECT. VIII.

*That the giants, by Moses so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also divers in latter times.*

OF these giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antwerpian* (who thought his own wit more gigantical than the bodies of *Nimrod* and *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intitled *Gigantomachia*, and strained his brains to prove, that there were never any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may find them in the treatises before named. It is true, that *Cyrrillus* reproves the *Grecian* poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirm shamelessly, that the giants have in elder times not only cast up mountains upon mountains, but removed islands out of the sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up hills, and making war with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this scripture, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men, of whom the first giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, that giants were the sons of the heaven and the earth; meaning by the heavens the sons of God, and by the earth the daughters of men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *John Cassian* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subject) thus changed into *Latin*:

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere gigantes,  
Orti quod terra fuerint & sanguine caeli.*

From the earth, and from thy blood, O heaven  
they came,

Whom thereupon the gods did giants name.

But what will not opiniators and self-believing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the first age such kind of men; and of which there have been in all times since? seeing the scriptures avow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 5. 24

<sup>b</sup> Gen. 6. 9

<sup>c</sup> 1 Cor. 15. 51

<sup>d</sup> Gen. 5. 20

<sup>e</sup> Gen. 6. 6

<sup>f</sup> Apoc. 1

<sup>g</sup> Gen. 6. 4

<sup>h</sup> Gen. 6. 5

<sup>i</sup> Gen. 6. 4

<sup>j</sup> Gen. 6. 5



And for that superlative straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of giants was given to oppressors and tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them oppressors because they were giants, and therefore had ability to oppress, than say, that they were called giants only because oppressors. For first *Moses* himself calleth them *mighty men*; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not been found among divers nations after the general flood, then might this place of *Moses* have more willingly hearkened to a dispute, and yielded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous giants found in prophane histories (which I will reserve to accompany the giants of *Albion* in the story of *Britany*) the scriptures do clearly and without all allegorical construction avow, that, besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Joshua*, and of *David*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Asteroth*; the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the land of *Moab*: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they also were taken for giants as the *Anakims*: likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the land of *Ammon*, he useth these words, <sup>b</sup> *That also was taken for a land of giants, for giants dwelt therein aforesometimes: and whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And these giants called *Rephaims* in *Asteroth* and *Kernaim*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* overthrew, assisted by other kings his associates. Also the prophet <sup>c</sup> *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* men of giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the cedar, and whose strength to the oaks; and the prophet <sup>d</sup> *Baruch*, *These were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war.* Particularly it is written of <sup>e</sup> *Og*, king of *Basan*, that his bed of iron was nine cubits long, and four cubits broad: for only *Og* king of *Basan* remained of the remnant of the giants, who commanded the kingdom of *Basan*, four hundred years after the expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover those discoverers and searchers of the land of promise (sent by *Moses* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made report at their return of the great stature of those people in general, and especially of the sons of *Anak*, in these words. <sup>f</sup> *All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw giants, the sons of Anak which come of the giants, so that we seemed in our sights like grass-hoppers, and so we were in their sight* (that is) the searchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the *Anakims* and themselves: insomuch that the *Israelites* were so stricken with fear, as they rather sought and desired to return again into <sup>g</sup> *Egypt*, and were more willing to endure their former slavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearful nations. Furthermore the scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliath* the *Philistine* of *Gath* was a giant of six cubits and a span long: the armour which he wore weighed five thousand sheekles of brass: the shaft of his spear was like a weavers beam, and his spear-head weighed six hundred sheekles of iron. Also in <sup>h</sup> *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath* surnamed *Getheus*, because he was of *Gath*: and of three other giants; of which the first was slain by <sup>i</sup> *Jehonathan*,

*David's* nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, even four and twenty.

Also that <sup>j</sup> *Sampson* was of surpassing strength no man doubteth, who tore a lion as it had been a kid, and after <sup>k</sup> slew thirty of the *Philistines*, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a jaw-bone of an ass; and lastly he took the <sup>l</sup> gates of *Azzah*, and the two posts, and lifted them away with the bars, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the mountain before *Hebron*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both nature and the heavens wax old, and that the great age of time hath (with it self) infeeble and almost worn out the virtue of all things; then I say, that as in all other kinds the earth (before that sin had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautiful than it did in after-ages: so also those giants, those mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature and strength of those giants remembered by *Moses* of his own time, and after him their successors, as the ordinary proportion of all men in general, soon after the flood and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born in the withered quarter and winter of the world: If therefore giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newness of the world.

But the wickedness (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gave end to all flesh, but to the just *Noah* and his family. <sup>m</sup> *And God repented him that he had made man*; which *St. Augustine* thus expoundeth: <sup>n</sup> *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui poenitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa praescientia. Sed si non utatur scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insinuat omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes.* God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men use to do:) but if the scripture did not use those words, or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it self familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrify the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that understand.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the reliques of truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in fables and old legends.*

### SECT. I.

*That in old corruptions we may find some signs of more ancient truth.*

**H**ERE before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it self for us to consider, how the *Greeks* and other more ancient nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the story of the creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical sense, wrapping it up mixed with

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 14. 5. <sup>b</sup> Deut. 2. 20, 21. <sup>c</sup> Amos c. 1. <sup>d</sup> Bar. 3. 26. <sup>e</sup> Deut. 3. 11. <sup>f</sup> Numb. 13. 34. <sup>g</sup> Numb. 14. 4.

<sup>h</sup> 1 Sam. 17. 4. <sup>i</sup> 2 Sam. 21. 19. <sup>j</sup> 1 Chron. 20. 7. <sup>k</sup> Judg. 14. 6. <sup>l</sup> Judg. 14. 19. <sup>m</sup> Judg. 16. 3. <sup>n</sup> Gen. 6. 6.

<sup>o</sup> De Civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 15.



other their own trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those intermix'd discourses of God and nature for the inventions of poets and philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolen out of the books of God. But as a skilful and learned *Chymist* can as well by separation of visible elements draw helpful medicines out of poison, as poison of the most healthful herbs and plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the heathen, may those which seek after God and truth find out every where, and in all the ancient poets and philosophers, the story of the first age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively express'd.

### SECT. II.

*That the corruptions themselves were very ancient: as in the family of Noah, and in the old Egyptians.*

**B**UT this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning mankind it took such effect, that thereby (the liberal grace of God being withdrawn) all the posterity of our first parents were afterwards born and bred in the world, suffering a perpetual eclipse of spiritual light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmful quality, as the waters of the general flood could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, even among the few sons of *Noah* there were found strong effects of the former poison. For as the children of *Shem* did inherit the virtues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the sons of *Cham* did possess the vices of the sons of *Cain*, and of those wicked giants of the first age. Whence the *Chaldeans* began soon after the flood to ascribe divine power and honour to the creature, which was only due to the Creator. First, they worshipped the sun, and then the fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians* did not only learn to leave the true God, but created twelve several gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped; and unto whom they built altars and temples. For *Herodotus* saith, "*Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Egyptios in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutatos, eosque prius aras, & imagines & templa Diis sibi erexisse.*" The *Egyptians* (saith he) first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the *Greeks* received from them, who first erected unto themselves altars, images, and temples for the gods.

### SECT. III.

*That in process of time these lesser errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the gross superstitions of the Egyptians.*

**B**UT as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: so did these gross and blind idolaters every age after other descend lower and lower, and shrink and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby err in worshipping mortal men only, but they gave divine reverence, and had the same respect to beasts, birds, fishes, fowls, winds, earth, water, air, fire, to the morning, to the evening, to the plants, trees

and roots, to passions and affections of the mind, to paleness, sickness, sorrows, yea to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner.

*b* *Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.  
Tu maximum anguillam Deum putas: ego  
Obsoniorum credidi suavissimum,  
Carnes suillas tu caves, at gaudeo  
Hijs maxime: canem colis, quem verbero  
Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obsonium.*

I sacrifice to God the beef, which you adore:  
I broil the *Egyptian* eels, which you (as God) implore:

You fear to eat the flesh of swine, I find it sweet.  
You worship dogs, to beat them I think meet,  
When they my store devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal*.

*c* *Porrum aut cepe nefas violare aut frangere morsu:  
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis  
Numina!*

The *Egyptians* think it sin to root up, or to bite  
Their leeks or onions, which they serve with  
holy rite:

O happy nations, which of their own sowing  
Have store of gods in every garden growing.

### SECT. IV.

*That from the reliques of ancient records among the Egyptians and others, the first idols and fables were invented: and that the first Jupiter was Cain, Vulcan, Tubalcain, &c.*

**B**UT in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain, that the *Egyptians* had knowledge of the first age, and of whatsoever was done therein; partly from some inscriptions upon stone or metal remaining after the flood; and partly from *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*, who had learnt the same of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his father *Noah*. For all that the *Egyptians* write of their ancient kings and date of times cannot be feigned. And tho' other nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* also, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the rest which *St. Augustine* out of *Varro*; *Eusebius* out of many prophane histories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have observed, to wit, the *Phenicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretans*, *Greeks*, and other nations; yet was *Cain* the son of *Adam* (as some very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was said to have invented the founding of cities; and the first city of the world was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Enochii* before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Higinus* in his 275th chapter confirmeth. For besides that many cities were founded by divers men, *Jamen primam latissimam a primo & antiquissimo Jove ædificatam*; yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient *Jupiter*, seated in the east parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moses*: *And Cain dwelt towards the east side of Eden, &c.* where also the *Enochii* were found after the flood. And

<sup>a</sup> Herod. in Enterpe. <sup>b</sup> Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7. <sup>c</sup> Sat. 15. 2. 9. <sup>d</sup> Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De Civit. Dei. Euseb. l. 1. Hist. Evang. c. 1. & l. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 3. de Nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. cont. Gent. <sup>e</sup> Gen. 4. 16.



therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*, a founder of cities, and *Herceios*, an incloser or strengthner of cities; (say <sup>a</sup> *Phornutus* and *Paulanias*;) and that to *Jupiter Herceios* there were in very many places altars and temples erected. And that there were cities built before the flood, *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soon after mankind began to increase, they built many cities; which as his meaning he delivereth in plain terms, in his third book of laws: for he saith, that cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great flood.

This *Jupiter* of the *Ethnicks* was then the same *Cain*, the son of *Adam*; who marrying his own sister (as also *Jupiter* is said to have done) inhabited the east, where *Stephanus de urbibus* placeth the city *Henochia*. And besides this city of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built six others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jesca*, *Selet* and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, and from whom also the *Ethnicks* had the invention of sacrifice: so were <sup>b</sup> *Jubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (inventors of pastorage, smiths-craft, and musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane writers <sup>c</sup> *Mercurius*, *Vulcan* and *Apollo*: and as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*; so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema* or *Naamah*, the sister of *Tubalcain*, to signify *Venusta*, or beautiful, *voluptas*, or pleasure: as the wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus*, the lady of pleasure and beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturn*, *Cain* the eldest *Jupiter*, *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Noema* or *Naamah* the first *Venus*: so did the fable of the dividing of the world between the three brethren the sons of *Saturn* arise, from the true story of the dividing of the earth between the three brethren the sons of *Noah*: so also was the fiction of those golden apples kept by a dragon taken from the serpent, which tempted *Eva*: so was *Paradise* it self transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made the garden of the *Hesperides*: the prophecies, that *Christ* should break the serpent's head, and conquer the power of hell, occasioned the fables of *Hercules* killing the serpent of *Hesperides*, and descending into hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: so out of the taking up of *Enoch* by God was borrowed the conversion of their *Heroes* (the inventors of religion and such arts as the life of man had profit by) into stars and heavenly signs, and (withal) that leaving of the world, and ascension of *Astrea*; of which *Ovid*.

*Ultima cœlestium terras Astrea reliquit.*

*Astrea* last of heavenly wights the earth did leave.

For altho' thereby the <sup>e</sup> *Ethnicks* would understand justice it self to have failed, as it is a virtue abstract, and may be considered without a person; yet as it is usual among the ancient poets to describe virtues and vices by the persons of men and women, as desire by *Cupid*, valour by *Mars*, beauty or lust by *Venus*, so do they also the persons of men by like virtues and vices; and therefore by justice and *Astrea*, *Enoch*: the justice and piety of *Enoch* being in the same manner exprest, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*, for *Noah* was said to be a just man; <sup>f</sup> *And Noah walked with God*. And of *Enoch* it is written, <sup>g</sup> *that he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for God took him away*.

From this story also of the first age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the giants be-

gotten by the sons of good men upon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they steal those wondrous great acts of their ancient kings, and powerful giants and again their war undertaken against the Gods, from the building of the tower of *Babel* by the giant *Nimrod*, as <sup>h</sup> *St. Augustine* termeth him. Which war of their giants *Cornelius Severus* thus describeth:

*Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo  
Sydera, captivique Jovis transferre gigantes:  
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.*

The giants did advance their wicked hand  
Against the stars, to thrust them headling down;  
And robbing *Jove* of his impartial crown,  
On conquered heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the stars, should bury them under the moisture of a second flood, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the law to heaven it self. Also the making of leagues, peace and covenants among heathen nations and kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneids* hath a touch, was as it seemeth borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod.* 24. Who, when he read the book of the covenant, sprinkled the people with blood.

<sup>i</sup> We find also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternal ancestor of *Enoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same king of *Egypt*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of *Israel* (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his son and successor *Setho*, of *Seth*, and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the princes of *Thrace* called *Scuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. <sup>k</sup> But herein was the memory of *Seth* most manifestly preserved, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition, in honour of whom they called a principal province *Setheutica*. <sup>l</sup> We also find in *Bithynia* the city of *Setbia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure from the *Egyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow this kind of theology, tho' they scorned to acknowledge any antiquity preceding their own; and that they might not seem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same names to their own idols which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

#### SECT. V.

Of the three chiefest *Jupiters*; and the strange story of the third.

**B**UT of all those armies of *Jupiters* remembered by the ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the son of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestial conditions (for *Aether* is as much as shining or pure fire) the other discovered his natural virtues, which days and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the son of *Cœlum* or heaven, for the same former respect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and king of *Athens*.

<sup>a</sup> Phorn. l. de natura Deorum. Paulan. l. 4, 5, & 10. in Protag.  
<sup>b</sup> Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 2. <sup>c</sup> Gen. 7. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 5. 22, 24  
<sup>e</sup> Phorn. l. lnd. <sup>f</sup> Strabo, l. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. 4. 26, 21, 22.

<sup>h</sup> Laet. l. 4. c. 27.

<sup>i</sup> Ov. Met.

<sup>j</sup> Lab. de Civitate Dei.

<sup>k</sup> Joseph. l. 1. contra Appion.



The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables were devised, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*) the son of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The name derived from the *Latin* is taken of *Juvans Pater*, from the *Greek* word *Zeus*, it signifieth life, but somewhat strained. *Boccas* in his genealogy of the Gods conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the planet; but whether that star had such a name, before the same was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and faithful (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those ancient kings beautified with these conditions, might be called there after *Jupiter*; but howsoever they were, or were not with those virtues enriched, yet, by imitation, all kings in the eldest times assumed those titles and surnames: great princes affecting as high titles of honour and reputation of the world (howsoever deserved) as the worthiest, that ever were, acquired by their well-deservings. *Joves omnes reges vocarunt antiqui*; The ancients called all kings *Jupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia historia* confirmeth: *Reges olim Joves vocarunt omnes*: In old time all nations called their kings *Jupiters*. But where this last and most remembred *Jupiter* was born it is uncertain. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others, that he was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his uncle: because it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titan*'s permission, he should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement because *Saturn* performed in his first born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into *Latin*.

*Haud fit pinguior,  
Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filiis.*

*Saturn* to be the fatter is not known,  
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This composition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Silylla* also witnesseth in these:

*Conceptis verbis; Titan jurare coegit  
Saturnum, de se natum ne nutriat ullum,  
Quo possint regnare senis post fata nepotes.*

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturn* swear,  
No son to nourish; which by reigning might  
Usurp the right of *Titan*'s lawful heir.

But *Opis*, the mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (first called *Iysanias*) into *Crete*, as she did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnoia*, the chief city of that island, by *Cressa* the king, or by the *Cretes*, a people and nation thereof.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes*, others call him an *Aethiopian*: others make him of *Messæa*. The like contention is found among the *Greeks* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirm, that he was fed by honey-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a God: others, that he was nourished by bears: others, by goats: and of all these the idle *Greeks* have many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he set on him, and took him and his wife prisoners, whom *Jupiter* again rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the father and the son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the less powerful fled into *Italy*, and left his kingdoms in *Greece* to his son. And altho' this prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many virtues the name of *Jupiter* was given him; yet, after he was once settled and became potent, he gave himself over wholly to palliardise and adultery, without all respect of honour, law, or religion. And it is reported by such, as do ascribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the sin of *Sodom* with *Ganymedes* and others; and did not only begin with incest, marrying his own sister *Juno*, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by strong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame, *Niobe*, *Laodemia* and *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Pelæsus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus* and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the mountain *Taygetus* took name, with another son called *Saon*, of whom *Sarvona*: by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danaë* *Perseus*: by *Jordana* *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protopenia* he had *Atblus* the father of *Endymion*; and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that country took name, for so the *Greeks* afterwards called *Africa*. He ravished *Ægina*, the daughter of *Æsopus*, and carried her into the island *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterwards called *Ægina*, on whom he begat *Æacus*: by *Torhebia* he had *Archeptaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora Colaxes*: he had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterwards *Ilium* and *Troy*. He begat the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis* *Hiarbas*. He had besides these (if they belie not their chief God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inventors of bakers craft, and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all these, who were born in ages so far differing. And of these his several ravishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wives, daughters and sons, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into showers of gold, eagles, bulls, birds, and beasts, and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this monster, *Optimus Maximus*, tho' *Cicero* in his second book *de natura deorum* affirms, that he deserv'd nothing less: And in his oration *pro domo sua* reproacheth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*) *Cretenses non solum nuntium apud se & sepultum Jovem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum ejus ostendunt*. The *Cretans* or *Candians* do not only avow that *Jupiter* was born and buried among them, but they shew his grave and sepulchre: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the monuments of his tomb in the mountain *Jasius*. This *Callimachus* in his hymns also witnesseth, but as offended thereat, saith thus:

The *Cretans* ever liars were, they care not what they say:  
[liv't always.]

For they a tomb have built for thee, O king, that

<sup>d</sup> *Diodorus Siculus* tells by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as he saith) by some *Greek* writers, that the original of these gods was from the



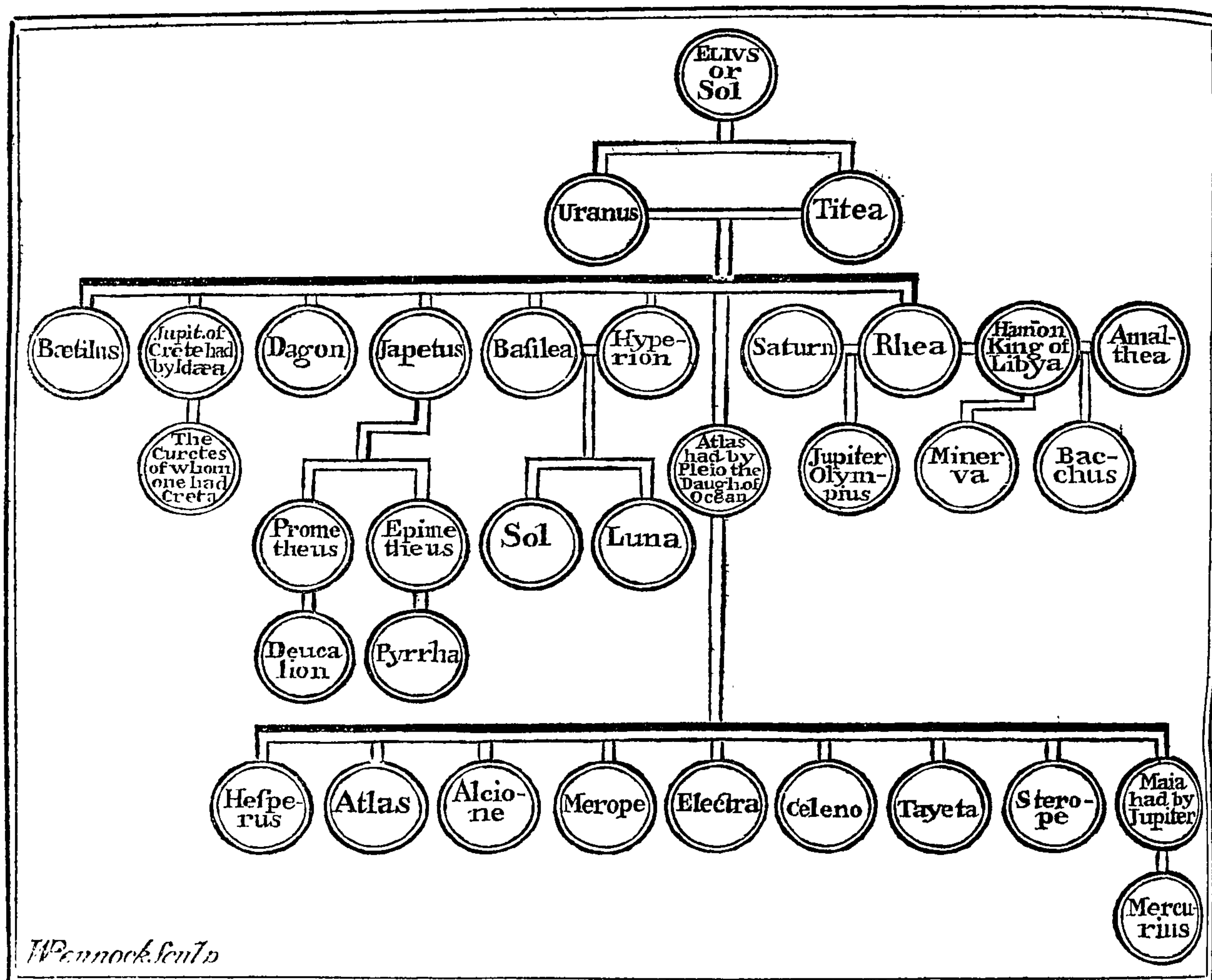
western parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantide* reigned one *Uranus* (which signifieth heaven) called so for his great skill in *Astrology*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many wives, forty-five sons; but by his principal wife *Titea* he had seventeen sons and two daughters, all which were called after their mother's name *Titanes*. Of *Titea* likewise it is said, that she for her goodness was canonized as a goddess, being dead, and called the *Earth*, as her husband was stiled *Heaven*. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Basilea* (which name founding as queen in *English*, she is by the *Latin* translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in virtue as in years, was by general consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as queen after her father's death, being as yet a virgin. She took to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom she bare a son and a daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardliness of these children moved her brethren to envy, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they took the boy and drowned him in the river *Eridanus*, now called *Po*. The loss of this child caused his sister to break her own neck; and the loss of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with cymbals, after a wild fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom she is said to have vanished away. Ere she died, her son (as the fable hath it) signified unto her in a dream, that he and his sister by the providence of God should become immortal, that also the *Sun* and *Moon* should be called by their names, and that their death should be revenged upon their murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two planets, and withal held herself as a goddess, and termed her the great mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilst they were young. *Hyperion* and his race being extinguished, the other sons of *Uranus* divided the kingdom. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the countries lying about the mountains, which afterwards bare his name; a just and wise prince, deeply skilful in *Astrology*, and for invention of the *sphere* said to have supported heaven. He had many sons, but the principal of them, called *Hesperus*, being of his father's qualities and studies, was said to have been carried away by the wind, from the top of an high hill in the midst of his contemplations, and his name, in honour of him, imposed by the people upon the morning star. The seven daughters of *Atlas* were also said to have been excellent ladies, who accompanying such as came to be deified, or registered among the worthies, brought forth children, answerable in quality to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seven stars called *Pleiades* took name. *Saturn* the brother of *Atlas* reigned in *Sithia*, part of *Africk* and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the sons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*, who had ten sons which he called *Curetes*; he called that island after his wife's name *Idea*; in which isle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not have been that great one, but uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if these fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturn* (as these *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keep his people in subjection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerva*, near to the river *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He also begot on *Amalthea* a son called *Bacchus*, whom he caused secretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up

at *Nysa*, an island in the river *Triton*, under the tuition of his daughter *Minerva*, and certain nymphs. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly country, that lay on the sea coast, bending in form of a horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea's* plentiful horn, famous among the poets. When *Rhea* heard this news, she fled from her husband to her brother *Saturn*, who not only entertained her as a sister, but took her to wife, and at her instigation made war upon *Hammon*, vanquished him by the assistance of the *Titans*, and made him fly into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter's* children before-mentioned, held the island at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the king's daughter, whom he took to wife, and had with her (women as may seem being very gracious in those times) the kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the art of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankind, before the flight of his mother-in-law. Now therefore hearing report of all that happened, and that *Saturn* was coming against him with the *Titans*; he levied an army, to which the *Amazons*, living not far from *Nysa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva* who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they set forward against *Saturn*, met him, overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second expedition. In the second expedition he behaved himself so well, that he won the love of all the people by whom he passed; infomuch, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn's* rigorous government, he was greatly strengthened, and the enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the city of *Hammon*, he won a battle of *Saturn*, before the very walls. After which *Saturn* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the town on fire to despite *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturn* had a young son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great expedition that he made into the east countries; and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a boy, governor of the country; but appointed unto him as an overseer, one *Olympius*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympius*. Whilst *Bacchus* travelled thro' all nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titans* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*; with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerva*, together with the rest that afterwards were held as gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chased them, took, and slew them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Jupiter* the son of *Saturn* succeeding them, reigned lord alone over all the world, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to disturb him. Between this tale of the *Libyan* gods, and the *Egyptian* fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked images of some one true history. For the expeditions of *Osiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the wars of the giants in the one story, of the *Titans* in the other; the kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Libycus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the cymbals of *Basilea*, with many petty circumstances, nearly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Saturn*



*choniato* (as <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phenicians*, and is earnest in saying, that it is a true story, and no allegory. Yet he makes it seem the more allegorical, by giving to *Uranus* or heaven for daughters, *Fate* and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, tho' *Diodorus* have enough. To the

genealogy he adds *Elius* or the *Sun*, as father of *Uranus*; and among the children of *Uranus*, *Japetus*, *Betilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withal to *Uranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. The pedigree of them is this.



#### SECT. VI.

Of Cham, and other wicked ones, whereof some got, some affected the name of gods.

**O**F *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Saturnus Babylonius*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembered: for long after these times were the *Greeks* but salvages, if they seek no farther off for their gods.

But the *Egyptians*, even after the flood, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean Jupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the etymology of this word [*Hammon*] which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis*, from the sands, is ridiculous (saith <sup>b</sup> *Peucer*) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth heat: because the said temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the air is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the most renowned) it is certain that he was born not long before the war of *Troy*, as by many of his sons is made manifest; namely,

*Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom, *Troy* was destroyed.

Now seeing that mortal men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: For by what reason could the same deity be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was given to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as she was.

#### SECT. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient heathen had far better opinions of God.

**B**UT that ever *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, tho' some of them (over-busily) have mixed their own inventions with the scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiod* in hell, where he

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. l. 2. c. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Peucer de Oracul



feigned that they were perpetually stung and pinched with serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the books of *Moses*, as by places stolen thence almost word for word; may appear; of which *Justin Martyr* remembreth many in that treatise converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, tho' he dissembled in some things, for fear of the inquisition of the *Areopagites*, yet *St. Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirifice iis delectatus est, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, saith *Justin Martyr*. Now however *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato* sought knowledge from the *Egyptians* and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the *Jews* and books of *Moses*: <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reason to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or favouring of divinity: and the same opinion had *St. Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possess'd all those learned philosophers and poets, that *Plato* also publish'd (not under the right authors names) those things which he had read in the scriptures; or fearing the severity of the <sup>b</sup> *Areopagites*, and the example of his master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poison, I cannot judge. *Justin Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Plato's* fear, whose words among many other of the same effect, are these, *Plato Mosi mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solumque Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putavit, veritus Arcopagum*; *Plato* fearing the *Areopagites* thought it not safe for him among the *Athenians* to make mention of *Moses*, that he taught that there is but one God. But for that divinity which he hath written in *Timæo*; *Id ipsum de Deo differuit quod & Moses*; He discoursed and taught the same of God (saith *Justin Martyr*) which *Moses* did. For where it pleased God by his angel to answer *Moses*, *Ego sum existens* (which is) *I am*; and *existens misit me ad vos*, I am hath sent me unto you; herein did *Plato* (saith *Justin Martyr*) no otherwise differ than that *Moses* used the word [*qui*] and *Plato* the word [*quod*]; *Moses enim qui existit (inquit,) Plato quod existit*. For *Moses* saith, *He who is*; *Plato*, *That which is*. Now of God's incomprehensible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or express the same, he giveth this testimony: *Genitorem universitatis tam difficile est invenire, quam inventum impossibile digne profari*; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the universal, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speak of him worthily. And what can be more agreeable to the majesty of God's nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? <sup>c</sup> *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum; malorum autem omnium non causa*; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good; but of any thing that is evil he is no cause at all: and again, *Claritas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum*; The love of God was the cause of the world's creating, and the original of all things. *Apuleius* the *Platonist*, *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate*: *Et nihil est Deo similis & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus*; The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God, than a man

of a perfect heart. <sup>d</sup> *Thales* affirmed, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient, *quia nunquam esse coepit*, because he never had any beginning: *Zeno*, that God beheld even the thoughts of Men: *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses's* story of the creation, than this opinion and description of the world's beginning in *Euripides*, scholar of *Anaxagoras*?

*Cælum terraque unius formæ fuit:  
Sed cum fuissent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,  
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita,  
Arbores, aves, feræ, quasque affert mare,  
Genusque mortalium.*

Heaven and earth one form did bear:  
But when disjoined once they were

From mutual embraces.

All things to light appeared then,  
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men  
The still remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we find the same excellent understanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God, tho' he uses the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envy and danger of the time; but that he could attribute those things to the sons of men and mortal creatures, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

*Nomina Deorum* (saith *Mirandula*) *quos Orpheus canit, non decipientium demonum, a quibus malum & non bonum provenit; sed naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina*; The names of those gods whom *Orpheus* doth sing, are not of deceiving devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodness; but they are the names of natural and divine virtues. Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himself, this his instruction to *Museus*, and the hymn following teach us. *Respicens vero ad divinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi regem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse vero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend

Thy heart, that's reason's sphere, and the right way ascend,

And see the world's sole king. First, he is simply one

Begotten of himself, from whom is born alone  
All else; in which he's still, nor could it ere befall  
A mortal eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And again the same author.

*Jupiter omnipotens, & primus, & ultimus idem;  
Jupiter est caput & medium: Jovis omnia munus.  
Jupiter est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.  
Jupiter & mas est, & femina nescia mortis.  
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis Jupiter ignis.  
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna est Jupiter ipse.  
Rex, & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.  
Nam prius occuluit, magno post numine, sacrum  
Cor referans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.*

<sup>a</sup> Luc. præp. evang. l. 11. Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. cont. Celsum. Ambr. ad Iren. ep. 6. l. 1. <sup>b</sup> Arcopagus, or domus. <sup>c</sup> Luc. Mart. l. 11: a house wherein capital matters were tried: so called at first, because Mars therein first pleaded his cause. <sup>d</sup> Luc. Mart. adm. ad gent. fol. 8. 14. ut sup.



The first of all is God, and the same last is he.  
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.

God is the base of earth, and of the starred sky.  
He is the male and female too, shall never die.  
The spirit of all is God, the sun, and moon, and what is higher.

The king, th' original of all, of all the end.  
For close in holy breast he all did comprehend,  
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, and other nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the reader to those large and learned collections of *Justin Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Plessis*, *Daneus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, describ'd him by these attributes and properties, *Bonus, justus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, always doing good, safe without fear, glorious, and self-charity. *Epicharmus* affirm'd, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus*. *Rex omnium ipse solus*; He is the only King of all kings; and with *Pindarus* the poet, *Deus unus, Pater, Creator summus, atque optimus Artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita præbet*; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best Artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts. This God (saith *Antisthenes*) cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known; *Nisi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes*; Save only in that everlasting country, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also *Xenophanes Colophonius*, *Unus Deus inter Deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis*; There is one God among Gods and men most powerful, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals: and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat*; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all thing at rest, is great and mighty, as is manifest to all: but of what form he is, it is manifest to none, save only to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light. Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum nature Causa, & Ratio, & Origo Deus, summus animi Genitor, æternus animantium Hospitator, assiduus mundi sui Opifex, sine propagatione Genitor, neque loco neque tempore ullo comprehensus; eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis*; God is the Cause, Ground, and Original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soul, the eternal Preserver of living creatures, the continual Framer of his world, a Beggetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is. Therefore was it said by *St. Jerome*, "*Si enim cunctos philosophorum revolvas libros, necessè est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, ut apud Platonem, Fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud Zenonem Stoicorum principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c.*" If thou consider all the books of the phi-

losophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the vessels of God, as in *Plato*, God the Creator of the world: in *Zeno* prince of the *Stoicks*, Hell and immortal souls. And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all ages, we shall find, that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgment; never any man whose mind the art of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterwards blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a penitive inspection advis'd; but that he hath found by an irresistible necessity, one true God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no man among the heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly express'd, than that *Egyptian Hermes*, howsoever it failed afterwards in his posterity: all being at length by devilish policy of the *Egyptian* priests purposely obscur'd; who invented new Gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the devil persuaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in awe and order their common people.

#### SECT. VIII.

*That Heathenism and Judaism, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculously confounded.*

**B**UT all these are again vanished: for the inventions of mortal men are no less mortal than themselves. The fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a God, is crept into every man's chimney, which the lack of fuel starveth, water quencl-eth, and want of air suffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno's* jealousies; death hath persuaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the bodies and images of him and his: yea, their stately temples of stone and durable marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phenicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Libya*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from *Jupiter*. The great God *Pan* hath broken his pipes; *Apollo's* priests are become speechless; and the trade of riddles in oracles, with the devil's telling mens fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Egyptians*, and cozening astrologers.

But it was long ere the devil gave way to these his overthrows and dishonours: for after the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enrich'd, repair'd, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the idols and ornaments therein by the *Eubean* pirates; secondly, By the *Phlegians* utterly sack'd; thirdly, By *Pyr- rhus* the son of *Achilles*; fourthly, By the army of *Xerxes*; fifthly, By the captains of the *Phe- censes*; sixthly, By *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian army made spoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was again gloriously rebuilt, and so remain'd till such time as *Julian* the *Apostate* sent thither to know the suc-



cess of his *Parthian* enterprize; at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from heaven; and the image of *Apollo* himself, and all the rest of the idols therein molten down and lost in the earth.

The like success had the *Jews* in the same *Julian's* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an earthquake, and many thousands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruins, and others slain, and scattered by tempest and thunder: though <sup>a</sup> *Am. Marcellinus* reports it more favourably for the *Jews*, ascribing this to the nature of that element. For, saith he, *Allypius* and the ruler of the province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* busied in the re-edifying of this temple, flaming balls of fire issuing near the foundation, and oft consuming the workmen, made the enterprize frustrate.

SECT. IX.

*Of the last refuges of the devil to maintain his kingdom.*

NOW the devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this world (as in those days) and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself than ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of beasts, birds, and other mix'd natures; he now sets before them the high and shining idol of glory, the all-commanding image of bright gold. He tells them that truth is the goddess of dangers and oppressions; that chastity is the enemy of nature: and lastly, that as all virtue (in general) is without taste: so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every sense: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* find in his pupils any remorse, any feeling or fear of God's future judgment, he persuades them that God hath so great need of mens souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timely return towards God, by laying those great blocks of rugged poverty, and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his Divine Presence. But as the mind of man hath two ports, the one always frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and overgrown with grass, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetousness, licentiousness, injustice, and oppressions (the harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow) staying for us. And as the devil, our most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: so he is now more laborious than ever: the long day of mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the world's tragedy and time near at an end.

CHAP. VII.

*Of NOAH's flood.*

SECT. I.

*Of God's fore-warning: and some human testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noah's flood.*

OF this destruction it pleased God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (saith <sup>b</sup> *Josephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Secedens cum suis, in aliam regionem migravit*; He departed with his children, and travelled into another region. And of these giants, from whom *Noah* withdrew himself, *Berosus* writeth in this manner: *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhuman and unnatural wickedness, and that they were contemptores & religionis & Deorum*; Contemnors of religion and of the Gods: among which mighty men (saith *Berosus*) *Unus erat qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat Noah*; There was one more wise and reverencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was *Noah*: who with his three sons *Sem*, *Japhet* and *Cham*, and with their wives, and the wife of *Noah* (namely *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preserved themselves in the ark. This ark God commanded *Noah* to prepare: <sup>c</sup> *And God said unto Noah, make thee an ark of pine-trees: thou shalt make cabins in the ark, and shalt pitch it within, and without, with pitch*. For God made <sup>d</sup> *Noah* to know that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel generations were already fashion'd in the clouds, which soon after should swallow up and cover all living creatures, which breathed in the air: *Noah* and his family excepted.

But this universal grave of waters, and general deluge, hath not been received by all: for divine testimonies do not persuade all natural men to those things, to which their own reason cannot reach: <sup>e</sup> *Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet*; Whilst the truth lieth wrapp'd up in obscurity. Many there are who have disputed against the universality of this overflowing, and have judged that this flood of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and kingdoms: moved so to think, because in elder ages there have been many other floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicolaus Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Josephus*, <sup>f</sup> *Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in arca deventum in hujus vertice hæsisse, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore conservatas, qui fortasse is fuit, de quo etiam Moses Judæorum legislator scribit*: thus far this author. There is (saith he) above *Minyada* (or the country of *Minyæ*) an exceeding high mountain in *Armenia*, called *Baris*; on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were saved in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an ark, and rested upon the top of the mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the same, of which *Moses* the law-giver of the *Jews* maketh mention. And of this opinion were the *Thalmudists* (saith *Annius*) that many giants saved themselves upon mount *Sion*.

But *Berosus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howsoever he have been since deformed

<sup>a</sup> *Am. Mar. l. 23. cap. 1.* <sup>b</sup> *Joseph. l. 1. cap. 4.* <sup>c</sup> *Gen. 6. 14.* <sup>d</sup> *Gen. 6. 13.* <sup>e</sup> *Iact. in Præf. de falsa relig.*

<sup>f</sup> *Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euseb. de præp. l. 9. c. 4.*



and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the general flood, taking from thence the beginning of his history in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua universus periit orbis, &c.* Before that famous destruction of waters, by which the world universal perished: witnessing withal, that *Noah*, with his wife *Titea*, and his three sons, with their wives (in all eight persons) were only saved.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the flood in the time of Ogyges: and that this was not Noah's flood.*

**B**UT from the vanity of the *Greeks*, the corrupters of all truth (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their antiquity, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, fought to persuade the world, that there was no flood preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, king of the *Thebans* in *Bæotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore saith *Rhodoginus*, <sup>a</sup> *Ogygium id appellant poëtæ tanquam pervetus dixeris, ab Ogyge vetustissimo*; The poets gave the name of *Ogygia* to things exceeding ancient, as of *Ogyges* the most ancient.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he lived but in *Jacob's* time (tho' <sup>b</sup> *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses's* time) and was born 67 years after him.

There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he far later) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth book of his antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnasse autument hunc; unde sit Cadmus qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, à bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua bos dicitur Thebe.* There are (saith *he*) who think that this *Ogyges* did reign in *Egypt*, whereby he should be *Cadmus*, who travelling into *Greece* built *Thebes*, so named of a beef slain: because in the *Syrian* language a beef is called *Thebe*.

But this flood of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the world 3440, according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the flood of *Noah* in the year 2242, after the same account; and so there came 1200 years between these floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronology*. Now although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set down, but that there is a great difference among writers, yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500 years difference between that and the general flood.

For <sup>c</sup> *Paulus Orosius* affirms, that this tempest fell upon the *Athenians* but 1040 years before *Rome* was built. *Bucholzerus* saith it was 1043 elder than *Rome*; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the world's year 3219, tho' after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the story of *Abraham*) it was built in the world's year 3280. Now the general flood preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563 years: and the flood of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easy calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between these two floods must be 520 years, to which we (allowing 60 more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah* *Ogyges priscus*, <sup>d</sup> as some do) it appears by this, that the flood of *Ogyges* then king of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it self any

farther than the banks of *Archipelago*, or *Ægean* sea. For whereas <sup>e</sup> *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witness, that the city of *Joppe* in *Judea* was founded before the flood; and that (notwithstanding the weight of waters) their remained on certain altars of stone the title of the king, and of his brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their religion: sure, it is no where found among prophane historians, nor in the scriptures, that ever the flood of *Ogyges* spread it self over any part of *Syria*, much less over all the earth. But that it drown'd both the regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (cities seated on the north part of *Peloponnesus*) of which *Ovid*.

<sup>f</sup> *Si quæras Helicen, & Buran, Achaidos urbes, Invenies sub aquis.*

*Bura* and *Helice* on *Achaian* ground  
Are fought in vain, but under sea are found.

Of this flood of *Ogyges* was invented the fable of <sup>g</sup> *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cæus*, the son of *Titan*, being beloved and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the earth to be delivered on; and withal caused the monstrous serpent *Python* to follow and affright her, wheresoever she travelled, till at length arriving at the isle of *Ortygia* she was there received: in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the deluge (which happened in *Ogyges's* reign) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mix'd) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, that in *Attica*, and along the coasts of the *Ægean* sea, neither the beams of the sun by day, nor of the moon by night, could pierce the air, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the air began to be clear, the people of <sup>h</sup> *Ortygia* espied the light of the moon somewhat before day, and in the same morning the sun also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the moon, and *Apollo* the sun) they were reported to be born in the isle of *Ortygia* thereof afterwards called *Delos*, which signifieth manifestation.

And surely it is not improbable, that the flood of *Ogyges*, being so great as histories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the air sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusual face of the skies. *Varro* in his books *De gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by <sup>i</sup> *St. Augustine*) reporteth out of *Castor*, that so great a miracle happened in the star of *Venus*, as never was seen before, nor in after-times: for the colour, the greatness, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out as *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous *Mathematicians*, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Now concerning the course of that or any planet, I do not remember, that I have any where read of so good *astrologers* flourishing among the *Greeks*, or elsewhere, in those days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the planets so exact, that it should need no reformation Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason why the difference found in the star of *Venus* should be held miraculous; considering that lesser mists and

<sup>a</sup> Rhod. l. 15. c. 33. <sup>b</sup> Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. Cal. 22. <sup>c</sup> Lib. 1. c. 7. <sup>d</sup> Xenophon, Annianus <sup>e</sup> Mela <sup>f</sup> Plin. l. 5. Sol. c. 47. <sup>g</sup> Joppe oppidum antiquissimum orbe toto, utpote ante foundationem terrarum conditum. Solin. lib. 1. <sup>h</sup> Ovid. Metam. l. 15. 303. <sup>i</sup> Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 6. <sup>j</sup> Plin. l. 4. c. 11. <sup>k</sup> Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 21. c. 8.



fogs, than those which covered Greece with so long darkness, do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the *sun* and *moon*. That the figure should vary, questionless it was very strange: yet I cannot hold it any prodigy; for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the *sun* beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite half should remain shadowed; whereby that planet would, unto our eyes, descrying only that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the *moon* doth seem; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

*Galileus*, a worthy *Astrologer* now living, who by the help of perspective glasses hath found in the stars many things unknown to the ancients, affirmeth so much to have been discovered in *Venus* by his late observations. Whether some watery disposition of the air might present as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galileus* hath seen thro' his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince man of ignorance, than nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of *St. Augustine*) accompanied with such unusual (and therefore the more dreadful, tho' natural) signs testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the flood of *Noah*, which was general and altogether miraculous, may seem to have had no other token, or foreshewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himself, which was not regarded: \* for they were eating and drinking, when the flood came suddenly, and took them all away.

### SECT. III.

*Of Deucalion's flood: and that this was not Noah's flood: nor the Umbri in Italy a remnant of any universal flood.*

A Second flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Theffalia*, of which *St. Augustine* out of *Varro*. *His temporibus (ut Varro scribit) regnante Atheniensibus Cranao, successore Cecropis (ut autem nostri, Eusebius & Hieronymus) adhuc eodem Cecrope permanente, Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est Deucalionis;* (that is) In these times (as *Varro* reporteth) *Cranaus* the successor of *Cecrops* governing the *Athenians*, or (as our *Eusebius* and *Jerome* say) *Cecrops* yet living, that flood (called *Deucalion's*) happened.

And in the beginning of the 11th chapter of the 18th book, he useth these words. *Eduxit ergo Moses ex Aegypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios Marabus, apud Argivos Triopas.* *Moses* led the people of God out of *Egypt* about the latter times of *Cecrops* king of the *Athenians*, *Ascatades* reigning over the *Assyrians*, over the *Sicyonians Marabus*, and over the *Argives Triopas*: so as leaving the curiosity of a few years, more or less, it appeareth, that this flood of *Deucalion* was either at the egression of the children of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, or near it: and then after *Noah* 733 years, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the world 2409, or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739 years after *Noah*, and in the year of the world 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the age of the world 2356, according to *Codoman*; then giving unto *Deucalion* 40 years of age when this flood happen'd, it falleth within one year of *Mercator's* account. But *Deucalion* by

all approved historians is said to have been 82 years old at that time: Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this flood of *Deucalion*; and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëton's* time, by the reign of *Crotopus* king of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived king of the *Argives* 6 years after *Israhel* departed *Egypt*, which makes 20 years difference according to *Functius*, who will have this flood and burning to have fallen 14 years before *Moses* left *Egypt*: for he gave of the world's years to the flood and burning the year 2440, and to *Moses's* egression the year 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinks that *Moses* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the flood of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the flood of *Ogyges*, which is deny'd by all: for that of *Theffaly* (called *Deucalion's*) follow'd that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at least 250 years, or thereabouts. *Eusebius*, in his *Chronology*, makes it 230 years, and so doth *P. Orosius*: *Eusebius* about the 50th year of *Moses's* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67th, and both after *Noah's* flood 770 years: for these be *Clemens Alexandrinus's* words: *Fuit autem in Græcia tempore quidem Phoronei, qui fuit post Inachum, inundatio quæ fuit tempore Ogygis*; There happened in Greece in the time of *Phoroneus*, who lived after *Inachus* the flood of *Ogyges*. Now if the flood of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020 or 1016 years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius* and *Orosius* (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763 out of this number of 1020, it falls out that *Ogyges's* flood happened before the *Hebrews* left *Egypt* 250 years, or 260 years, according to the difference between the opinions of *Eusebius* and *Orosius*. And for my self (who rather follow those *Chronologers*, which give 60 years more to *Abraham* after the flood, than the rest) I reckon the times which come between these floods in this sort. The general flood was in the year of the world 1656. *Jacob* was born in the year of the world 2169, so as from the beginning of the flood to *Jacob's* birth, there were consum'd 513 years. *Ogyges's* flood happened 100 years after *Jacob* was born; and therefore after the general flood 613 years. Now *Deucalion* was born in the year of the world 2356, and had lived 82 years, when his kingdom of *Theffaly* was overwhelmed (which added to 2356, make 2438) his flood was after *Noah's* flood ended 782 years. And hereto *Annius's Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700 years between the general flood and *Deucalion's* birth; to which add 82 years of his age (as before) and then the flood of *Theffaly* followed the general 782 years. The words of that *Xenophon* are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anno Sphæri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Theffaliam vidit inundatam*: From the drowning of the world to the birth of *Deucalion*, in the second year of *Sphærus* are numbred 700 years, and when *Deucalion* was 82 years old, he saw *Theffalia* drowned. This flood happened in the winter time about *Parnassus*: witness *Aristotle* in the first of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom *St. Augustine* so often citeth for his excellent learning, especially in antiquities) findeth this flood of *Deucalion* to have happened in the time of *Cranaus*, who succeeded *Cecrops*: *Orosius* thinks it somewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*. Only this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only over *Theffaly* it self, and the regions adjoining westward; but it covered the greatest part of *Italy*: and either the same, or some other particular flood then happening oppress'd *Egypt*, saith *Eusebius*. And therefore did the *Greeks* either

\* Luke 17. 27.    b Cedr. l. 1. f. 34.    c Clem. Alex.    d Ilio. ex Ctes.    e Euseb. in Chron.    f Arist. c. 14.



think it, or feign it to be universal; and *Deucalion*, then king, saving himself and some others on the mountain of *Thessaly* (of all other the highest, saith <sup>a</sup> *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as <sup>a</sup> *Strabo* witnesseth) said to be the preserver of mankind. That this flood covered a great part of *Italy*, <sup>a</sup> *Pliny* and *Solinus* make it probable: who affirm that the people then inhabiting *Italy* were therefore called <sup>a</sup> *Omræoi*, quia ab imbris diluvii superfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first book, and *Trezenius* in his second: which *Umbri* these authors make the parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, and all others inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterranean* sea. But that these *Umbri* were not the inhabitants of *Italy* before the flood of *Noah*, and so took name by saving themselves upon the *Apennine* mountains, the scriptures teach us: shewing who, and who only, then were preserved, which is sufficient. <sup>b</sup> Report hath adventured further, telling us that the first people, which after the general flood inhabited *Italy*, were the *Camefenes* (so named from *Camefe*, whom *Cato in originibus*, another of *Annius's* authors, names for a consort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a savage life; till such time as *Saturn* arriving on those coasts, devised laws to govern them by; the memory of whose acts in that region *Diodore* and *Thallus* among the *Greeks*, *Nepos*, *Cassius* and *Varro* among the *Latins* have preserved; and of whom *Virgil*;

<sup>c</sup> *Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,  
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul adeptis.  
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis  
Composuit, legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari  
Maluit.*

*Saturn* descended from the heavens high,  
Fearing the arms of *Jupiter* his son,  
His kingdom lost, and banish'd thence doth fly.  
Rude people on the mountain tops he won  
To live together, and by laws: which done,  
He chose to call it *Latium*.

And afterwards in the verses following he speaketh of the *Aufones*, and after them of the *Sicani*: nations, which again sought to displant the ancient inhabitants:

<sup>d</sup> *Tum manus Aufonia, & gentes venere Sicani.*

Then came th' *Aufonian* bands, and the *Sicanian* tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spain* and sat down in *Italy*) <sup>e</sup> *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give testimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these plantations and replantations came the *Umbri*, descended of the *Gauls* (saith <sup>f</sup> *Annius*) not of those *Gauls* of *France*, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*, as <sup>g</sup> *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius*, have assured us; and therefore this flood of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all those nations were planted in *Italy*, and dispossess'd of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that kingdom was first called *Camefene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Aufonia*, then *Sicania*, before the *Umbri* (in whose time *Deucalion's* flood happened) possess'd the same, about 306 years before the war of *Troy*: *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*; who being the father of twenty-

two sons, the youngest, called <sup>h</sup> *Oenotrius*, invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held until *Italus* of the same nation chang'd it into *Italy*, after his own name, about <sup>i</sup> 250 years before the fall of *Troy*. After these came the *Pe-lasgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his 3d book and 5th chapter; and *Strabo* in his 5th; *Thucydides* in his 6th speaks at large: and after them the *Lydi* under *Tyrrhenus* their captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred castles, and built therein twelve cities; to which (after they had possess'd and pass'd over the *Apennine* mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a nation, as these *Umbri*, in those parts, I do not affirm; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the *Greek* word *Ombros*; but that these *Umbri* of *Italy* were descended of the nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter.

#### SECT. IV.

*Of some other records testifying the universal flood: and of two ancient deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.*

<sup>j</sup> *St. Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greeks* and *Latins* made not any mention of the universal flood, because they had nothing of antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus* before remembred) were all things among the *Greeks* (which antiquity had worn out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call worm-eaten, or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every family which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of divine letters was not received, find no parent of more antiquity, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigene*, and growing out of the earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certain knowledge of *Noah's* flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) tho' he also affirm by hearsay, that some giants saved themselves upon the mountains *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word *sermo est*, that such a speech there was. And <sup>k</sup> *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus*, to preserve himself from a flood foretold him by *Saturnus*, fled to the hills of *Armenia* by ship, *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned again; which he also did a second time, but at the third return the birds feet were covered with mud and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius's* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seem a true description (tho' in other terms) of *Noah's* flood.

*Cyrrillus* also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this general flood. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy books of *Egypt*, the story of the flood universal, which (saith he) happened long before the *Grecian* inundations. Frier *Annius's*

<sup>a</sup> Solin. l. 1. c. 14. Strabo, l. 9. Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Sol. c. 7. Plin. ibid. <sup>b</sup> Athenæus Dipnosoph. l. 15. out of Democoreus, saith <sup>c</sup> *at Camefe was the wife and sister of Janus*. Laët. l. 1. c. 13. <sup>d</sup> Aen. l. 8. 319. <sup>e</sup> Virg. l. 8. Aen. <sup>f</sup> Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. <sup>g</sup> Annus ex Samuele Thalmudista. <sup>h</sup> Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2. <sup>i</sup> Pausan. Arcad. l. 8. <sup>j</sup> Arist. pol. 7. c. 10. <sup>k</sup> Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.



*Xenophon* remembreth a flood; which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the general flood for the first, which happened (saith he) under the old *Ogyges*, *sub prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living 44 years before that of *Attica*, in the 34th year of *Belochus* king of the *Assyrians*, tho' I do not believe him as touching the time. But this flood covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all that region subject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus's* liver, afterward slain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem profunditatemque aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum, Herculem cum consilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt e vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse: unde & Græci quidam poetæ rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, Herculem tradunt aquilam Promethei jecur depascentem occidisse.* This flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftness of his course, as also for the depth, was in those days called the *Eagle*: but *Hercules* by his great judgment and virtue did again compress and strengthen this river, so far extended and overspread, turning it into the old channels: whence certain Greek poets (converting this labour and work of *Hercules* into a fable) devised that *Hercules* slew the eagle, which fed on *Prometheus's* liver; meaning, that he delivered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and country (by the waters destroy'd and cover'd over) he suffered.

A fourth flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief sort writeth of all these inundations; *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimestris inundatio terrarum sub prisco Ogyge: secunda Niliaca, &c.* There were many inundations (saith the same *Xenophon*) the first which was universal of nine months, and this happened under the first *Ogyges*: the second was *Niliaca*, and of one month's continuance in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two months under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three months in *Theffalia* under *Deucalion*; and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helen's* rape. *Diodorus* in his 5th book and 11th chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his authors, remembreth a flood in *Asia* the less, and elsewhere, of no less destruction than any of the other particular inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*: the sea of *Pontus* and *Hellepont* breaking in over the land.

But there have been many floods in divers times and ages, not inferiour to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the year of our redemption 590, when, in *October* of the same year, *Gregory* then being bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* territory, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a most fearful storm of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead serpents cast up and left upon the land, after the waters decreased and returned. And in the year 1446, there perished 10000 people by the breaking in of the sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which

kind I take that flood to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and the year 1283, *Tritheimius* speaketh of an earthquake which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a flood in *Friesland*, in which there perished 100000 persons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an inundation in *Italy*, in the time of pope *Damasus*, in which also many cities of *Sicily* were swallowed: another in the papacy of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the year 1515, *Maximilian* being emperor. He also remembreth a perilous overflowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier*, a French historian speaketh of a great flood in the south part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the year of our Lord 1557, with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the world and judgment day; saying, that by the violent descent of the waters from the mountains, about *Nismes*, there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground, and many other places torn up and rent: by which accident there was found both coin of silver and gold, divers pieces of plate, and vessels of other metal, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that province, in the year 1156.

#### SECT. V.

*That the flood of Noah was supernatural, tho' some say it might have been foreseen by the stars.*

NOW howsoever all these floods and many other, which have covered at several times several regions, not only in these parts of the world, but in *America* also (as I have learned of some ancient soothsayers among them) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that universal flood (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the earth by a power above nature, and by the special commandment of God himself, who at that time gave strength of influence to the stars, and abundance to the fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoever union could perform, without receiving from the fountain of all power, strength, and faculties supernatural. *Hemicus Mecliniensis*, a scholar of *Albertus Magnus*, in his commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Masar*, observeth, that before the flood of *Noah*, the like conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the flood of *Noah* might be foretold, because *Cancer* is both a watery sign, and the house of the moon, which is the lady of the sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of *astronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, that altho' *Noah* did well know this flood by divine revelation, yet (this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signs, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himself: and further, that by *Cataractæ cæli* (Englished the windows of heaven) *Moses* meant this great and watery conjunction; the word [*Cataractæ*] signifying flowing down or coming down. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordain by the course of the heavens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and

<sup>a</sup> Diod. l. 1. <sup>b</sup> Nat. Com. l. 4. c. 6. <sup>c</sup> Xenoph. de equiv. Comm. per Annium, fol. 37. <sup>d</sup> Munster <sup>e</sup> Eclipsis, & terræ. <sup>f</sup> The word κατάρκτες properly signifieth any place of stop or stay, which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, doth break and breaketh; of ἀσάροω αἰδο, or frango. Hence the windows do not only open but also shut, the word hath been expounded (windows) for bars and flood gates.



thereby forsake those wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Of this judgment was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who understood that the words *Cataractæ cæli*, or windows of heaven, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for these watery signs, *Cancer, Pisces, Pleiades, Hyades* and *Orion*, and of the planets, *Mars, Venus* and the *Moon*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest inundations. His own words are these, *Nondum intelligo prophetam Hebræorum catarractas cæli vocasse, nisi partes illas cæli, quæ generativæ sunt pluviarum & inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) I perceive not what the prophet of the *Hebrews* meaneth by those words [*Cataractæ cæli*, or windows of heaven] unless he thereby understands those celestial powers, by whose influences are engendered the rain, and inundations of waters, such as are the watery signs of *Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable wisdom this conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) add vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increase of virtues, violent eruptions to springs and fountains, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condensing air into water by the ministry of his angels, or howsoever else best pleased his all-powerfulness.

#### SECT. VI.

*That there was no need of any new creation of matter to make the universal flood; and what are Cataractæ cæli, Gen. vii. 11.*

NOW if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new (for God resteth the seventh day, that is, he did not then after create any new *species*) which granted, it may seem that then all the earth and air had not waters sufficient to cover the habitable world fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrained himself or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the world had want of water to overcover the highest mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish: for it is written, that *the fountains of the great deep were broken up*, that is, the waters forsook the very bowels of the earth; and all whatsoever was dispersed therein, pierced and broke thro' the face thereof. Then let us consider that the earth had above twenty-one thousand miles: the diameter of the earth according to that circle seven thousand miles; and then from the superficies to the center some three thousand five hundred miles: take then the highest mountain of the world, *Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all others the highest) in *Tennerif*, and I do not find, that he who looketh highest, stretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the earth three thousand five hundred miles deep should not well help to cover the space of thirty miles in height, this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the earth one hundred and sixteen times: for the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the earth. Secondly, If we consider what proportion the earth beareth to the extension of the air over and above it, we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this air as every where compasseth and embraceth the earth, which condensation is a conversion of air into

water, a change familiar in those elements, it will not seem strange to men of judgment, yea but of ordinary understanding, that the earth (God so pleasing) was covered over with waters without any new creation.

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may add *Berosus* and others, that such a conjunction there was, foreshewing that destruction by waters which followed; and that by the words *Cataractæ cæli*, or windows of heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that observation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth that by the gravest *astrologers* it was observed, that in the Year 1524, there should happen the like conjunction, as at *Noah's* flood, than which (saith he) there was never a more fair, dry, and seasonable year: the like destruction was prophesied of the year 1588. But *Picus* earl of *Mirandula* proveth that there could not be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mystery in the words *Cataractæ cæli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* using the word *windows of heaven* (if that be the sense of the words) to express the violence of the rains, and pouring down of waters. For whosoever hath seen those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the spouts (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a resistless violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Moses* did; that the windows or flood-gates of heaven opened: (which is) that waters fell contrary to custom and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the uppermost air; and the waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (saith <sup>a</sup> *Job*) *he which holdeth the waters, and they dry up*; or better in *Latin*, *Et omnia siccantur*; And all things are dried up; *but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the earth*: and in the 26th chapter, *he bindeth the waters in the clouds*; but these bonds God loosed at that time of the general flood, and called up the waters which slept in the great deep: and these joining together covered the earth, till they had performed the work of his will: which done, <sup>b</sup> he then commanded them to return into their dark and vast caves, and the rest (by a wind) rarified again into air, formerly condensed into drops.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of some remainder of the memory of Noah among the heathen.*

NOAH commanded by God, before the fall of those waters, entered the ark which he had built, with his own wife, and his sons, and his sons wives, taking with them of every creature, which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the unclean two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietness: after others, and according to the prophecy of his father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom after-times gave many names answering his antiquity, zeal, virtue and other qualities: as, *the first* *Ogyges*, because in the time of the *Grecian* *Ogyges* there was also a great flood of *Achaia*: *Salmus* they called him, because he was the father of nations: others gave him the name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steal away *Jupiter's* fire; fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the name of *Janus* (id est) *vinosus*, because *Jain* signifieth wine in the *Hebrew*. And so *Tertullian* finds him written in *libris ritua-*

<sup>a</sup> Job 12. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. 8. 1.



*libus*, in the books of ceremonies, preceding both *Saturn*, *Uranus* and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancientest feigned gods. And this name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latin*; for it was in use before there was any *Latin* nation, or any kingdom by that name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this testimony. *Jani ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat ulla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & far primus populos docuit Janus ad sacrificia: primus enim aras & pomæria & sacra docuit*; In the time of *Janus* (saith he) there was no monarchy: for the desire of rule had not tolded it self about the hearts of men. *Janus* first taught the people to sacrifice wine and meal: he first set up altars, instituted gardens and solitary groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy rites and ceremonies. A greater testimony than this there cannot be found among the heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the scriptures. For first, whilst *Noah* flourished, there was not any king or monarch: *Nimrod* being the first that took on him, sovereign authority. Secondly, <sup>a</sup> *Noah* after the flood was the first that planted the vine, and became a husbandman; and therefore offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) wine and meal. Thirdly, He was the first that raised an altar, and offered <sup>b</sup> sacrifice to God, a thanksgiving for his merciful goodness towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the flood, <sup>c</sup> *Quia præterita noverit, & futura prospexerit*, saith *Arnobius*. *Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come.* He was also in the person of *Janus* shadowed by the name of *Chaos*, and *semen orbis*, The seed of the world; because as out of that confused heap was drawn all kinds of beasts and plants: so from *Noah* came all mankind: whereof *Ovid* in the person of *Janus*:

<sup>d</sup> *Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant, Aspice quam longi temporis acta cano.*

The ancients called me *Chaos*: my great years By those old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also entituled *Cælum* & *Sol*, Heaven and the Sun, for his excellent knowledge in astronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus* and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus*, and *Alexander Aphrodisæus* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greeks* to their former liberty, but in respect of the flood. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* ῥῆς, and his nurses *Hyades*, of rain, because *Noah* entered the ark, when the sun join'd with the stars *Hyades*, a constellation in the brow or neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a monument of *Noah's* flood. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a marine god, the son of *Neptune*: because he lived in safety on the waters. So was he known by the name of <sup>e</sup> *Dionysus*, quasi διαψύσσων, *mentem pungens*, bite-brain or wit-flinger, tho' *Diodorus* conceives otherwise, and derives that name à *patre* & *loco*, of his father and the place of his birth (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Nysa*, a town of *Arabia Felix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of <sup>f</sup> *Taurus*, or *Tauropagus*; because he first yoked oxen and tilled the ground, according to that of *Moses*; <sup>g</sup> *And Noah became an husbandman.* Now howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certain that the name was borrowed, and the invention stolen from *Noah*. But this name of

*Bacchus*, more anciently *Boachus*, was taken (saith <sup>h</sup> *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Daneus*) from *Noachus* [*N*] being chang'd into [*B*]; and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the vine after the flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables devised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth book and fifth chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah* was surnamed *Nysius* of the mountain *Nysa* in *India*, where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatsoever themselves feign of his enterprizes; and these mountains of *Nysa* join with those of *Paropanisus*, and those other eastern mountains, on which the ark of *Noah* rested after the flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this second parent of mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his issues many great cities which bare his name; with many rivers and mountains: which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many names given him brought the same confusion to places as to himself. Notwithstanding all which, we find the city of *Noah* upon the banks of the Red-sea and elsewhere: the river of <sup>i</sup> *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolemy*, *Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Pannonia*. Thus much for the name.

#### SECT. VIII.

*Of sundry particulars touching the ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion and name.*

**N**OW in what part of the world *Noah* built the ark, it doth not appear in the scriptures, neither do I find any approved author that hath written thereof; only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his ark near the mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those hills are found the goodliest cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among a people called *Nysæi*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their burials and sepulchres wrought over with cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate giants, who rebelled against God and nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the ark; to which also he addeth the convenience of rivers, to transport the timber which he used, without troubling any other carriages.

Only this we are sure of, that the ark was built in some part of the eastern world; and, to my understanding, not far from the place where it rested after the flood. For *Noah* did not use any mast or sail (as in other ships) and therefore did the ark no otherwise move than the hulk or body of a ship doth in a calm sea. Also because it is not probable, that during these continual and downright rains there were any winds at all, therefore was the ark little moved from the place where it was fashioned and set together. For it is written; <sup>k</sup> *God made a wind to pass upon the earth, and the waters ceased*; and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the waters, there was not any storm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the ark any great distance from the place where it was first by the waters lifted up. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the ark had *fundum planum*; A flat bottom, and not rais'd in form of a ship with a sharpness forward, to cut the waves for the better speed.

This kind of vessel the *Hebrews* call *Thebet*, and the *Greeks* *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalion's*

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 9. 20. <sup>b</sup> Gen. 8. 20. <sup>c</sup> Arn. cont. Gent. 1. 6. <sup>d</sup> Ovid de fastis, 1. 1. <sup>e</sup> Nat. Com. 1. 5. c. 13. <sup>f</sup> Cælius <sup>g</sup> Gen. 9. 20. <sup>h</sup> Stuck. in libris convivalibus, & Daneus de prima mundi ætate. <sup>i</sup> Plin. 1. 6. Steph. de Urb. Hierod. 1. 4. <sup>j</sup> Gen. 8. 1.



ship : and some say, that the hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight days he arrived, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of [L] into [P] *Parnassus* ; but <sup>a</sup> *Pausanias* thinks that it took name of a son of the nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the inventor of *auguration*.

<sup>b</sup> *Peuceros* finds the word [*Parnassus*] to have no affinity with the *Greek*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nabas*, which signifieth *auguration* and *divination* : or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his chapter of oracles in the leaf before cited.

<sup>c</sup> *Josephus* calls the ark *Machina*, by the general name of a huge frame : and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew* *Aron* ; but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thevet*, that *Aron* signifieth properly the ark of the sanctuary, but *Thevet* such a vessel as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the waters.

Lastly, this ark of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a cover and roof, with a crest in the midst thereof, and the sides declining like the roof of an house ; to the end, both to cast off the waters, and that thereunder <sup>d</sup> *Noah* himself and his children might shelter and separate themselves from the noisomeness of the many beasts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the ark.

Of what wood the ark was built it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher*, once, and in this place only, used, is diversly understood ; and tho' the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, that the *Geneva* translation calls it pine-tree ; the *Rabbins*, cedar ; the *Seventy*, square timber ; the *Latin*, smooth timber. Others will have it cypress-trees, as dedicated to the dead, because cypress is worn at funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signify any special kind of timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein ; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his grace and mercy for his defence. For with *Noah* God promised <sup>e</sup> *to establish his covenant*. <sup>f</sup> *Pliny* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the use to build ships of cedar, which the worms eat not ; and he avoweth, that he saw in *Utica*, in the temple of *Apollo*, cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the city, and that they were still found in his time, which was above 1188 years after : proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easy to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet savour, lasting also better than any other wood, and because near the place where the ark rested, there are found great store of these cedar-trees, as also in all the mountains of the east, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the ark might be of that wood : which hath besides the other commodities the greatest length of timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withal. *Pererius* conceiveth that the ark had divers sorts of timber, and that the bottom had of one sort, the deck and partition of another ; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for timber in general. True it is, that cedar will serve for all parts of a ship, as well for the body, as for masts and yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God : to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the ark ; and to pitch it, and to divide it into cabins, thereby to sever the clean beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several sorts of food ; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when

*Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his angels steered this ship without a rudder, and directed it without the help of a compass or the north-star. The pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have been a kind of *bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the valley of <sup>g</sup> *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, now the dead sea or *Asphaltes* : and in the region of *Babylon*, and in the *West-Indies* : and herein it exceedeth other pitch, that it melts not with the sun, but by the fire only, after the manner of hard wax.

#### SECT. IX.

*That the ark was of sufficient capacity.*

THE ark, according to God's commandment, had of length three hundred cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high : by which proportion it had six parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth ; of which *St. Augustine*, <sup>h</sup> *Proculdudio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo civitatis Dei (hoc est) Ecclesiæ, quæ fit salva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Jesus : nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisque ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c.* Without doubt (saith he) it is a figure of the city of God, travelling in this world as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saved by the tree whereupon the Mediator between God and man, the man *Jesus Christ* did hang : for even the very measure of the length, height, and breadth, answereth the shape of man's body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was foretold and performed.

By what kind of cubit the ark was measured, it hath been a disputed question among the fathers, and others ; and the differences are in effect these : the first kind of cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the palm cubit) which taketh one handul more than the common. The third is called *Regius cubitus*, or the *Persian* cubit, which exceedeth the common cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fifth cubit, called geometrical, which containeth six common cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a less proportion of bodies : so is the common cubit, from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of less length than it was in elder times.

*St. Augustine* considering the many sorts of beasts and birds which the ark held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the ark had proportion after the geometrical cubit, which containeth almost six of the common. For measuring the ark by the vulgar cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the ship of *Ptolemy Philopater*. But *St. Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his judgment as touching the geometrical cubit ; and found upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a body to preserve all sorts of creatures by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needful to take any kinds of fishes into the ark, because they were kept living (saith *St. Augustine*) in their own element. <sup>i</sup> *Non fuit necesse conservare*

<sup>a</sup> Steph. de Urb. fol. 227. <sup>b</sup> De Oracul. fol. 94. <sup>c</sup> Epiph. in Ancor. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 6. 16. <sup>e</sup> Gen. 6. 18. <sup>f</sup> Plin. l. 16. c. 40. <sup>g</sup> Pererius. <sup>h</sup> De Civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 26. <sup>i</sup> Athen. diplomop. l. 4. Plutarch. in vita Demetrii. <sup>k</sup> 128.



*in arca quæ possent in aquis vivere ; non solum mersa sicut pisces, verum supernatantia sicut multæ alites ;* It was not needful to conserve those creatures in the ark, which could live in the waters ; and not only fishes, which can live under water, but also those fowls which sit and swim on them. And again, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta ; quia Adam non hujus, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit ;* It was the earth, and not the waters, which God cursed : for of the forbidden fruit of the earth, and not of the sea, did *Adam* eat ; so as *St. Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge a frame needed not.

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein ; altho' the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, find many impossibilities in this work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the species, which now seem differing and of several kinds, were not then in *rerum natura*. For those beasts which are of mix'd natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needful to preserve them : seeing they might be generated again by others, as the mules, the hyena's, and the like : the one begotten by asses and mares, the other by foxes and wolves. And whereas by discovering of strange lands, wherein there are found divers beasts and birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these nothern parts, it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which wear red and pyed skins, or feathers, are differing from those that are less painted and wear plain russet or black : they are much mistaken that so think. And for my own opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, between the cat of *Europe*, and the ounce of *India* ; and even those dogs which are become wild in *Hispagniola*, with which the *Spaniards* used to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their cattle, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own children. \*The common crow and rook of *India* is full of red feathers in the drown'd and low islands of *Caribana* ; and the black-bird and thrush hath his feathers mix'd with black and carnation, in the north parts of *Virginia*. The dog-fish of *England* is the shark of the south ocean : for if colour or magnitude made a difference of species, then were the negroes, which we call the black-mores, *non animalia rationalia*, not men, but some kind of strange beasts : and so the giants of the south *America* should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the world. We also see it daily that the natures of fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of climate. Crabs may be made good fruit by often grafting, and the best melons will change in a year or two to common cucumbers by being set in a barren soil. Therefore taking the kinds precisely of all creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the earth by his ordinance produced ; the ark, after the measure of the common cubit, was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed : for if we add but half a foot of measure to the common cubit, which had a foot and a half of giantly stature (and less allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the ark contain 600 foot in length, and 100 foot in breadth, and 60 foot in depth.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the geometrical cubit is not used in the scripture, the sta-

ture of the giants therein named may suffice. For if the bed of *Og* king of *Bashan* had been nine geometrical cubits long, it had taken 54 cubits of the common, which make 80 foot : and *Goliath*, who had the length of 6 cubits and a handful (which makes nine foot and a handful, a proportion credible) if these cubits had been geometrical, then had been 54 foot in height and upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible : for (according to this proportion) the head of *Goliath* had been nine foot long, and far weightier and bigger than all *David's* body, who carried it away.

Again, If the geometrical cubit had been used for a measure in the scripture, as many commentators have observed, then would the altar (appointed to contain five cubits of length, five of breadth and three of height) have reached the length of 27 foot upright, and so must their priests have ascended by steps or ladders to have performed their sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to God's commandment given in these words : *Thou shalt not go up with steps unto mine altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon ;* and therefore was the altar but three common cubits high, which make four foot, that their priests standing thereby might execute their office : wherefore I may conclude, that the cubit mentioned in the scriptures was not the geometrical, but the ordinary cubit of one foot and a half, according to the measure of giantly stature ; which measure (doubtless) might give much the more capacity to the ark, altho' it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the horses whercon they rode, and all other creatures, of a correspondent size. And yet, as I take it, tho' by this means there were not any whit the more room in the ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the distinct species of animals, whose lives cannot be preserved in the waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a vessel of those dimensions which the ark had ; allowing to the cubit one foot and a half of our now usual measure : whence it followeth of necessity, that those large bodies which were in the days of *Noah* might have room sufficient in the ark, which was measured by a cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures, to be saved, that is, seven of the clean, two of the unclean (with necessary food) might have place in the ark, *Butao* hath very learnedly declared : the brief sum of whose discourse to that purpose is this : *The length of the ark was three hundred cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty cubits, and the product by the height of thirty cubits, sheweth the whole concavity to have been 450000.* Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hollow : the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one cubit) contained 7500 cubical cubes, was a sufficient recompence : if therefore in a ship of such greatness we seek room for 89 distinct species of beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100 several kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the birds, which in bigness are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustain them all. For there are three sorts of beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known ; the beef, the sheep, and the wolf : to which the rest may be reduc'd, by saying (according to *Aristotle*) that one elephant is answerable to four beeves, one lyon to two wolves, and so of the rest. Of beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables : of which number, only three are clean,

\* Acoft. hist. Indiæ.    b Dent. 3. 11.

c 1 Sam. 17. 4.    d Exod. 20. 26



according to the law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entered into the ark, namely, three couples for breed, and one odd for sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind; so that in all there were in the ark one and twenty great beasts clean, and six and fifty unclean, estimable for largeness as 91 beeves; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any *species* be omitted) let them be valued, as 120 beeves. Of the lesser sort, feeding on vegetables, were in the ark six and twenty kinds, estimable with good allowance for supply, as fourscore sheep. Of those which devour flesh, were two and thirty kinds, answerable to threescore and four wolves. All these 280 beasts might be kept in one story or room of the ark in their several cabins; their meat in a second: the birds and their provision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his family, and all their necessities.

## S E C T. X.

*That the ark rested upon part of the hill Taurus (or Caucasus) between the East-Indies and Scythia.*

## † I.

*A preterition of some questions less material: with a note of the use of this question, to find out the Metropolis of nations.*

WHAT time *Noah* took to build the ark, I leave to others to dispute; but he received the commandment from God 100 years before the waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leisure sufficient. As for the number of decks and partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, *St. Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the reader with the controversy: or whether those creatures, which sometimes rest on the land, other times in the waters, as the crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the sea-cows or sea-horses, were kept in the ark, or no, I think it a needless curiosity; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a fish-pool might be made as well within the ark, as in *Hiero's* ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who suppose that the ark was lightened by a carbuncle, or had windows of crystal to receive in light, and keep out water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfy my self and others in, is in what part of the world the ark rested after the flood: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the seat of the terrestrial *paradise*, and the resting of the ark) do only and truly teach the world's plantation, and the beginning of nations, before and after the flood; and all story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

## † II.

*A proposal of the common opinion, that the ark rested upon some of the hills of Armenia.*

AND first, for the true place where the ark rested after the flood, and from what part of the world the children of *Noah* travelled to their first settlement and plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to think out of my humour or newness of opinion, or singularity; but do herein ground my

self on the original and first truth, which is the word of God; and after that, upon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, <sup>a</sup> *that the ark stayed upon one of the mountains of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean* paraphrast hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordai* or *Gordiai* in *Armenia* the greater (as the words *Gordai* and *Kardu* seem to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our interpreters are; I find neither scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: to wit, that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. <sup>b</sup> *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountain the frier *Annius* (citing this place out of *Josephus*) makes him find another adjoining, called *Ocila*, and to say that the ark (of which *Moses* the law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any such mountain in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Josephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a promontory in *Arabia Felix*, of that name, and *Pliny* finds a mart-town so called in the same, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* mountains. *Berosus* calleth those mountains of *Armenia Gordiai*, and *Curtius Cordei*: *Ptolemy Gordai* and *Gordiai*; of which the country next adjoining is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as <sup>c</sup> *Becanus* conjectures) for *Myliada* or rather *Minni*; which word is used for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seems to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, <sup>d</sup> *Pliny* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these mountains, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountains are seated apart from all other to the north of that ledge of the mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the plains of *Armenia* the great, near the lake of *Thospitis*: whence the river of *Tigris* floweth in 75 degrees of longitude, and 41 and 42 degrees of latitude. One of the mountains *Gordiai* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of <sup>e</sup> *Josephus*; which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noah's* coming down with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any hill, from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Josephus* *Λεβαρις* (*Kubaris*). That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Joseph. l. 1. c. 4.* says, the place is called *Λεβαρις* (as it were the descent or coming down) and *Epiphan. l. 1. cont. Heres.* calls it *Λόταρ*: which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the *Latin Delubrum* may seem to be derived; and *Aët. vi. 9.* they that belonged to the *synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath been embraced from age to age: receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; altho' the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that mountain, by reason that the passage was more slir, up and down unto it, than to any of the rest adjoining.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 8. 4.    <sup>b</sup> See c. 7. §. 1.    <sup>c</sup> Hieron. 51. 27.    <sup>d</sup> Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 12.    <sup>e</sup> Joseph. de Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.



## † III.

*The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as Armenia.*

**B**UT there are many arguments to persuade me, that the ark of *Noah* did not rest it self in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountain *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiean* mountains.

For first, it is agreed by all who follow <sup>a</sup> *Berosus*, that it was in the 130th year, or in the year 131 after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinaar*, which valley was afterwards called *Babylonia*, *Cush* and *Chaldea*. If then the ark had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very improbable, that the children of *Noah*, which came into that valley, could have spent so many years in so short a passage: seeing the region of *Mesopotamia* was only interjacent, which might by easy journeys have been passed over in twenty days; and to hasten and help which passage the navigable river of *Tigris* offered it self, which is every where transpassable by boats of great burden: so as where the desert on the one side resisted their expedition, the river on the contrary side served to advance it; the river rising out of the same ledge of mountains, or at the foot of them, where the ark of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it self; then, if the nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprize of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it soundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and overflown valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many rivers which imbroider or compass it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the works, which they undertook, their unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinaar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his kingdom, the first known city of the world founded after the flood, about 131 years, or (as others suppose) ten years later: though (for my self) I rather think, that they undertook that work in two respects, first, to make themselves famous, <sup>b</sup> *To get us a name* (saith the text:) Secondly, thereby to usurp dominion over the rest.

## † IV.

*The second argument, that the eastern people were most ancient in populousity, and in all human glory.*

**F**OR a second argument: the civility, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the east parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noah's* taking land there. And that this is true, the use of printing and artillery (among many other things which the east had) may easily persuade us; that those sun-rising nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this report, that the *East Indians* (time out of mind) have had guns and ordnance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, makes us now to understand, that the place of *Philostratus in vita Apollonii Trianai*, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, tho' express'd in fabulous words: when he saith, that the wise men, which dwell between *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, use not themselves to go forth into battel: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning sent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is said, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, joining their forces, were defeated there; and that this

*Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into *Greece*: of which the people (then rude and savage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no less ancient than *Seth* or *Enoch* were: for they are said to have written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the eastern world it was that *John Cuthenberg*, a *German*, brought the device of printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that, *Nicolaus Gerson*, a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and invention. And, notwithstanding that this mystery was then supposed to be but newly born, the *Chinaos* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the art of printing, when as the *Geeks* had neither any civil knowledge, or any letters among them.

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witnessed, who about an hundred years since discovered those kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinaos* account all other nations but savages in respect of themselves.

And to add strength to this argument, the conquest and story of *Alex. Macedon* may justly be called to witness, who found more cities and sumptuosity in that little kingdom of *Porus*, which lay side by side to the *East India*, than in all his other travels and undertakings. For in *Alexander's* time, learning and greatness had not travelled so far to the west as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous country, and of *Rome* as of a village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the east pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the sun-rising, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermost angle and island thereof, we shall find that those nations have sent out, and not received, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the west. For the farther east (to this day) the more civil, the farther west the more savage. And of the isle of *Japan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report. *Incolæ religioni, literis, & sapientiæ sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt principem, unum Deum adorant.* The islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters and philosophy, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they use in their churches after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one king, and worship one God. The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policy in government, is reported to be such by those who have been employ'd into those parts, as it seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other kingdoms of the world.

## † V.

*The third argument, from the wonderful resistance which Semiramis found in the East Indies.*

**B**UT for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and advised reader: who may consider in what age she lived, and how soon after the world's new birth she gathered her army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more than three millions to invade *India*, to which

<sup>a</sup> Beros. l. 1.<sup>b</sup> Gen. 10. 10. Beros. l. 1.



he joineth also 500000 horse, and 100000 waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that *India* was the first planted and peopled country after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein she lived: all historians consent, that she was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approved writers agree, that *Ninus* was the son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the son of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great nation, as by the building of the city and tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her army was composed. Let us then see with whom she encountered in that war with this her powerful army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equaling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* king of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witness of *Diodor. Siculus*. *Staurobates, avitis majoribus, quam quæ erant Semiramidis, copiis; Staurobates* gathering together greater troops than those of *Semiramis*. If then these numbers of *Indians* had been increased but by a colony sent out from *Shinaar* (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the east, and this army of *Staurobates* must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow up in that time from so great a troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the story of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men, as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the colonies sent thither had been so late as *Babel* overturned, and the confusion of languages. For if we allow 65 years time after the flood, before *Nimrod* was born: of which 30 years to *Cush*, ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had <sup>a</sup> *Havilah*, *Sabtab*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then 30 years to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five years to his five elder brothers, which make 65, and then twice 30 years for two generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sons, and that a third generation might grow up, which makes in all 125 years, there will then remain six years to have been spent in travelling from the east, ere they arrived in *Shinaar* in the year after the flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the year 101: and the confusion to have been at *Peleg's* birth, these men do all by miracle: they beget whole nations without the help of time, and build *Nimrod's* tower in the air; and not on those low and marshy grounds (which require sound foundations) in the plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that year 101, or at *Peleg's* birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped regal authority in the 131st year after the flood (according to *Berosus*) and that the work of *Babel* lasted forty years (according to *Glycas*) <sup>b</sup> *hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40 annis incassum laborantibus*; Men labouring in vain 40 years to finish it. By which account it falls out, that it was 170 years after the flood, ere a colony were sent into *East India*; which granted (the one being the main body, and the other but a troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed, that *Staurobates* could

have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then empress of all that part of the world, gathered the most of nations into one body.

† VI.

*The fourth argument from divers considerations in the person of Noah.*

Fourthly, It is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, and had lived therein the long time of 600 years, was all that space, 130 years after the flood, without any certain habitation: no, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the western world (which travels *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himself, then covered with many years, planted himself in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came down out of the ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the ark he planted a vineyard, and became a husbandman: whose business was to dress and manure the earth, and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia Felix*, where he should (if the tradition be found) have left certain colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spain*, where they say he settled other companies; and built cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his sons wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they say he found his son *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the story) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they say, he banished him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the *Grecian* fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travel far in such a forest as the world was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the flood, the same lay waste and overgrown for 130 or 140 years, and wherein there could hardly be found either path or passage through which men were able to creep, for woods, bushes and briars that in those years were grown up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: for *Noah*, who was father of all those nations, a man revered both for his authority, knowledge, experience and piety, would never have permitted his children and issues to have undertaken that unbelieving presumptuous work of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and prevalent persuasions he would have bound their hands from so vain labours, and, by the authority which he received even from God himself, he would have held them in that awful subjection, as whatsoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobey'd the personal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of regal authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by themselves purchased through cruelty and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up building against his Almighty power, was, as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came so far west as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greatest troop,



because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) under *Nimrod*, or those upon whom he usurped. *Naclerus* and *Cælestinus* take the testimony of *Methodius* bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene* and *Joktan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Joktan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, altho' I will not doubt, but that so great a work as the world's plantation could not be affected without order and conduction.

Of the sons of *Sem*: *Joktan*, *Havila* and *Ophir*, are especially noted to have dwelt in the *East-Indies*. The rest of *Sem*'s issues had also the regions of *Persia* and the other adjoining to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were the sons of *Joktan*, or of all the rest a certain number (*Cham* and his issue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himself, it cannot be known. Of which plantation I shall speak at large in the chapter following.

Now another reason which moves me to believe that *Noah* stayed in the east, far away from all those that came into *Shinaar*, is that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the story of the *Hebrews*, or among any of those nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the father of all mankind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principal a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawn himself, and rested apart with his best beloved, giving himself to the service and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destin'd portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile soil, where he planted his vineyard, and dress'd the earth; after which, and his thanksgiving to God by sacrifice, he is not remembered in the scriptures, because he was so far away from those nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the *Hebrews* chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

† VII.

*Of the senseless opinion of Anniius the commentator upon Berosus; who finds divers places where the ark rested; as the Caspian and Gordiæan hills, which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some place of Scythia.*

IT remaineth now that we examine the arguments and authorities of frier *Annius*, who in his commentaries upon *Berosus* and others, laboureth marvellously to prove, that the ark of *Noah* rested upon the *Armenian* mountains called *Caspî*; which mountains separate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And because all his authors speak of the mountains *Gordiei*, he hath no other shift to unite these opinions, but by uniting those far distant mountains together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, than to charge those men with error which have carefully overseen, printed, and published <sup>a</sup> *Ptolemy's* geography, in which they were altogether dissevered: for that last edition of *Mercator's* sets these hills five degrees (which makes three hundred *English* miles) asunder. And certainly, if we look into those more ancient copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we shall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withal: for in those the mountains *Caspî* stand seven degrees to the east of the *Gordiei*, which make 420 miles. And for those authors, by whose

authority *Annius* strengthneth himself, *Diodorus*, whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like dispute. <sup>b</sup> *Aberrarunt vero omnes, non negligentia, sed regnorum situs ignorantia*; They have all erred (saith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of kingdoms. But for an induction, to prove that the ark of *Noah* stood on the mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to prove the same, he citeth <sup>c</sup> *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth, that 250 years before *Ninus* the earth was overflown with waters; *Et in Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*; And that in *Scythia Saga* the stock of mortal men was renewed. The same author also teacheth that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were so called, because saved from *Deucalion's* flood) were the sons of the *Galli*, a nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his venisse Janum cum Dyrin & Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum*; From these *Scythians*, he saith, that *Janus* came with *Dyrin* and with the *Galli* the progenitors of the *Umbri*; and again, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythiis tribuitur*; Certainly the prime antiquity of off-spring is always given to the *Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those regions called *Scythia* and now *Tartaria*, and by some writers *Sarmatia Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* under tribute till *Ninus's* time. Also <sup>d</sup> *Pliny* calleth the *Umbri*, which long since inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquissima*; A most ancient nation, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the nephews of *Noah*) did first inhabit that region of the mountains, on which the ark rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigned a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the mountain *Ararat*, near the river of *Araxes*. And because his author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, that in *Scythia* mankind was restored after the great flood, 250 years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*; In *Scythia Saga* mankind was restor'd: he therefore in the *Proem* of his commentary upon <sup>e</sup> *Berosus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato's* words, and writes, *Homines in Scythia salvatos*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ* is undoubtedly under the mountains of *Parapanisus*, on which, or near which, it is most probable that the ark first took ground; and from those east parts (according to <sup>f</sup> *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name a *Scythia rege eorum*, from *Scythia* their king. But (in a word) we may see his vanity, or rather indeed his falshood, in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approved and diligent author, beginneth in that place with these words, *Fabulantur Scythæ*; The *Scythians* fable: and his interpreter in the table of that work, giveth this title to that very chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula*; The original and success of the *Scythians*, a fable. And indeed there needs no great disproof hereof, since *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Sacæ*, and sets them in 130 degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians* *Sacæ*, which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Sacæ* (saith <sup>g</sup> *Pliny*) are the next

<sup>a</sup> Ptol. Asia Tab. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Diod. l. c. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Cato de orig. pars prima

<sup>d</sup> Plin. l. 3. c. 14

<sup>e</sup> Beros l. 1

<sup>f</sup> Ptol. Asia

Tab. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Geog. 11

<sup>h</sup> Tab. 6 c. 17.

No. 3.



*Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they give all the rest that name. Now that any nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man believeth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lieth in 78 degrees of longitude (that is) 42 degrees distant from the *Sacæ*; and the country about *Araxes*, *Ptolemy* calleth *Colthene* and *Soducene* and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians*, either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100 several nations, are by *Ptolemy* precisely set down.

But to come to those later authors, whereof some have written, others have seen a great part of those north-east regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: first, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these mountains is also beyond our purpose.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab oriente Imao monte: a septentrione Terra incognita: à meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque ad ostia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; et parte ipsius maris hinc usque ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur: Scythia* within the mountain *Imaus* is that part of the world, which in their own speech is at this time called *Gassaria*; and the same is bounded on the west-side by *Sarmatia Asiatica* (or of *Asia*) on the east by the *Imaan* mountains: on the north by unknown lands: on the south by *Sacæ* (which are the *Sacæ*) the *Sogdiani*, and the *Margiani*, to the mouth of *Oxus*, falling into the *Hyrcan* sea, and by a part of the same sea, as far as the mouth of *Rha*.<sup>b</sup>

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the west of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (<sup>c</sup> *quæ magna sanè regio est, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur*; Which is a great region, comprehending innumerable nations (saith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plain, he dis severeth *Sarmatia* it self from any part of *Armenia*, by the regions of <sup>d</sup> *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania* which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the west bound of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian*, or *Scythian* nations; neither doth his fellow frier *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* born, of the blood of those kings (tho' afterwards a monk) ever acknowledge himself for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races descended: tho' he writes that story at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandment of pope *Clement V.*) in the year 1307 published.

Neither doth *Matthias à Michon* (a canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travelled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, find *Armenia* any way within the compass of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose travels are extant) hath observed so much of those regions as he hath done: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he burieth that ancient and received opinion, that out of the mountains *Riphei* and *Hyperborci* in *Scythia*, spring the rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanswerable experience, that there are no such mountains in *rerum natura*; and indeed the heads and foun-

tains of those famous rivers, are now by the trade of *Muscovia* known to every merchant, and that they arise out of lakes, low, woody, and marshy grounds. The river of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariseth to the south of the city *Tulla*, some twenty *English* miles, out of a lake called *Iwanowesero* in the great wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a lake called *Fronow*, in the great wood *Vodkonzki*: from which lake the two other famous rivers flow of *Borysthenes* (now *Nyepere*) and *Dsuina* or *Dividna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this sort bound the *European Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia* of *Europe* are the regions of *Russians*, *Lithuanians*, *Muscovians*, and those adjoining, bounded on the west by the river of <sup>e</sup> *Vissa*, the name perchance misprinted *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a river which parts *Germany* and *Sarmatia*: and for the east border he nameth *Tanais* or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the same river *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* sea, to withhold it from stretching farther east: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolemy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*; *Scythia* within the mountain *Imaus*. And the same *Matthias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it self, above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: these be his words. *Constat eam esse gentem novam, & adventitiam a partibus orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asiæ Sarmatiam ingressam*: It is manifest (saith he, speaking of the *Scythian* nation) that this is a late planted nation, come from the coasts of the east; from whence they entered into *Asia*, and gat new seats a little more than three hundred years since: For indeed before that time the *Goths* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511, and this his discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the year 1506, as *Bucholzerus* in his *chronology* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the east; for in the east it was that the ark of *Noah* rested; and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were those people which lived at the north foot of those mountains of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mix themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony than the general description of the earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolemy*, it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only those three regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* sea: on the east shore of which sea, but not on the west, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*; there are indeed a nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of *Europe*.

#### + VIII.

*The fifth argument: The vine must grow naturally near the place where the ark rested.*

TO this if we add the consideration of this part of the text, <sup>8</sup> *That Noah planted a vineyard*, we shall find that the fruit of the vine or raisin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the ark was supposed: for if the vine was a stranger in *Italy* and *France*, and brought from other countries thither, it is not pro-

<sup>a</sup> Tab. Asia 7 & 8. <sup>b</sup> Rha nunc Volga. <sup>c</sup> Com. 2. Asia, fol. 472. <sup>d</sup> Ad meridem flexo Bosphoro pars septentrionalis pontici Euxini usque in ostium Coracis fluvii: unde relicta a parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albanisque in Littus Hyrcani maris prociunt. Spec. hist. l. 30. <sup>e</sup> Sig. Herbertlein. <sup>f</sup> Czanzeus calleth this river Willaus, Niger Dravamanza Pom. Mela Vistula & Plin. Vistillus. <sup>g</sup> Gen. 9. 20.



bable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a far colder country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such time as <sup>a</sup>*Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy* there were few or no vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alps*, near unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk wine, which was first brought them out of *Italy*; and after they tasted thereof they hasted to inhabit that country, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeared, that the plant of the vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from elsewhere into *Italy*.

Now it is manifest that *Noah* travelled not far to seek out the vine. For the plantation thereof is remembered, before there was any counsel how to dispose of the world among his children: and the first thing he did was to till the ground, and to plant a vineyard, after his sacrifice and thanksgiving to God; and wheresoever the ark rested, there did the vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear that he travelled far: for the scriptures teach us, that he was a husbandman, and not a wanderer.

+ IX.

*Answer to an objection out of the words of the text:*  
The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, saving that it may be inferred out of these words [from thence] because it is written: *So that the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the regions of the north and south, and to the westward. And by these words of *Sibylla* (as they are converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*, for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem edificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam cælum essent ascensuri*; Certain of them built a most high tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the heavens.

+ X.

*An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the height of the hills there.*

BUT before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider, what part of scripture, and what reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that the ark of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the mountains of *Armenia*. For the text hath only these words: <sup>b</sup>*The ark rested on (or upon) the mountains of Ararat or Armenia*, saith the marginal note of the *Geneva*, the *Chaldean Paraphrast* calls it *Kardu*; of which the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith <sup>c</sup>*Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the same word) is taken to be a mountain of *Armenia*, because *Armenia* it self had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all others) is the opinion taken, that the ark first sat thereon.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those mountains, of equal stature to

many other mountains of the world; and yet it doth not follow, that the ark found the highest mountain of all others to rest on: for the plains were also uncovered, before *Noah* came out of the ark: Now if there were any agreement among writers, of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the books of the *Sibyls* it is written, that the mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the ark stay'd after the flood. And the better to particularize the place and seat of these mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the city of *Cælenes* was afterwards built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of *Marfyas*, a river which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterwards joineth it self with the river *Meander*: which is far from the *Gordiean* mountains in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus* (tho' out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, towards *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withal, that in the province of *Cæron*, by others *Kairas* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vaunt that they had in those days reserved some pieces of *Noah's* ark. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discovery of the mountains *Cordici* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Josephus*; yet the text which *Josephus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs far from the words of that *Berosus*, which wandereth up and down in these days, set out by *Annius*. For *Berosus* cited by *Josephus* hath these words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordicorum superesse, & quosdam bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti solent* (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in *Armenia* upon the *Cordiean* mountains; and that divers do scrape from it the bitumen or pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it instead of an amulet. But *Annius's* edition of the fragment of *Berosus* useth these words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiei montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem*; For the whole ark being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the *Gordiean* mountains, of which it is reported that some parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the bitumen to purge by sacrifice therewith. So as in these two texts (besides the difference of words) the name is diversly written: the ancient *Berosus* writes *Cordiei* with a [C] and the fragment *Gordiei* with a [G:] the one that the bitumen is used for a preservative against poison or enchantment; the other in sacrifice; and if it be said that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledge, nor from any approved author: for one of them useth the word [fertur:] the other [dicitur:] the one, that *so it is reported*; the other, that *so it is said*: and both but by hearsay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these mountains which *Ptolemy* calls *Gordiei*, are not those mountains which himself giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the mountains of *Armenia Moschici*. These be his own words: *Montes Armenie nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur*,

<sup>a</sup> Servius *Aeneid*. Eutropius.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. 8. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Epiph. l. 1. cont. Hæres.

<sup>d</sup> Ptol. *Asiar* Tab.



*qui protenduntur usque ad superjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; Et mons qui Paryardes dicitur:* The mountains of *Armenia* are they which are called *Moschici*, which stretch along to the higher part of *Pontus* of the *Cappadocians*; also the hill which is called *Paryardes*; which mountains *Pliny* calleth <sup>a</sup> *Pariedri*, and both which lye to the north of *Gordiae* or *Baris*, in 43 and 44 and a half; and the *Gordiean* mountains in 39 and a half: from the northermost of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were first *Gordians* and then *Georgians*, who, amidst all the strength of the greatest infidels of *Persia* and *Turkey*, do still remain *Christians*. Concerning the other suppositions, that the mountains of *Gordiae*, otherwise *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the highest of the world, the same is absolutely false.

## † XI.

*Of Caucasus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.*

FOR the best *Cosmographers* with others, that have seen the mountains of *Armenia*, find them far inferiour, and under-set to divers other mountains even in that part of the world, and elsewhere: as the mountain *Athos* between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas* (saith *Castaldus*) is far surmounting any mountain that ever hath been seen in *Armenia*: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is thirty-seven miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*, <sup>b</sup> *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniae bovis*; *Athos* shadoweth the cow of *Lemnos*. Also the mount of *Olympus* in *Theffaly* is said to be of that height, as neither the winds, clouds, or rain overtop it. Again, the mountain of *Antandrus* in *Mysia*, not far from *Ida*, whence the river *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is also of a far more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be seen from *Constantinople*. There are also in *Mauritania* near the sea, the famous mountains of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*. *Extat in hoc mari mons, cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non possint*; Upon this coast there is a mountain called *Atlas*, whose height is said to be such as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top thereof. And if we may believe *Aristotle*, then are all these inferiour to *Caucasus*, which he maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height. <sup>c</sup> *Caucasus mons omnium maximus, qui aestivum ad ortum sunt, acumine atque latitudine, cujus juga a sole radiantur usque ad conticinium ab ortu: Et iterum ab occasu.* *Caucasus* (saith *Aristotle*) is the greatest mountain both for breadth and height of all those in the north-east, whose tops are lightened by the sun beams, *usque ad conticinium* (which is, saith *Macrobius*) between the first crowing after midnight and the break of day: others affirm, that the top of this mountain holds the sun beams when it is dark in the valley; but I cannot believe either: for the highest mountain of the world known, is that of *Tenerif* in the *Canaries*: which although it hath nothing to the westward of it for 1000 leagues together but the ocean sea, yet doth it not enjoy the sun's company at any such late hours. Besides, these mountains which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasi*, are those which separate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia* and *Albania*, from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the river of *Phasis* riseth in the same mountain, which himself calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those hills which sunder *Colchis*

from *Iberia*, falling afterwards into *Euxinus*: which river (it is manifest) yieldeth it self to the sea two degrees to the north of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* brings it from *Paryardes*.

## † XII.

*Of divers incongruities, if in this story we should take Ararat for Armenia.*

SO as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what mountain *Ararat* was: for the books of the *Sibyls* set it in *Phrygia*; and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus's* authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, That *Baris* was the highest hill, and therefore most likely that the *ark* grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *ark* should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, It cannot be proved that there is any such hill in *Armenia*, or in *rerum natura*, as *Baris*; for *Baris* (saith *Jerome*) signifieth high towers: and so may all high hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) than to any hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the east, are undoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, The authors themselves do not agree in what region the mountains *Gordiae* stand: for *Ptolemy* distinguisheth the mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiean*, and calleth those of *Armenia* *Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated near the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the west side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the east side *Araxis*: and the mountains *Moschici* are those hills which disjoin *Colchis*, *Iberia* and *Albania* (now the country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

## † XIII.

*Of the contrary situation of Armenia to the place noted in the text: and that it is no marvel that the same ledge of hills running from Armenia to India, should keep the same name all along: and even in India be called Ararat.*

LASTly, we must blow up this mountain *Ararat* it self, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*; or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer country, and (withal) set it east from *Shinaar*: or else we shall wound the truth it self with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one hill, so called, no more than any one hill among those mountains, which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alps*: or any one among those, which part *France* from *Spain*, is the *Pyrenean*; but as these being, continuations of many hills, keep one name in divers countries: so all that long ledge of mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name <sup>d</sup> *Taurus*, and *Ptolemy* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and cross the mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the mountains of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabouts they seem to arise. So all these mountains of *Ilyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Cassii*, *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Eniochi*, *Seyrbici* (thus diversly called by *Pliny*, and others) *Ptolemy* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying between the seas *Caspium* and

<sup>a</sup> Plin. l. 6. c. 9<sup>b</sup> Plutar. Munif. Cosm.<sup>c</sup> Aristot. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13.<sup>d</sup> Pliny in his description of Lycia, l. 5. c. 27.*Euxinu.*









Fman: Bowen Sculp.



*Euxinus*: as all those mountains which cut asunder *America*, even from the new kingdom of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these mountains of *Ararat* run east and west: so do those marvellous mountains of *Imaus* stretch themselves north and south; and being of like extent, well near, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Pliny* calleth these former hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hills of *Ararat*. The reason of several names given by *Ptolemy* was, thereby the better to distinguish the great regions and kingdoms, which these great mountains bound and dis sever; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana* and *Paropanifus*: having all these kingdoms either on the north or south-side of them. For all the mountains of *Asia* (both the less and the greater) have three general names (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular places and regions. For these mountains which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the less on the north-side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountains called *Taurus* running east and west, as *Imaus* doth north and south. Though *Taurus* the river of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the mountains on her west-bank; and on her east-side the mountains are sometimes known by the name of *Taurus* (as in *Ptolemy's* three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the the river of *Tigris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, until they separate *Affyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, tho' between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the eastern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the east-part *Coronus*; out of the southern part whereof the river of *Bagradus* riseth, which divideth the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrceanians* their proper countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the river *Margus*, afterwards yielding herself to *Oxus* (now *Abia*) and drawing now near their ways end, they first make themselves the south border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the title of *Paropanifus*; and lastly of *Caucasia*, even where the famous river of *Indus* with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus* spring forth, and take beginning. And here do these mountains build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37 degrees of latitude, and in 140 of longitude: of the which the west parts are now called *Lelanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these mountains in this place only are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolemy*) that is, between *Paropanifus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, between the two seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

† XIV.

*Of the best wine naturally growing on the south side of the mountains Caucas, and towards the East-Indies: and of other excellencies of the soil.*

NOW in this part of the world it is, where the mountain and river *Janus*, and the moun-

tain *Niseus* (so called of *Bacchus Niseus* or *Noa*) are found: and on these highest mountains of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the ark of *Noah* grounded after the flood: of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indoscythia* he hath many good arguments, tho' mix'd with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best vines: so it is as true, that in the same line, and in 34, 35, and 36 degrees of septentrional latitude are the most delicate wines of the world, namely, in *Judea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this region of *Margiana*, and under these mountains, *Strabo* affirmeth that the most excellent vines of the world are found; the clusters of grapes containing two cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land by *Moses's* direction found bunches of equal bigness at *Eshcol*.

The fruitfulness of this place, to wit, on the south bottom of these hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana*, near the mountains of *Meros*, did *Alexander* feast himself and his army ten days together, finding therein the most delicate wine of all other.

† XV.

*The conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.*

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those mountains do also traverse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it self sometimes is known by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Pliny* giveth to this ledge of high hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paropanifus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps*: and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenees*: and in *America* the continuation of hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the general name which *Moses* gave them; the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers regions and divers countries. For in the like case do we call the sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterranean* and inland sea; and yet where it washeth the coasts of *Carthage*, and over-against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Asia*, *Ægeum*: between *Seslus* and *Abydus*, *Hellepont*: and afterwards *Pontus*, *Propontis* and *Bosphorus*. And as in these, so is the ocean to the north-east part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonicum*: and on this side, the *British* sea: to the east, the *German* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this question we must appeal to that judge which cannot err, even to the word of truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the words bear literally, because they are used to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely where the sense is plain (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancy to our selves any new or strange exposition; and (withal) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in God's book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the scriptures throughout, in such sort as *St. Augustine* hath taught us touching the gospel of



*Christ Jesus, which is, Nequis aliter accipiat, quod (narrantibus discipulis Christi) in evangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit.* That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the gospel (the disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, setting it down.

The words then of *Moses* which end this dispute are these: <sup>a</sup> *And as they went from the east they found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode; which proveth without controversy, that Nimrod, and all with him came from the east into Shinaar; and therefore the ark of Noah rested and took land to the eastward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places wheresoever Moses maketh a difference of countries, he always precisely nameth towards what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of Joflan, he nameth Sepbar, a mount in the east: where he remembreth Cain's departure from the presence of God, he addeth: <sup>b</sup> And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the east-side of Eden: and when he describeth the tents and habitations of Abraham after he departed from Sechem, he useth these words: <sup>c</sup> Afterwards removing thence unto a mountain eastward from Bethel, he pitched his tents: having Bethel on the west side, and Hai on the east: and afterwards in the 9th verse of the same chapter it is written; And Abraham went forth journeying towards the south: also when <sup>d</sup> Ezekiel prophesied of Gog and Magog, he sheweth that these nations of Togorma were of the north quarters: and of the queen of Saba it is written, That <sup>e</sup> she came from the south to visit Solomon: And the <sup>f</sup> magi (or wise men) came out of the east to offer presents unto Christ. And that all regions, and these travels were precisely set down upon the points of the compass and quarters of the world, it is most manifest: for Eden was due east from Judea, Saba south from Jerusalem: the way from Bethel to Egypt directly south; and the Cœlesyrians, the Tubalines and Magogians inhabited the regions directly north from Palestina: and so of the rest. But Armenia answereth not to this description of Shinaar by Moses. For to come out of Armenia, and to arrive in that valley of Babylonia, is not a journeying from the east, nor so near unto the east as the north: for Armenia is to the west of the north it self; and we must not say of Moses (whose hands the Holy Ghost directed) that he erred toto cœlo, and that he knew not east from west. For the body of Armenia standeth in 43 degrees septentrional, and the north part thereof in 45; and those Gordiean mountains, whereon it was supposed that the ark rested, stand in 41. But Babylonia, and the valley of Shinaar are situated in 35, and for the longitude (which maketh the difference between east and west) the Gordiean mountains stand in 75 degrees, and the valley of Shinaar in 79 and 80. And therefore Armenia lieth from Shinaar north-west, 95 degrees from the east; and if Armenia had been but north, yet it had differed from the east one whole quarter of the compass. But Gregory and Jerome warn us, *In scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices & puncta in divina scriptura plena sunt sensibus.* In the scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note or accent, and point, in divine scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing Moses teacheth us that the children of Noah came from the east, we may not believe writers (of little authority) who also speak by hear-*

say, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein, without any examination of the text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lieth west from the place where the ark of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the east, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The east parts were first civil, which had *Noah* himself for an instructor: and directly east from *Shinaar*, in the same degree of 35, are the greatest grapes and the best wine. The great armies also, which overtopped in number those millions of *Semiramis*, prove that those parts were first planted: and whereas the other opinion hath neither scripture nor reason sufficient: for my self, I build on his words who in plain terms hath told us, that the sons of *Noah* came out of the east into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the ark rest on those eastern mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the mountains of *Ararat*, and not on those mountains of the north-west, as *Berosus* first feigned, whom most part of the writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warm east where *Noah* rested, where he planted the vine, where he tilled the ground, and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agricultura studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamque rem sua ipsius lingua Ista-Adamath (hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratusque est;* The study of husbandry pleased *Noah* (saith the excellent learned man *Arias Montanus*) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that *Noah* excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sheweth that he was no wanderer: and that he troubled not himself with the contentions beginning again in the world, and among men, but stay'd in his destin'd places, and in that part of the world, where he was first delivered out of the prison of the ark, whereinto God had committed him to preserve him and mankind.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of the first planting of nations after the flood; and of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, by whom the earth was re-peopled.*

### SECT. I.

*Whether Shem and Ham were elder than Japhet.*

**O**F these sons of *Noah*, which was the eldest there is a question made. <sup>u</sup> *St. Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Japhet* for the youngest: and herein the opinions of writers are divers. But this we find every where in the scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in years, but in virtue, as by the examples of *Enoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob* and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversy: the *Latin* translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this scripture of *Genesis* x. 21. in these words; *Unto Shem also the father of all the sons of Heber, and elder brother of Japhet, were children born.* But *Junius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same words in this manner: *To Shem also the father of all the sons of Heber, and brother of Japhet, the eldest son wove children born:* so the transposition of the word [*elder*]: made this

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 11. 2. <sup>b</sup> Gen. 10. 30. <sup>c</sup> 4. 16. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 12. 8. <sup>e</sup> Raab. 38. 6. <sup>f</sup> Math. 12. 42. <sup>g</sup> Math. 2. 1. <sup>h</sup> August. d. difference



SECT. II.

difference. For if the word [*elder*] had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing God's blessings are not tied to first and last in blood, but to the eldest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger for *Japhet* than for *Shem*. And where the scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of judgment should make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah*, in the five hundredth year of his life, begat the first of his three sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the six hundredth year, to wit, the hundredth year following, came the general flood; two years after which *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602 of *Noah*'s life, and in the year of *Shem*'s life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but one hundred years old, two years after the flood: and *Noah* begat his first-born, being 500 years old; and therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then been 100 years old at the flood, and in the six hundredth year of *Noah*'s life, and not two years after. Which seeing the scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is also written:

*Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him, to wit, Ham; of necessity the first place doth belong to Japhet.* This younger son so converted by the vulgar and Geneva, *Junius* turns it *Filius minimus*, his youngest son; but St. *Chrysostom* takes it otherwise, and finds *Ham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Japhet* the youngest son of all: which *Ham*, for his disobedience and the contempt of his father, (whose nakedness he derided) was disinherited, and lost the pre-eminency of his birth, as *Esau* and *Reuben* did. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was always named in the first place, yet whereas in the first verse of the tenth chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*; in the second verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the *Hebrew* nation, *Abraham*, the prophets, *David* and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the vulgar, *Pagninus*, and the Geneva, who agree in this conversion, *Shem frater Japhet major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius*, and *Tromelius*, *Shem fratri Japhet majoris*; or with *Pererius*, *Shem frater Japhet ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the reader judge.

But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifyeth the strength of the former argument, that *Shem*'s age at the time of the flood did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the scriptures any such neglect at all: For it is written, that *Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the flood*: and again in the 12th verse, *So Shela lived after he begat Ebar four hundred and three years, &c.* So as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterwards of two years were always precisely accounted.

*Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all histories must yield to Moses: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the known great lords of the first ages were of the issue of Ham.*

**B**UT let us go unto the world's plantation after the flood, which being rightly understood, we shall find that many nations have supposed or feigned themselves those ancestors and fathers, which never saw or approached the bounds of their countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the scriptures how the sons and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any profane author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the scriptures end. For so far as the story of nations is therein handled, we must know that both the truth and antiquity of the books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the proem of his chronology. *Moses is found more ancient than all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as Homer, Hesiod, and the Trojan war; and far before Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, and Apollo, and the rest of the Gods of the nations, their ceremonies, or holy rites, or prophets: and before all the deeds of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest turret of their divinity.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the son of *Æther*, whose three sons begotten on *Proserpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first king: and in the end of *Cecrops*'s time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit Moses populum Dei ex Ægypto novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis regis; Moses brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the last days of Cecrops king of the Athenians, saith St. Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the founder of the city it self, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand by alledging many authorities, in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

The sons of Japhet were	{	Gomer. Magog. Madai. Javan. Tubal. Mesbach. and Tiras.	The sons of	{	Askenaz. Riphab. Togorma. Elisha. Tarshis. Kittim, & Dodanim.

First, We are to consider that the world after the flood was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings, to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermost border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wise father, who knew those parts of the world before the flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as discoverers, or at all



adventure, but assigned and allotted to every son, and their issues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous authors, who have no other end than to flatter princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Aeneas*) or else to glorify their own nations: let us build upon the scriptures themselves, and after them upon reason and nature. First therefore, we must call to mind and consider, what manner of face the earth every where had in the 130th year after the great inundation, and, by comparing those fruitfulest valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our selves thereby, what wonderful desarts, what impassable fastness of woods, reeds, briers and rotten grass, what lakes, and standing pools, and what marshes, fens, and bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the mountains) was pestered withal. For if in this our climate (where the dead and destroying winter depresseth all vegetative and growing nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, these our grounds would not all overgrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods or with other offensive thickets and bushments: much more did all sorts of plants, reeds, and trees, prosper in the most fruitful valleys, and in the climate of a long and warm summer, and having withal the start of 130 years to raise themselves without controulment.

This being considered, it will appear, that all these people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod* either by order or strength took the dominion, did after the confusion of languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty people, disperse themselves into the regions adjoining to the said valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*, and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the south, others towards the west and north. And altho' there were allotted to *Shem* many regions both east and west from *Shinaar*, with the dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first possess'd; yet could he not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the sudden, but by time and degrees. For we find, that *Abraham* the true successor of *Shem*, dwelt in *Chaldea* at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare*, he travelled to *Sichem* in *Palestina*; and yet there had passed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seven descents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldea*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Affyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed the great masters of nations (as far as we can know) were, in that age of the issues of *Ham*; the blessing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking less effect, until divers years were consumed; and until the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan* came the people, and princes, which held the great kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many descents together.

### SECT. III.

*Of the isles of the Gentiles in Japhet's portion: of Berofus's too speedy seating Gomer the son of Japhet in Italy; and another of Japhet's sons Tubal in Spain: and of the antiquity of Longinque Navigation.*

TO begin therefore where *Moses* beginneth with the sons of *Japhet*, among whom the isles of the *Gentiles* were divided: which division, as well

to *Japhet's* sons, as to the rest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the division were made at *Phaleg's* birth) in the year of the world 1757 or 1758, and (by that account) in the year after the flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sons of *Japhet* were the isles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe*, with all the islands adjoining and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an island, both in respect that the sea *Hellepont* and *Ægeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it self is, in effect, surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to *Asia* by the north; for it hath those seas before named to the east, the *Mediterranean* to the south and south-west, the ocean to the west, and *British*, *German* and *Baltick* sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the north-north-east, and north-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or isles lying between *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete* or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the isles of *Brittany* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of *Japhet*, with the part which he held in *Asia* and the north, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*. <sup>a</sup> *Dilatet Deus Japhet*; Let God spread abroad (or encrease the posterity of) *Japhet*, and let him dwell in the tents of *Shem*. For tho' *Junius* here useth the word [*alliciat*] and not [*dilatet*] and the *Geneva* persuadeth; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the tents or tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the posterity of *Japhet*: noting not only an enlargement of territories; but that thereby they should be made participant of God's church. But to come to *Japhet's* sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authority the greatest number of all our late writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrod's* reign depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italy*: which also <sup>b</sup> *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo Nimrodi, &c.* In the tenth year of *Nimrod's* reign, *Gomerus Gallus* planted a colony in that land afterwards called *Italy*: and in the twelfth year of the same *Nimrod's* reign, *Tubal* seated himself in *Asturia* in *Spain* (now called *Biscay*) which was in the 140th and in the 142d years after the flood, according to *Berosus*. But this opinion is very ridiculous: For before the confusion of tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a city and tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himself out of his author *Berosus* witnesseth) *Ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; To the height and magnitude of the mountains. Sure that both this city and tower were almost built, the scriptures witness. <sup>c</sup> *But the Lord came down to see the city and tower, which the sons of men built.* Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of brick to such a work, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was. For where the universal flood covered the highest mountains fifteen cubits; *Let us build us a city and a tower* (saith *Nimrod*) *whose top may reach unto the heaven*. meaning, that they would raise their work above fifteen cubits higher than the highest moun-

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 9. 27

<sup>b</sup> Funct. Chronol.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. 11.



tain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second inundation; a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the work. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruin which these waters forcibly overbearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding emperors, is made manifest, approved also by the prophet *Jeremy*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words; *Thou that dwellest upon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation for so high a rais'd building on a marshy ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Genesis* giveth forty years. For it seemeth, that the tower was near finished when God overthrew it: it being afterwards written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth, and they left to build the city.* Out of which place it may be gathered (because the tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their suppos'd defence, which was the tower: and that afterwards they went on with the city adjoining, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the tower was thrown down) these nations did not disperse themselves: for "from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the earth, that was, when they perceived not one another's speech. Now to think that this work in the newness of the world (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same year could creep thro' 3000 miles of desert, with women, children, and cattle; let those light believers, that neither tie themselves to the scripture, nor to reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the ark of *Noah* was 100 years in building, or but near such a time, and then, when the world had stood 1556 years, it were more than foolishness and madness it self, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten; when the world (from the flood to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131 years, and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the east. Again, if all *Asia* let to their helping hands in the building of the temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that work 400 years (or be it but half that time) and in such an age as when the world flourished in all sorts of artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages, this work of the tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few years remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of judgment weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a nation or family of men, with their wives and children, and cattle, to travel 3000 miles through woods, bogs, and deserts, without any guide or conductor; and we shall find it rather a work of 100 years than of 100 days. For in the *West-Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entered the country ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrod's* people spent many years by the account before remembred in passing from the *East-Indies*, or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115 degrees of longitude, until they came into *Shinaar* which lieth in 79 degrees (the distance between those places containing 36 degrees, which make 220 leagues, which is 2160 miles) and did all the way keep the mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the body of *Biscay* lieth in ten degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar* (as aforesaid) in 79: so the

length of way from *Shinaar* to *Asturia* or *Biscay*, is 69 degrees, which make 1380 leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160 miles: or (supposing that the ark rested in *Armenia*) little above 400 miles, there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000 miles to countries less known unto them by far, than the land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was known to *Noah* before the flood, and so was the region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterwards remembred; but what he understood of most part of the world else, it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill advise himself to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the 10th and 12th of *Nimrod's* reign: "Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a nation be born at once? But it may be objected, that the sons of *Japhet* might come by sea, and so save this great travel through deserts by land. But we never read of any navigation in those days, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to embark so great a people, as we may justly suppose those conductors carried with them, will not easily believe, that there were any vessels in those days to transport armies, and withal their cattle, by whose milk they lived and fed their children: for milk and fruit were the banqueting dishes of our forefathers. And in the eldest times, even the kings and fathers of nations valued themselves by the herds and numbers of their cattle: who had flocks of sheep, and great droves and herds of their own, and their own shepherds and herdsmen. Now if *Tubal* had pass'd by sea from any part of *Palestina*, *Syria* or *Cilicia*, he might have made good choice within the *Streights*, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valencia*, and other provinces in that tract; pass'd the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, disdain'd all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly ports and countries, and have sought out the iron, woody, and barren country of the world, called *Biscay*, by a long and dangerous navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonauts*, there were scarce any vessels that durst cross the seas in that part of the world: and yet that which *Jason* had, if the tale be true, was but a galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance such as they use this day in *Ireland*; which altho' it carried but four and fifty passengers, yet was it far greater than any of the former times: "Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum usus; For in former times they used very small vessels. I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themselves of old to far-off navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the invention of ships unto them.

"Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.

*Tyros* knew first how ships might use the wind.

And for those boats "Longæ naves, or galleys, *Pliny* saith, that *Ægeas* ascribeth the device to *Paralus*; and *Philostephanus* to *Jason*: *Ctesias* to *Samyras*; and *Sapbanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Ægeon*; to which invention the *Erythræi* are said to have added certain numbers of oars, and then "Aminocles the *Corinthian* to have increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four banks: the *Quinque Romi* first to have been used by *Nesichton* the *Salaminian*, with which vessels in those parts of the world, the *Romans* served themselves in the *Punick* war. But these be, perhaps, but the partialities of writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these galleys on *Sesoftris*, tho' *Se-*

"Gen. 11. b Plin. c Isa. 66. 8. d Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4. fol. 115.

d Plin. l. 7. c. 56. e Thucyd.

No. 7.

f Tibul. Eleg. 7. Strabo, l. 10.

g Diod.



*miramis* used them in the passage of her army over *Indus* in *Abraham's* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention; and yet *Tertullian*, on the contrary, gives it to *Minerva*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those ages, as the *Egyptians* used to coast the shores of the Red sea upon rafts devised by king *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Britains* had a kind of boat (with which they cross'd the seas) made of small twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have seen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naves ex corio circumfutæ in oceano Britannico* (saith *Textor*:) of which *Lucan* the poet:

*Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam  
Texitur in puppim, caesoque induta juvenco,  
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.  
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus  
Navigat Oceano.*

The moistned osier of the hoary willow  
Is woven first into a little boat:  
Then loth'd in bullock's hide upon the billow  
Of a proud river, lightly doth it float  
Under the waterman:  
So on the lakes of overswelling *Po*  
Sails the *Venetian*: and the *Britain* so  
On th' out-spread ocean.

And altho' it cannot be denied, when *Noah* by God's inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the ark, that then many things concerning navigation were first revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the ark of *Noah*, and such ships as were for any long navigation. Yea, ancient stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume upon any long voyages to sea: at least, with multitudes of women, and children, and cattle: as also common reason can tell us, that even now when this art is come to her perfection, such voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that age of *Nimrod*, any ship, or use of ships, fit for any long navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had passed themselves and their people by sea; the exercise of navigation would not have been dead for so many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast nations into countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of *Moses* and the prophets; to which truth there is joined both nature, reason, policy, and necessity: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibility.

#### SECT. IV.

Of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Tubal* and *Mesech*, seated first about *Asia* the less, out of *Ezekiel* xxxviii. 39.

NOW altho' many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a plantation of the world, which also hath been and is received: yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great learned man of this latter age, *Arias Montanus*, was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Josephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a guide to many errors withal, so was he in this plantation of the world very gross and fabulous, whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his testimonies for current, have been by him far misled

But the better to conceive what regions of the world *Gomer* the first son of *Japhet* possess'd, as also *Tubal*, it is needful to begin with *Magog*; because the scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names have troubled many commentators, saith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authority from the prophet *Ezekiel* chiefly, who in the 38th and 39th chapter directeth us what nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was prince or chief conductor in their attempts against *Israel*: for besides the portions of *Europe*, and the north-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Japhet's* issues possess'd, all *Asia* the less was peopled by them. And that those of the issue of *Japhet* (whom *Ezekiel* speaks of) were seated hereabout, it may best appear, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependency upon the former prophecy in the 37th chapter: for in that 37th chapter, *Ezekiel* prophesieth of the uniting of the two kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*, after their delivery from captivity.

By which prophecy of *Ezekiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one prince. For to that purpose it is written; *And David my servant shall be king over them, and they shall have one shepherd*, that is, they shall be united as they were in *David's* times. Hereupon in the 38th chapter *Ezekiel* prophesieth against those nations, which should seek to impeach this union, and disturb the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same chapter are those nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their return, and fought to subject them: all which were the subjects or allies of *Gog*, prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœlesyrians*, next bordering *Palestina* or the holy land, followed also by the rest of the nations of *Asia* the less, which lay north from *Judea*. The words of *Ezekiel* are these; *Son of man, set thy face against Gog, and against the land of Magog the chief princes of Mesech (or Mosoch) and Tubal. and afterward, Behold, I come against the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal: and in the sixth verse, Gomer and all his bands, and the house of Togorm of the north quarters.* Herein *Ezekiel* having first delivered the purpose of his prophecy, teacheth what nations they were, that should in vain assail *Israel*. He joineth them together under their prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the north quarters of *Judah*, and how seated and joined together. *Gog* signifieth in the Hebrew (saith *St. Jerome*) *teclum* or covering of a house: and *Pintus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for, saith he, *Antichristus est diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana*; That *Antichrist* shall be the covering of the devil under human form. He addeth that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the letter [M] being an Hebrew preposition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So far *Pintus*, at least in this, is not amiss, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a nation, with which agreeth this observation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog*, saith he, in Hebrew is written *Ham Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a region or nation: for the letter [He] which is used but for an *Emphasis* (which the Hebrews call *Hebædia*) is never added to proper names of men, but



often to place. So as Gog was prince of that nation (called either *Magog*, or according to others the people of *Gog*) also prince of *Mesech* (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first verse of the 39th chapter is made manifest, *Behold, I come against thee Gog the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal*. This must needs be meant by the successors of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering nations) seek to make the *Jews* their tributaries only, but endeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguish the religion it self (which the *Hebrews* profess'd) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortal and rotten Gods of the heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead images. <sup>a</sup> St. *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take Gog for the nation of the *Goths*: belike, because they invaded *Europe*, and sack'd *Rome* and many other places and cities thereabouts. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turks* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of Gog. Many take Gog for the proper name of a man: others of a region: others for a nation inhabiting a region, as *Junius*, who says that Gog is the name of a nation, denominated from him whom the *Greek* stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and therefore also the *Gygean* lake, which lake <sup>b</sup> *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia* (of which *Gyges* was king) 40 furlongs from *Sardis*. *Pliny* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicanor* set it about the rivers of *Hyllus*, and *Meander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* king of *Lydia*: who after he had subdued the country about the river *Rhodus* which runneth into the *Hellepont*, called the promontory *Trapeze* after his own name *Gyges*. These opinions do also seem to strengthen that of <sup>c</sup> *Junius*. For *Magog*, saith he, is that part of *Asia* the less, which *Halyattes* obtained; and after him his son *Cræsus*; who (as <sup>d</sup> *Junius* further notes) having mastered all those regions as far south as *Libanus*, in that border built the city *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the city of Gog) seated in *Cælesyria*, whose people were the ancient enemies of the *Jews*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cælesyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, saying; *Cælesyria habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Magog*; *Cælesyria* hath it in *Bambyce*, which by another name is called *Hierapolis*, but of the *Syrians*, *Magog*. He further telleth us that the monstrous idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks* *Derceto*, was here worshipped; *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the city had anciently another name, which yet he expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing elegantly in the *Greek*. But if we may believe <sup>e</sup> *Strabo*, then was *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same idol was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtful whether one of these authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough be that the same name and religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due north from *Palestina*, and were both subject unto the kings of the race of *Seleucus*. Now I do not condemn the opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Josephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also be the father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where Gog is made the prince of *Magog*, the nations of *Cælesyria*, and the north parts adjoining, be meant by *Magog*: for the latter plantation from these parts, they might

be propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the north-east, wasted the better part of *Asia* the less, and possess'd *Cælesyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezekiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this city *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*, standeth due north from *Judea*, according to the words of *Ezekiel*, that from the north quarters those nations should come. For as the kings of the south which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolemies* kings of *Egypt*: so those of the north were the kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the successors of *Seleucus*, the successor of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the story of *Tobias*. <sup>f</sup> *Pliny* takes it not only to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edeffa*: not that by *Euphrates*, but another of the same name; now the known name is *Alepo*: for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This city had the title of sacred, as the sacred city (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detestable idolatry; and wherein was worshipped the idol of the mermaid *Atergatis*, or *Atirgitis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Derceto*.

If then we confer the words of *Ezekiel* in the 3d verse of the 38th chapter, wherein he joineth together *Gog*, *Mesech*, and *Tubal*: and withal remember that *Hierapolis* was the city of *Magog*, which also is seated directly north from *Judea*: with whom also *Ezekiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the north quarters; we may, as I conceive, safely conclude, that these followers and vassals of Gog (which were northern nations in respect of *Judea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of lesser *Asia*, and *Cælesyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Josephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein are to be rejected. But if *Josephus* refer himself to later times, and think that some colony of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* pass into *Spain* (to wit, from that piece of land between *Colchis* or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania* (most part possessed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these people might from their first habitation pass into the countries near the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-ages into *Spain*.

*Josephus* makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence, saith *Justin*, they passed into *Spain* to search out the mines of that region: having belike understood that it was a southerly country, and mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines*, called *Chalybes*, lived altogether by the exchange of iron, and other metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following verses, telling how the *Argonauts* did visit them.

*Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,  
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:  
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant.*

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren soil,  
But undermine high hills for iron veins:  
Changing the purchase of their endless toil  
For merchandise, which their poor lives sustains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who



were easily drawn to pass over the streights into that country; and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the south parts 800 years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the 12th year of *Nimrod's* reign, *Tubal* pass'd into *Spain*, and therein built *St. Uval*: a poor town, and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find *Mosach* or *Mesech*, and *Tubal* neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togorma* not far off, or else we shall wrong *Ezekiel*: for he called *Gog* the leader or prince of *Mesech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their assistants. And that *Mesech* inhabited *Asia*, *Functius* (tho' he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his words; *Mesacus, qui a Mose Mesech, priscos Mesios ab Adula monte usque ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua urbs Mazica, &c. hæc est terra Magog principalis: Mesacus*, whom *Moses* calleth *Mesech*, placed the ancient *Mesians* from the mount *Adulas*, unto the coast of *Pontus*. This region was afterwards called *Cappadocia*, in which is the town *Mazica*, &c. this is the principal country of *Magog*. And this doth *Annius* also avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was prince both of *Mesech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly west, and not north from *Judea*. Also *Ezekiel* in the 27th chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final proof, that these nations were of a northern neighbour land (how far soever stretched) *Ezekiel* in the 38th chapter makes them all horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon horses, even a great multitude and a mighty*. Then if any man believe that these troops came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenees*, and first pass'd over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary* and *Sarmatia*, and imbarck'd again about the *Hellepont*, or else compassed all *Pontus Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is half the length or compass of the then known world, he may be called a strong believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary it is known, that *Seleucis* was a province neighbouring *Palestina* or *Judea*, and that *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*, joined unto it: whose princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the less, namely, the *Seleucideæ*; and held it, till *Scipio Asiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the great: after which they yet possess'd *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Mesech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First he seated himself with *Togorma*, not far from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterwards he proceeded further into *Asia* the less; and in long tract of time his valiant issue filled all *Germany*, rested long in *France* and *Britain*, and possessed the utmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as *Melancthon* well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *utmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, whereunto they might exonerate their swelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the nations, occupying the countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our antiquities, Mr. *William Camden*, hath noted) that they were called *Gimbri*, which in their old language doth signify robbers; necessity

inforcing them to spoil their neighbours, to whom in their original they were as near joined, as afterwards in the seats which they possessed. For that the warlike nations of *Germany* were in elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gauls*, the authority of *Cesar* affirming it, is proof sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer conquests, and more easy, tho' further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprizes not here to be spoken of) they were drawn at length into *Asia* the less, and occupied those parts, which had formerly been held by their progenitors. I say, not that they claimed those lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in late ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the land of *Shinaar*, may by that argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samothæ* (for his excellent wisdom surnamed *Dis*) whom *Annius* makes the brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which brother *Moses* never heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Japhet's* sons) they must find him in some old poet: for *Functius* a great *Berosian* confesseth: *Quis hic Samothæ fuerit incertum est*; Who this *Samothæ* was it is uncertain; neither is there any proof that he was that same *Dis*, whom *Cesar* saith the *Gauls* suppose to be their ancestor; yea, and *Vignier* confesseth with *Functius*: *Mais on ne sçayt qui il estoit*; No man knows who he was.

#### SECT. V.

Against the fabulous *Berosus's* fiction. That the Italian *Janus* was *Noah*.

BUT before I go on with *Noah's* sons, I think it necessary to disprove the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himself: an invention, indeed, very ridiculous, tho' warranted, as he hath wrested, by those authors of whom himself hath commented: as the fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinus* and others. For *Annius* seeks to persuade us, that *Noah* (surnamed *Janus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92 years. This to disprove, by *Moses's* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineveh* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92 years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Affyrian*, in his oration against the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote only three books, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: But *Annius* hath devised five books, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled only the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Affyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this fragment with the business of all the world. And if we may believe *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the kings of the *Latins* (before *Eneas*) consumed but 150 years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Lineas's* arrival into *Italy*, there pass'd 1126 (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the first of their kings) lived at once

<sup>a</sup> In Chron. <sup>b</sup> Cæsar Comment. <sup>c</sup> Vignier pars 1. Chron. Bull. de Gal. <sup>d</sup> Joseph. l. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Ann. de Hetrusc. Pict. de ant. Italico. Cato de origin. Lav.



with *Ruth*, who married *Booz*, in the world's year (as some reckon) 2717, after the flood 1064, and *Noah* died 350 years after the flood: and so there pass'd between *Janus* of *Italy*, and *Noah* surnamed *Janus*, 704 years. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27th king of *Affyria*: with *Pelagus* of *Peloponnesus*: with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* judge of *Israel*. Now all these five kings of the *Latins* having consumed but 150 years; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for 150 years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Dencalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth son of *Japhet*. For the *Vulgar* translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the son of *Medea*, whom they make the parent of the *Medes*, tho' they were descended of a far more ancient father, to wit, *Ma-dai* the 3d son of *Japhet*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *British* language hath remained among us above 2000 years, and the *English* speech ever since the invasion of the *Angles*: and the same continuance have all nations observed among themselves, tho' with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian* (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have been found in the languages of those countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the *Grecian Janus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150 years, saith *Eusebius*, which was in the time of *Latinus* the 5th king: which also *St. Augustine* and *Justin* confirm: and this agreeth with reason, time and possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of themselves add thus much: that whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camase-na*) the wife of this *Janus*, who instituted the holy fire of the *vestal virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latins* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their idolatrous and heathenish ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to believe that *Noah* himself (who is said by *Moses* to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to set up or devise any heathen, savage, or idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best-pleasing to God himself.

#### SECT. VI.

That *Gomer* also and his son *Togorma* of the posterity of *Japhet* were first seated about *Asia* the less: and that from thence they spread westward into *Europe*: and northward into *Sarmatia*.

TO turn now to the sons of *Noah*, and the world's plantation after the flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; so, when they multiply'd in great numbers,

and dispersed themselves into the next countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by river: because the land was yet desert and overpress'd with woods, reeds, bogs, and rotten marshes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the south-part of *Chaldea*, down the river of *Gebon*, by which he might pass to and fro from *Babylon* to his own plantation: those also, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur* or *Orchoa* near the lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same river get up to *Babylon*, and receive succour from thence. All which tract of land upon *Gebon* southward, *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the land of *Cush*: because the dominion and empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cushite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that valley, and stay'd not in the east) were for a while oppress'd, till God afterward by the seed of *Abraham* made them his own nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and son of *Cush*, took both banks of *Tigris*, especially on the east-side of the river: by which river his people might also pass to and fro to *Babel*.

The imperial seat of which region of *Havilah* or *Susian*, was anciently called *Chusian*, or *Chusan*, afterwards *Susa*. *Cush* himself took the banks of *Gebon*, and planted those countries westward, and south-west-ward towards *Arabia* the stony, and the desert, where *Ptolemy* placeth the city of *Chusidia*, first *Chusia*.

*Seba*, and *Sheba*, with the rest that planted *Arabia Felix*, had *Tigris* to convey them into the *Persian* gulf, which washeth the banks of *Arabia Felix* on the east-side: so as those sons of *Cush* might take land down the river as they pleased. Also the city of *Nineveh* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said river of *Tigris*: and from thence a colony pass'd to *Charran*, standing also upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japhet's* sons settle themselves together, and took their seats in *Asia* the less, from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves northward, and westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the *Isles* of the *Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog* and *Tubal*, sat down first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the north of *Palestina* and *Phenicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children pass'd on into *Asia* the less, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spread themselves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more northerly into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first planters in *Asia* the less, held the country of the *Cymmerians* (witness *Herodot. lib. 4.*) the same region which was afterwards by the *Gall Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote his epistle, so intitled. This nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations) gave names to divers places; as to the mountains above *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the city of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this nation, in the outlet whereof was also a city of that name called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* saith (mistaking the place) had some time the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a town in *Campania*, so called of the unhealthy waters, favouring of brimstone: which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the lake *Lucrinus*.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 2. 13, 19. and so the place of *Isai. 66. 19.* [for *Javan*]

*Hellada*: and [for the plural *Javamin*] *Hellenæ*.

<sup>b</sup> *Ptol. Asiae*



to whom the *Moschici* were neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The prophet *Ezekiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Moschi*) inhabit *Syracena* a province of *Armenia*, directly south from the mountains *Moschici*, in the valley between the mountains *Moschici* and the mountains *Paryardes*: out of whose north part springeth the river *Phasis*; from the east part *Araxis*; and from the west *Euphrates*: and of this *Meshech* are descended also the *Moscovians* (saith *Melancthon*) and it may be, that in process of time some of them inhabited those regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melancthon*) signifieth *extendens*, enlarging or stretching forth. *Togorma* also at first did inhabit amongst his parents and kindred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchy* of *Phenicia*, the same which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence <sup>a</sup> *Solomon* had his most excellent masons, which hewed stones for the temple of *Jerusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the less *Armenia*, whose kings were hence called <sup>b</sup> *Tigranes*, and their cities *Tigranokartæ*: of which cities *Tigranes*, subdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Microsolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*: forgetting the prophecy of *Ezekiel* against the *Tyrians*; <sup>c</sup> *They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy fairs horses, and horsemen, and mules*, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the *Mediterranean* sea, but from the neighbour countries by land. But *Josephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the 12th of *Nimrod*'s reign. The *Jews* conceive that the *Turks* came of those *Togormians*, because their emperor is called *Togar*. The *Chaldeans* make them the fathers of the *Germans*. But *Laonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muscovy*. But for these sub-derivations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first nations after the flood is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous writers. And this we must note, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet spirit, or (perchance) of less understanding, and had not therefore the leading of colonies sent out, their proper habitations could be hardly known: only reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were cover'd with the fame of others, who took on them the conduction and dominion over the rest.

From *Madai* the 3d son of *Japhet*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the son of *Medea*.

#### SECT. VII.

Of *Javan* the fourth son of *Japhet*: and of *Meshech* of *Aram*, and *Meshech* of *Japhet*.

**O**F *Javan* the 4th son of *Japhet* came from the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and so the *Latin* and *Greek* interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Isaiab*. *Et mittam ex eis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam*: And I will send those that escape of them to nations in the sea, in *Italy* and in *Greece*. The *Geneva* here useth the word [*Tarshish*] for *Tarsus*, a city in *Cilicia*, tho' *Tarsis* in many places be taken for the sea. The *Tigurino* and the *Geneva* use the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy*

and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or men without ancestors, and growing (as it were) out of the soil itself: who abounding in people, sent colonies into *Asia* the less, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts. Others <sup>d</sup> derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Javan* mars the fashion of that supposition, who so many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tells us that *Xuthus* stole out of *Thebais* with all his father's treasure, and his brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciously received by *Erietheus*, who gave him his daughter in marriage; of whom he received two sons, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the supposed ancestors of the *Athenians*. For *Attica* was called *Ionia* (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theseus*) who, when he had joined *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Isthmus* or *Strait*, which fasteneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the east, these words: *Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, ast Ionia*; These countries are not of *Peloponnesus*, but of *Ionia*: and on the other side which looketh towards the south, and into *Peloponnesus*, this: These parts are *Peloponnesus*, and not *Ionia*.

*Strabo* out of *Hecataeus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: that the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certain companies into *Asia* the less, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And tho' *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themselves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hecataeus* reasonable enough. For tho' it were to him unknown, yet sure I am that *Asia* the less had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the less in his passage; and from thence pass'd over the nearest way, leaving his own name to some maritime province on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himself believed, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the less, opposite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt themselves to be the fathers of nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved historians (not their own) deride and disprove their pride, and vanity therein. For this dispute of antiquity (among prophane writers) rested between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Justin* out of *Trogus*, in the war between *Vexoris* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops*'s time, the *Greeks* were all savages without law or religion, living like brute beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith <sup>e</sup> *St. Augustine*) lived together with *Moses*.

The 6th son of *Japhet* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosoch*, a part of those nations commanded by *Gog* the chief prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. But this we must remember, that between *Meshech* the son of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosoch*) the son of *Japhet*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers interpreters diversly written. *Montanus* with the *Vulgar* writeth *Meshech*, the son of *Aram* *Mes*; the *Geneva* *Mash*; *Junius* *Meshech*. But it may be gathered out of the 120th *Psalm*, that either *Meshech* the son of *Japhet*, was the parent of those people, or gave name

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings 5. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Jun. in Gen. 10. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Ju. 27. 14

<sup>d</sup> Thucyd.

<sup>e</sup> Aug. de Civitate Dei, lib. 18. c. 10



to that province wherein *David* hid himself: or else (which may rather seem) that it took name from *Mesech* the son of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious people) useth these words. *Woe is me that I remain in Mesech, and dwell in the tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus. *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* gives it this sense, *Woe is me because my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the *Latin* agreeth: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwise, and in these words, *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum*: O wretch that I am, for I have travelled among those of *Asia*. I have dwelt in the tabernacles of the *Arabians*. But howsoever or whichsoever conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*; which is a province of *Arabia Petraea*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Asia* instead of *Mesech*; but the *Hebrew* it self hath *Mesech*. And if it be to be taken for a nation (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a nation) seeing *Mesech* the son of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17: is called *Mesech*, it is indifferent whether this nation took name from *Mesech* or *Mesech*, both bordering *Judea*, and like enough to be commanded by one prince; for so *Ezekiel* makes *Mesech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Mesech* out of the word *Mosoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muscovian*; sure they presume much upon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am, that *David* never travelled so far north; (for to him *Muscovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar*, it may be, he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a city on the mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Mosoch* the father of the *Muscovians*; and herein also *Melancthon* runs with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Mesech* in *Muscovia*, tho' with some better advice of judgment; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling north-ward: expounding the places of the 120th psalm [*Hei mihi quod exulo in Mesech*] to signify, *Gentis ejus feritatem insignem esse*; That the ferity of that nation exceeded: which fierceness or brutality of the *Muscovians*, *David* never proved, or, perchance, never heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty, which those northern *Muscovians* had, may as well be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this country took name of *Kedar* the second son of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equal fierceness to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites* and *Saracens* may be accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the angel to *Hagar*, *Gen.* xvi. 12. *And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against every man, and every mans hand against him*. Now *Arabia* the desert, saith *Pliny*, confronteth the *Arabians* *Coelæ* on the east, and the *Cedraei* south-ward, both which join together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth, as before, that *Mesech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Tigema* and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did join to *Mesech*: all which were regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the less, commanded by the successors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-establishment of *Israel* and *Judah*. But as I have already said, it might well be, that long after the first plantation the name of *Mesech*, or *Mosoch*, might pass into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hy-*

*cania*, and give names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the mountains *Moschici* in the other, and from thence might send people northerly in *Muscovia*; and so all opinions saved. But all savage nations, overgrown and uncultivated, do (for the most part) shew a late plantation; even as civility, letters, and magnificent building witness antiquity.

*Tiras* the seventh son of *Japhet*, which *Montanus* reckons among the sons of *Gomer*, was the father of the *Thracians*, as all authors (worthy of examination) affirm. *Josephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speak of the sons of *Gomer*, which were three:

*Ascanes, Riphath and Togorma.*

#### SECT. VIII.

*Of Ascanes and Riphath, the two eldest sons of Gomer.*

**A**SCANES was the father of those which the *Greeks* call *Rhegini*, saith *Josephus*, but he gives no reason why.

*Eusebius* makes *Ascanes* the father of the *Goths*; the *Jews* in their *Targum* make him the root of the *German* nation, but their expositions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, near the rivers of *Ilyas* and *Cios*: *Melancthon* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuiscanes* were descended of the *Ascanes* (for *Tuiscanes*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanes*, *Præposito articulo die Ascanes*) and that the word signifieth a religious keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of sacrifices, as afterwards at the tombs of martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the lake *Ascania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the kings which came to the succour of *Troy*, was *Ascanius*, *Deo similis*, saith *Homer*, Like unto God; because he was beautiful and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Eneas*, *Os humerosque Deo similis*; In face and body like one of the gods. *Virgil* also remembreth such a river together with the hills *Gargara*; as *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transque sonantem Ascanium*: Appetite leads them both over the mountains *Gargara* and the roaring *Ascanius*. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the city of *Brillion* upon the river *Ascanius*, which is adjoining to *Mysia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* empire: and the lake *Ascanes* he directs us to find by the description of *Prusia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth far within the countries of *Bitunia*: and then from *Prusia* to *Nicea* are accounted five and twenty miles, in which way this lake lieth, even between *Prusia* and *Nicea*; and so *Junius*, as I conceive him, takes them of *Ascanes* to be the inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bitunia*, and those north parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a city of *Troas*, built by *Ascanius* the son of *Eneas*, saying, that there was another of that name in *Mysia*. Of *Ascanii*, a lake of *Bitunia*, *Ptolemy* witnesseth: and *Strabo* giveth *Ascania* both a lake, a river, and a town in *Mysia*, near unto *Cio*; which also agreeth with *Pliny*: for *Pliny* findeth *Prusia*, before spoken of, near *Cio*, and calleth the islands before *Troy*, *Ascanes*.

Now whether these places took name of *Ascanes* the son of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* the son of *Eneas*, it might be questioned: sure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought succour to the *Trojans*, could not take



his name from *Eneas's* son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it seemeth that the countries whence those succours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myfia*, but farther off, and from the north parts of all *Asia* the less, which by *Jeremy* is called *Ascanez*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the prophet *Jeremy* we shall learn of what nation the *Ascanez* were, whose words are these: *Set up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations against her, call up the kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez against her, &c.* meaning, against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most interpreters consent, so called of the mountains of *Ararat* which run thro' it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*; for *Minni* was the ancient name, saith *Junius* and others before him, and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that tract from *Euphrates* to the sea-coasts of *Phenicia* and *Palestina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a province of *Syria*, the scriptures difference it in the story of *Jacob* and *Esau*, and call it *Aram-padan*. Then if these two nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Ascanez* joined with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoil of the *Babylonian* empire) we shall err much to call *Askenaz* Germany or *Almain*, for we hear of no *Swart Ruttiers* at that siege. But the *Askenaz* were of those nations which were either subject or allied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterwards into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Josephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*, when they confirm it either by scriptures or reason, I will think as they do.

Of *Ripbath*, the second son of *Gomer*, there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* think that he wandered far off from the rest of his brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that he might seat himself with the rest of his family; for there wanted no room or soil in those days for all the sons and grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Ripbei* were of *Ripbath*, which the *Greeks* afterwards, according to *Josephus*, called the *Paphlagonians*: and *Ripbei*, saith *Melanethon*, signifieth giants. These people were very famous in the north parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*; The greatest number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*, who spoke the ancient *Polac*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the love of some of their leaders or kings) changed their names and became *Heneti* (a custom exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: now, when these *Riphei*, afterwards *Heneti*, sought new regions, they came along the shores of *Euxinus*, and filled the north part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they cross'd thwart the land, and peopled *Illyria*, desirous, saith *Melanethon*, of a warmer soil of fruit and wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanethon* taketh to be one people, filled all that land between the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* sea; and to this day the name of the gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This nation, after they were possess'd of *Lithuania* and

*Polonia*, disturbed the plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore it seemeth to me, that of *Ripbath* came the *Riphei*, afterwards *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arias Montanus*, first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly between the rivers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name, saith *Melanethon*, signifieth wandering or wanderers, or *Nomades*, a people which lived by white meats and fruits, as indeed all nations did in the first ages.

Of the third son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have spoken already; now therefore of *Javan's* children, which were four:

*Elisa*, *Tharsis*, *Cethim*, and *Dodanim*.

#### SECT. IX.

Of the four sons of *Javan*: and of the double signification of *Tharsis*, either for a proper name or for the sea.

OF *Elisa* or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Elisa* all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, saith *Montanus*. *Melanethon* makes *Elisa* the father of the *Æoles* in *Asia* side; others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, or of both. And seeing the *Greeks* were descended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that the *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Elisa*, his eldest son. *Ezekiel* speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the isles of *Elisa*. *Hyacinthus & purpura de insulis Elisæ facta sunt operimentum tuum*: Blue silk and purple brought from the isles of *Elisa*, was thy covering: The *Chaldeans* for *Elisa* write *Italia*, but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius* keep the word *Elisa*; and so I think they might do with reason: for there was not found any such purple dye in *Italy* in those days, nor since that I can read of. But those isles of *Elisa* were by a better conjecture the isles of *Greece*; and the best purple was found afterwards at *Tyre* itself, and before that, and among the *Cyclades*, and on the coast of *Getulia*.

*Tharsis*, the second son of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, understands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldean* paraphrast puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authority, nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, and brought thence gold, silver, elephants teeth, &c. The *Chaldean* paraphrast translates *Tharsis* [*Africa*]. But *Solomon's* ships were prepared in the Red sea at *Ezion-gaber*, in the bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro*, *Moses's* father-in-law, inhabited; a province of *Arabia Petraea*, *Idumea*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sailed to the higher part of the *East-Indies*. For it had been a strange navigation to have spent three years in the passage between *Judea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been sailed in six or ten days. And if so great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterranean* sea, all the other neighbouring princes would soon have entertained that trade also. But this enterprize of *Solomon* is in this sort written of in the first of *Kings*: *Also king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-gaber, which is beside Elath and the brink of the Red sea in the land of Edom: and Hiram sent with the navy his servant, that were mariners, and had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon: and they came to Ophir, and fetch'd from thence 420 talents of gold, &c.* But as the nations about *Pontus* thought



no sea in the world like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other sea but that only (whereof it came that *Pontus* was a word used for the sea in general;) so because the *Israelites* and the *Phenicians* knew no other sea than that of the *Mediterranean* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharsis* had the greatest ships, and were the first navigators in those parts with such vessels, they were therefore called men of the sea: and the word *Tharsis* used often for the sea. And whereas it's said that the ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, that phrase is not strange at all: for we use it ordinarily wheresoever we navigate, namely, that the king's ships are gone to the sea, or that they are set out every year, or every three years to the sea; and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but used for the sea it self. But in this place *Tharsis* is truly taken for *Tharsis*, the chief city in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharsis* the 2d son of *Javan*, or by his successors, in memory of their first parent. To this city arrived *Alex. Macedon*, before he gave the first overthrow to *Darius*, and casting himself into the river to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an extreme fever, and great danger of death: and in this city of *Tharsis* was *St. Paul* born. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sons inhabiting *Asia* the less, and that part of *Syria* adjoining) *Javan*, who was to pass over the sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the same coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gave the islands between *Asia* the less and *Greece*, to *Elisa*, and left *Tharsis* upon the sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that city took name.

The 3d son of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melancthon's* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural, saith he, and signifieth *percussores*, tho' in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that place of *Isaiah* 23. (according to *Melancthon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*. *Hæc calamitas ab Esai prædicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, venturos esse eversores Tyri ex terra Cettim*; This calamity, saith *Melancthon*, was foreshewed by *Isaiah* the prophet, who in the 23d chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of *Tyre* were to come out of *Cittim*. And altho' the children of *Israel* esteemed all men islanders, which came to them by sea, and separate from that continent (and so also *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beroaldus*) yet we must take the first performance of the former prophecy, which took effect by the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*: who after seven months siege entered that proud city, and cut in pieces 7000 principal citizens; strangled 2000, and changed the freedom of 13000 others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it appeareth plainly in the first of the *Maccabees*, in these words: *After that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, went forth of the land of Cethim, and slew Darius king of the Persians and Medes. Josephus* lets *Cethim* in the isle of *Cyprus*, in which, saith he, there remaineth the city *Cittim*, the country of *Zeno* the philosopher (witness *Laertius*) which city *Pontus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that it stood in *St. Jerome's* time. So it may be, that all the islands in ancient times by the *Hebrews* were called the islands of *Cethim*: and in that sense might *Cyprus* be so called also; and yet because *Tharsis* was the very next port to *Cyprus*, and directly over-against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharsis*: and finding that island too strait for his people after they were increased,

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and that the rest of the coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece*, were inhabited by his father and brothers, he sent colonies over the *Egean* sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

*Dodanim* the 4th son of *Javan*, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) sat down at *Rhodes* as near *Cethim*, *Tharsis* and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are used indifferently by many translators: the *Hebrew* [D] and the *Hebrew* [R] are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the city of *Dodona*, in the province of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soil in *Cyprus*: so *Dodanim* (seated in a far less island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping along the coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little farther on the west-ward, and planted in *Epirus*. And tho' the city of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dodanim* himself, yet his posterity might give it that name in memory of their first parent, as it happened all the world over. For names were given to cities, mountains, rivers, and provinces, after the names of *Noah's* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many years after: every of their families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great kingdoms were often by new conquerors newly named, and the greatest cities often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their ancestors, to mountains and rivers, as to things (after their judgments) free from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himself and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the less, towards the sea-shore: and afterwards in *Greece*, and the islands and neighbour provinces thereof, as *Japhet* their father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javan's* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and the borders thereof towards the west and south-west: and the sons of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travelled south-ward in *Arabia Fœlix*, and south-west-ward into *Arabia Petraea*: the rest of his children holding the regions adjoining to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chush* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the region of *Palestina* adjoining. The sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those nations came, which were afterwards the enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to those of the sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards the west, and the borders of the *Mediterranean* sea: of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the sons of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were four:

*Chush, Mizraim, Phut and Canaan.*

## S E C T. X.

*That the seat of Chush the eldest son of Ham was in Arabia, not in Ethiopia: and of strange fables, and ill translations of scripture, grounded upon the mistaking of this point.*

† I.

*Of Josephus's tale of an Ethiopess wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the seat of Chush.*

**T**HAT *Ham* was the father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many scriptures, as in the

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the 150th *Pſalm*, ver. 51. *Then Iſrael came to Egypt, and Jacob was a ſtranger in the land of Ham*: and in the 78th *Pſalm*; *He ſlew all the firſt-born in Egypt, even the beginning of their ſtrength, in the tabernacles of Ham*. There is alſo found a great city in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis* (as it were, the city of *Ham*) of which name <sup>a</sup> *Herodotus* alſo diſcovers an iſland in the ſame region. But becauſe *Chuſh* is the elder ſon of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to ſpeak firſt of him. Now tho' I have already in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* handled this queſtion, and, I hope, proved that *Chuſh* could not be *Ethiopia*: yet ſeeing it cometh now to his turn to ſpeak for himſelf, I will add ſome farther proof to the former. For the manifeſtation hereof ſets many things ſtrait, which had otherwiſe very crooked conſtructions, and ſenſeleſs interpretations. Surely, howſoever the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* have herein failed, yet it is manifeſt that *Chuſh* could not be *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy and the the deſart: which regions *Chuſh* and the *Chuſites* preſently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they firſt ſat down all together. And there is nothing which ſo well cleareth this controverſy, as the true interpretation of the place, *Numb. xii. 1.* where *Moses's* wife is called a *Chuſite*; together with ſome places which ſpeak of *Nabuchodonosor's* conqueſts. For whereas *Joſephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, *Numb. xii. 1.* as alſo elſewhere, underſtand *Chuſh* for *Ethiopia*, we muſt give credit to *Moses* himſelf therein; and then it will appear that *Joſephus* was groſſly miſtaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Joſephus* preſuming that *Chuſh* was *Ethiopia*, and therefore that the wife of *Moses* (which in ſcripture, *Numb. xii. 1.* is called a woman of *Cuſh*) was a woman of the land of *Ethiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the daughter of the king of *Ethiopia*, fell in love with the perſon and fame of *Moses*, while he beſieged *Saba* her father's city; and to the end to obtain *Moses* for her huſband, ſhe practiſed to betray both her parents, country, and friends, with the city it ſelf, and to deliver it into *Moses's* hands. The tale (if it be worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Joſephus*. After he had deſcribed the ſtrength of the *Ethiopian* city *Meroe*, which he ſaith at length *Cambyſes* called ſo from the name of his ſiſter (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in theſe words: *Hic cum Moſes deſidere exercitum otioſum ægre ferret, hoſte non audente manus conſerere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum regi filia, nomine Tharbis, &c.* which tale hath this ſenſe in *Engliſh*; When *Moses* was grieved that his army lay idle, becauſe the enemy beſieged, durſt not ſally and come to handy ſtrokes, there happened this accident in the mean while. The *Ethiopian* king had a daughter called *Tharbis*, who at ſome aſſaults given beheld the perſon of *Moses*, and withal admired his valour. And knowing that *Moses* had not only upheld and reſtored the falling eſtate of the *Egyptians*, but had alſo brought the conquering *Ethiopians* to the very brink of ſubverſion: theſe things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily encreaſed, ſhe made means to ſend unto him by one of her truſtieſt ſervants to offer herſelf unto him, and become his wife; which *Moses* on this condition entertained, that ſhe ſhould firſt deliver the city into his poſſeſſion: whereunto ſhe condeſcending, and *Moses* having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were inſtantly performed.

† II.

*A diſpute againſt the tale of Joſephus.*

THIS tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Joſephus* fashioned, and therein alſo utterly miſtaken himſelf, in naming a city of *Arabia*, for a city of *Ethiopia*: as he names *Ethiopia* it ſelf to have been the country of *Moses's* wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Ethiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, ſaying that the *Sabeans* are *Arabians*, and not *Ethiopians*; except *Joſephus* can perſuade us, that the queen of *Saba* which came from the ſouth to hear the wiſdom of *Solomon*, were a *Negro*, or black-moor. And tho' *Damianus a Goes* ſpeaks of certain letters to the king of *Portugal* from *Preſter John* of the *Abiſſines*: wherein that *Ethiopian* king would perſuade the *Portugals* that he was deſcended of the queen of *Saba*, and of *Solomon*; yet it doth no-where appear in the ſcriptures, that *Solomon* had any ſon by that great princeſs: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Siſbac* king of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and ſack'd *Jeruſalem*, his brother (the ſon of *Saba* and *Solomon*) who joined upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as alſo given aid and ſuccour to *Roboam* againſt *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing againſt our opinion of *Moses's* wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the ſcriptures teach us, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro* prieſt of *Midian* or *Madian*: which ſtanding on the north coaſt of the Red ſea, over-againſt the body of *Egypt*, and near *Eſon Gaber*, where *Solomon* provided his fleet for *India*, in the region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red ſea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumæa* joineth to the tribe of *Juda* by the north, to *Arabia Petræa* by the eaſt, to the *Mediterranean* by the weſt, and to the Red ſea by the ſouth-eaſt. And if we mark the way which *Moses* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Iſrael* thence, it will appear that he was no ſtranger in *Arabia*: in the border whercof, and in *Arabia* it ſelf, he had formerly lived 40 years; where it ſeemeth, that beſides his careful bringing up in *Egypt*, he was inſtructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Joſephus* confeſſeth, and *St. Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other ſide this text makes much againſt *Joſephus*, where it is written in *Exodus ii. 15.* *Therefore Moſes fled from Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Madian or Midian, and not in Ethiopia.* And in the 3d chapter it is as plain as words can expreſs, in what region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When Moſes kept the ſheep of Jethro his father-in-law, prieſt of Madian, and drove the flock to the deſart, and came to the mountain of God in Horeb.* Now that mount *Horeb* is not in *Ethiopia*, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moses* himſelf, then was not the wife of *Moses* purchaſed in that manner which *Joſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her country and friends) neither had ſhe the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhe a negro, but a *Madianitiſh*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt means: ſo it pleaſed him from a ſhepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his people firſt and laſt. For *Moses* ſitting by a well (as diſconſolate and a ſtranger) defended the daughters of *Reuel*

<sup>a</sup> Herod. in Euterpe.<sup>b</sup> Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.<sup>c</sup> Exod. 2.



from the other shepherds, and drew them water to water their sheep : upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whose daughter he married : and not for any betraying of towns or countries.

From hence also came *Jethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make governors and judges of every tribe and family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Ethiopian*, it had been a far progress for him to have passed thro' all *Egypt* with the wife and children of *Moses*, and to have found *Moses* in the border of *Idumæa* : the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that favoured him. But the passing of *Moses* thro' *Arabia Penina* (which joineth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts : in which the second time he wandered forty years, and did by these late travels of his seek to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the milk of idolatry, and obstinate in the religion of the heathen, and finding that those stiff plants could not be bowed or declined, either by persuasion or by miracle, he wore them out in the deserts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own desire, and God's commandments.

Lastly, This opinion of *Josephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrysamensis*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora* : his own words have this beginning *ⁱ Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuisse Moysen, &c.* *Apollinaris* also lieth in affirming that *Moses* had two wives : and who doth not perceive these things feigned by them ? For it is manifest, that the wife of *Moses* was *Zephora*, daughter to the priest or president of *Madian* : and that *Madian* cannot be taken for *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*, being the same that joineth to *Arabia* : so far *Chrysamensis*.

† III.

*Chush* ill expounded for *Ethiopia*, *Ezek. xxix. 10.*

NOW as *Chush* is by the *Septuagint* converted into *Ethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Ethiopissa* : so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Ethiopia* written for *Arabia* : for by the words of *Ezekiel* it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was never in *Ethiopia*. *ⁱ Behold, saith Ezekiel, (speaking of the person of this great Assyrian) I come upon thee, and upon thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Sevench, even to the borders of the black-moors : which last words should have been thus converted : From the tower of Sevench to the borders of the Chusites or Arabians : between which two is situated all Egypt.* For to say, from the borders of *Sevench* to the *Ethiopians*, hath no sense at all. *Sevench* it self being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joining to *Ethiopia*, or the land of the black-moors. So as if *Nabuchodonosor's* conquest had been but between *Sevench* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did express no other victory than the conquest of all that land and country, lying between *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the countries join together ; or all the north parts of *England* between *Berwick* and *Scotland* : for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to express by these two

bounds, the conquest of *England*, *Berwick* being the north border of *England*, as *Sevench* or *Syene* is the south bound of *Egypt*, seated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezekiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* never entered into any part of *Ethiopia*, altho' the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other, in effect, have written *Ethiopia* for *Chush*.

† IV.

*Another place of Ezekiel, chap. xxx. ver. 9. in like manner mistaken.*

AND as the former, so is this place of *Ezekiel* mistaken, by being in this sort converted. *In die illa egredientur nuntii a facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam :* which place is thus turned into *English* by the *Genevians* : *In that day shall there messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Moors afraid.* Now the *Latin* for [ships] hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are galleys of three banks, and not ships. But that in this place the translation should have been, as in the former, amended by using the word *Chush*, or *Arabia* for *Ethiopia*, or the *Black-moors*, every man may see which meanly understandeth the geography of the world, knowing, that to pass out of *Egypt* into *Ethiopia*, there need no galleys nor ships, no more than to pass out of *Northampton* into *Leicestershire* : *Ethiopia* being the conterminant region with *Egypt*, and not divided so much as by a river. Therefore in this place of *Ezekiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt* *Nabuchodonosor* should send galleys along the coast of the Red sea, by which an army might be transported into *Arabia* the happy and the stony (sparing the long wearisome march over all *Egypt* and the deserts of *Pharan*) which army might thereby surprize them unawares in their security and confidence : for when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Sevench*, within a mile of *Ethiopia*, he needed neither galley nor ship to pass into it : being all one large and firm land with *Egypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, than one inland shire is parted from another ; and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the river but for pleasure, he could not have done it ; for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and steep mountains) called *Catadupæ Nili* were at hand.

Lastly, As I have already observed, the sons of every father seated themselves as near together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sons in *Asia* the less ; *Javan* and his sons in *Greece* and the islands adjoining ; *Shem* in *Persia* and eastward. So the sons and grand-children of *Chush* from the river of *Gebon*, their father's first seat, inhabited upon the same, or upon some other contiguous unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Elavilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha*, with the rest, did on the other side. And, to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had never any acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian Black-moors*, as is already remembered in the chapter of *Paradise*.

† V.

*A place of Isaiah xviii. 1. in like manner corrupted by taking Chush for Ethiopia.*

AND as in these places before-remembered, so in divers others is the word *Ethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chush*, which puts the story (where it is so understood) quite out of square ; one kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what sense

<sup>a</sup> Sixt Senenf. Bibl.

<sup>b</sup> Ezek. 29. 10



hath this part of scripture, *Isaiah* 18. *Væ terræ cymbalorum alarum quæ est trans flumina Ethiopia*; or according to the *Septuagint* in these words, *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ est trans fluvios Ethiopia*? Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*, sending ambassadors by sea, even the vessels of reeds upon the waters. *Væ terræ umbrosæ oræ*; Wo to the land of the shady coast, saith *Junius*. The former translators understand it in this sense; that the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significatively called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the sea was shadowed by the height of the land.

But to the purpose: That this land here spoken of by the prophet *Isaiah* is *Egypt*, no interpreter hath doubted: for they were the *Egyptians* that sent this message to the *Israelites* which *Isaiah* repeateth, and by the former translation every man may see the transposition of kingdoms: for hereby *Egypt* is transported unto the other side of *Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* set next unto *Judea*, when it is the land of *Chus* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judea* and *Egypt*, and not *Ethiopia*, which is seated under the equinoctial line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a material question, to wit, What region that should be, of which the prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*: *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit*; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown region. Now if *Ethiopia* it self be under the equinoctial line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledge of nations far beyond that again, and beyond the rivers of *Ethiopia*? except we shall impiously think that the prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those nations, which were not discovered in 2000 years after, inhabiting as far south as the *Cape of Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona Esperanza*.

† VI.

*That upon the like mistaking, both Terrhaca in the story of Senacherib, and Zera in the story of Asa are unadvisedly made Ethiopians.*

AND by this translation is the story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judea*: when having certain knowledge that *Thirrhaca* (which all the interpreters call king of *Ethiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himself: and fearing to leave his army in two parts, he sent threatening messengers to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*, persuading him to submit himself: the tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Have any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hands of the king of Assyria? Where is the god of Hamah?* &c. by which proud ambassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jerusalem*, he then meant to have united that great army before *Jerusalem* commanded by *Rabsakeb* with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great city upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those cities in *Judea* and *Benjamin* with a third army (which himself commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumour of that *Arabian* army led by their king *Thirrhakeb* (whom *Josephus* calls *Tharshites*) *Rabsakeb* hastened from the siege of *Jerusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachish*, and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleutheropolis*, as

some have suppos'd. But while he had ill success at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeb*, God himself, whom he least feared, struck his army before *Jerusalem* by the angel of his power, so as 158000 were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Hezekiah* is hereafter more largely written. And that this army of *Thirrhakeb* was from *Arabia*, *Josephus* himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth book the first chapter of the *Jewish antiquities*, that it was come to *Senacherib's* knowledge, that the army which was a foot (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*) march'd towards him by the way of the desert: now the desert which lay indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabias*, to wit, the stony, of which it is a part, the desert, and the happy; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Jerusalem*. But, that there is any desert between *Pelusium* and the south part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or described, by any cosmographer or historian. So then this scripture of the second of *Kings*, verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word [*Chus*] is also translated *Ethiopia*; and in this sense have all the interpreters, but *Junius*, expressed the beginning of the ninth verse. *He heard also men say of Thirrhakeb king of Ethiopia*, &c. whereas it should have been thus converted with *Junius*. *Audiens autem de Thirrhakeb rege Chusite*: He heard also of *Thirrhakeb* king of the *Chusites*. For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose houses and cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very smoke of *Judah* flaming was blown, being their nearest neighbours: and so were not the *Ethiopian Black-mores* under the equinoctial, whom neither war nor peace (which discovereth all regions) ever found out, saith *Pliny*. For this king was no more king of *Ethiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asa* king of *Judah*, with an army of a million and three thousand chariots. Indeed, how such an army and those chariots should pass thro' all *Egypt* (the kings of *Egypt* being mighty kings) let all men that know how these regions are seated, and how far distant, judge. For princes do not easily permit armies of a million to run thro' them; neither was there ever any such strength of black-mores heard of in that part of the world, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Ethiopians* such travellers or conquerors; and yet is this king *Zerah* also called king of *Ethiopia*. But the word *Chus* being first so converted for *Ethiopia*, the rest of the interpreters (not looking into the seats of kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

† VII.

*A farther exposition of the place, Isaiah xviii. 1.*

Concerning these words in that 18th chapter of *Isaiah*, *Navium alarum*, Wing'd ships (so the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latin*) Sails whistling in the winds, or *terre umbrosæ oræ* (after *Junius*) the land of a shadowed coast, or, the land shadowing with wings, as our *English Geneva* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and *St. Jerome* have one sense in effect. For the sails are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our ships sail slowly, that she wanteth wings: (that is) when her sails are either worn or too narrow; and we also use the same phrase of the wind whistling in the sails. And it may be that the

\* *Joseph* 1. 10. c. 1.    b 2 *Kings* 19.    c *Antiq.* 1. 10. c. 2. *Chron.* 11.

d 2 *King.* 19.    e *Isa.* 10. cap. 1.    f *Plin.* 1. 5. c. 4.



*Egyptians* employ'd so many of those small ships, as their sails were said to give a shadow over the Red sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Isaiab*) affirmeth, that the word [*Sabal*] doth signify both to shadow and to gingle, which is, to make a kind of cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this place, saith *Pintus*, is this: *Wo to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings*, which indeed seemeth to agree with the argument of the 18th chapter of *Isaiab*: and this phrase is often elsewhere used, as in the 16th *Psalms*, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*; Defend me under the shadow of thy wings. The boats of reed spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket-willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Britain*) or a tree made hollow in the bottom, and built upon both sides with canes. Of the one sort I have seen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

SECT. XI.

*Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.*

† I.

*That Mizraim the chief planter of Egypt, and the rest of the sons of Ham, were seated in order, one by another.*

THE second son of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chus* first possess'd *Chaldea* on the west-side of *Gebon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red sea, and to the south-east side of *Judea*. *Mizraim's* brother (with *Phut*) pass'd over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these four brothers possess'd all that tract of land, from *Gebon* in *Chaldea*, as far to the west as the *Mediterranean* sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilea*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*; with the two *Egypt*s; whereof the nether is bound by *Memphis* on the south, and by the *Mediterranean* sea on the north: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self towards the south as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Ethiopians* or *Blackmores*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* westward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other nation or family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sons again, and all the sons of the rest of *Noah's* children, sort themselves.

† II.

*Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be known: and of the Egyptians lunary years, which made their antiquities seem more fabulous.*

THIS flourishing kingdom possess'd by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Ægyptus* (otherwise *Rameses*, as some think) the son of *Belus* chaced thence his elder brother *Danaus*, shifting him into that part of *Greece*, now called *Moræa*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai* abandoning their proper names: which happened 877 years after the flood, in the time of *Joshua*, as *St. Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homor's Odyssey* it appeareth, that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the

*Trojan* war. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first book against *Appion*) numb'reth all the kings of *Egypt* after *Moses's* departure, who consumed 393 years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name 330 years after *Joshua*, and about 1000 years after the flood. But where *Josephus* in the same book taketh *Israel* to be those *Ilycos*, which he also calleth *pastores* or shepherds, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511 years, whom also he calleth his ancestors (meaning the ancestors of the *Jews*;) in this I am sure he was grossly deceived, or that he vainly boasted; for the *Israelites* had no such dominion as *Manethon* feigneth: nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian* antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330 kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and story of 13000 years; and that the stars had four times changed their course, and the sun twice set in the east. These riddles are also rise among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the moon, whereof *Ovid*

<sup>a</sup> *Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur  
Arcades: Et luna gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the earth inhabited  
Ere yet the moon did shine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for those 13000 years it may well be true: seeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by months, which makes after that account not above 1000 or 1100 years, whether we take their months or lunary years to have been of the first kind of 27 days and 8 hours; or otherwise 29 days and 12 hours; or after any other of those 5 diversities of their lunary years.

† III.

*Of certain vain assertions of the antiquity of the Egyptians.*

*Gerardus Mercator*, in his chronology, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* antiquity in this manner; that the 16th *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general flood: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer: that therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the 16th *Dynasty* was at once with the general flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292 years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynastia* (being in number the 17th) in the time of their first king, *Saltis*, to have been in the year of the world 1846, which *Eusebius* findeth in the world's age 2140. For the 16th *Dynastia* was begun but in the 292d year after the flood, as they account, and continued 190 years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynastia* to endure 115 years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100 years: for the 28th had but 6 years; the 29th but 20, and the 30th but 18 years.

Now *Annius*, in his supplement of *Manethon*, affirmeth, that all these 15 *Dynasties* lasted but 162 years: and that the first of the 15 began but in

<sup>a</sup> De Fast. l. i.



the 131st year after the flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15 to precede the flood, and the 16th to have been then in being at the time of the flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, tho' disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former opinion and assertion, that it was in the 131st year that *Nimrod* with the sons of *Noah* came into the valley of *Shinaar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And tho' he hastily convey'd *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the 10th year of *Nimrod's* reign (which was 10 years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Egypt* possess'd, and a government established in the very first year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition far off or near in question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

#### † IV.

*Against Pererius: that it is not unlikely, but that Egypt was peopled within 200 years after the creation; at least, that both it, and the most part of the world, were peopled before the flood.*

**B**UT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this antiquity of the *Egyptians*, touching their *Dynasties* (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled within 100 or 200 years after *Adam*, in the first age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general flood, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the world was then peopled: *Pererius's* words are these: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Aegyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.* For how could the children of *Adam* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred years of the world, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt*? for allowing this, saith *Pererius*, we must also confess, that there were then both the *Affyrians*, and other nations.

Now seeing the scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving belief, it is lawful for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gainsay any man's opinion out of any crossing or cavilling humour: for I think it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward subtilty, and prejudicate resolvedness, to maintain factions needless, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore to this opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the flood, I say there is no reason why we should give a less increase to the sons of *Adam*, than to the sons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the flood double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their strength and ability, to beget many children: and at that time they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearful that the death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the

rest, which were afterwards begotten, and dwelt in the land of *Nod*, and there by the help of his own issues, built a city (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first-born. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the city and tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was given but 130 years by *Berosus*, and after the account of the scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phaleg*) but 101 years: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130 years (the same, if not a greater) number might be increased: and so within 70 years after (that is, by such time as the world had stood 200 years) as well *Affyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, might be possess'd before the flood, as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance, or true story of the *Babylonian* and *Affyrian* empire, that all those people, which were increased in the first 100 or 130 years after the flood, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that ever *Noah* himself came out of the east, as there is no scripture or authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it self denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerful numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the 3d from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her own army of three millions (and she left not all her kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the world had such plenty of people in so few years after the flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Affyria* but 292 years after the flood of *Noah*. And these troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those eastern kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterranean* sea; when there had now pass'd from the flood to the time of this her invasion, somewhat less or more than 360 years: for much more time the true chronology cannot allow; tho' I confess, that in respect of the strange greatness of *Semiramis's* army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is said, that her army consisted of 1300000 footmen, and 500000 horsemen, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis's* reign, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge army was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it self (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himself master of all nations, entered notwithstanding in league with the king thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (epitomiz'd by *Justin*, lib. 1.) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent nation before *Ninus* was born. For these be his own words, speaking of *Ninus*: *Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris rex Aegypti, &c.* But there were in times more ancient *Vexoris* king of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* king of the *Scythians*: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bastrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbrell the armies, wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000 footmen, and 200000 horsemen: and the stories generally shew, that though *Zoroaster's* army was far short of this, yet it was greater



greater than any that those parts of the world ever since beheld. But to what end should I seek for foreign authority? for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was possess'd by *Mizraim*, the son of *Ham*; and that it was an established kingdom, filled with many cities in *Abraham's* time, the scriptures tell us. And sure to prepare and cultivate a desolate and overgrown ground, to beautify it with many cities, laws, and policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200 years after the flood; and in the same time, if not in a shorter, before the flood. For if so many millions of men were found within 300 years after the general flood; so as not only *Babylon*, and *Affyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea, the far-off *Libya* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia*, inferior to neither, were all filled: into what small corners could then all those nations be compress'd, which 1656 years brought forth before the flood? Even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known world; especially, where death forbore the father, and made no place for the son, till he had beheld living nations of his own body.

## † V.

*Of some other reasons against the opinion of Pererius.*

FOR what a strange increase did the long lives of the first age make, when they continued 800 or 900 years. Surely, we have reason to doubt that the world could not contain them, rather than that they were not spread over the world. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in this age of the world: wherein if one exceed 50 years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by wars or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industry of man could not give them food. What strange heaps then of souls had the first ages, who enjoyed 800 or 900 years as afore-said! These numbers, I say, cannot be counted or conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in *Britain* since three or four hundred years before the *Norman* conquest (saving such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *polygamy* might have been increased. For (to omit that the giants and mighty ones of the first age observed no law of matrimony) it is to be thought, that those lovers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could fly from or eschew. For what human argument hath better persuasion to make men careless of life, and fearless of death, than the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many pains and diseases, which this envious old age of the world mingleth together, and soweth with the seeds of mankind.

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annius* may be alledged for sufficient authors, whom *Pererius* himself in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Josephus* confirmed, that the city of *Enoch* was seated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cain's* time, I see no cause why *Palestina* (which is also a province of *Syria*) and *Egypt*, which neighboureth it, could be left desolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all those times between his death and the flood, which were by estimation 700 or 800 years. And sure, tho' this

fragment of *Berosus*, with *Annius's* comment, be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to be rejected. Therefore *St. Jerome* for such authors gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria*; Let us chuse what is good in them, and reject the rest. And certainly in the very beginning of the first book, *Berosus* agreeth, in effect, with *Moses*, touching the general flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty men and giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all nations, and subjected the universal world: and tho' that phrase [*of all the world*] be often used in the scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*: *That there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, men that feared God of every nation under heaven*: yet by words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plain that his words and sense were the same: for he addeth from the sun's rising to the sun's setting, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the world among his sons at adventure, or left them as discoverers, but directed them to those regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easy to travel over before the flood, than after it. For *Pererius* himself confesseth, that *Attica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left upon the earth) was uninhabited 200 years after *Ogyges's* flood, whereby we may gather that there was no great pleasure in passing into far countries after the general deluge, when the earth lay, as it were, inclosed for 100 or 130 years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautiful, and less cumbersome to walk over in the first age, than after the general overflowing.

## † VI.

*Of the words of Moses, Gen. x. verse the last, whereupon Pererius grounded his opinion.*

LASTLY, whereas *Pererius* draws this argument out of the last verse of the tenth of *Genesis*, *And out of these were the nations divided after the flood: Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium*; By which it appeareth, saith *Pererius*, that there was no such division before the flood: which he also seeketh to confirm out of the 11th of *Genesis*, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *Quo significatur, &c.* seemeth to me very weak; the text itself rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of these*, saith *Moses*, *were the nations divided in the earth after the flood*; inferring, that before the flood the nations were divided out of others, tho' after the flood out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the flood, or to any plantation or division in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the flood, but *Noah's* sons, wherein doth that necessary division controul the planting of the world before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confusion of languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforc'd a farther-off and general plantation: as *Berosus* (*lib. 3.*) says well, *Ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat*; They were driven by necessity to seek new habitations. For we find, as it is before said, that within 300 years after the flood, there were gathered together



gether into two armies, such multitudes as the valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained those numbers with their increase for any long time: all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the islands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Libya* being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Berosus*, then not only those parts of the world, but (within 140 years after the flood) *Spain*, *Italy* and *France* were also planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656 years before the flood, in the time of the chief strength of mankind, they were replenish'd with people. And certainly seeing all the world was overflown, there were people in all the world which offended.

### † VII.

*A conclusion resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian antiquities: with somewhat of Phut (another son of Ham) which peopled Libya.*

Therefore for the antiquity of the *Egyptians*, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the *Egyptian* antiquities: so I do not think the report of their antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that *Egypt* being peopled before the flood, and two or three hundred years more or less after *Adam*, there might remain unto the sons of *Mizraim* some monuments (in pillars or altars of stone or metal) of their former kings or governors: which the *Egyptians* having added to the list and roll of their kings after the flood, in succeeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the use of letters and the art of *astronomy* was known to the *Babylonians* 3634 years before *Alexander's* conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034 years before the flood, and wrote of the world's destruction, both by water and fire; as also of *Christ's* coming in judgment; as *St. Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Aegyptus* the son of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterranean* sea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*; because the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the river, gave it the form of the *Greek* letter *Delta*, which is the form of a triangle. That branch, which ran toward the north-east and embraced the sea, next unto the desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the city of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: the other branch, which yielded it self to the salt-water towards the north-east, is beautified by that famous city of *Alexandria*: the upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Ethiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient city of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100 gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*, and by the *Greeks* *Diospolis*; in the scriptures *No-bamon*, which signifieth multitudes of inhabitants, exceeding belief. <sup>a</sup> *Josephus* calls *Egypt* *Merjin* of *Mizraim*: and <sup>b</sup> *He-*

*rodotus* affirms, that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

*Phut* the third son of *Ham* took the next portion of land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Libya*, whose people were anciently called *Phutei*, saith <sup>c</sup> *Josephus*, and *Pliny* mentioneth the river *Fut* in *Mauritania*: which river from the mountain *Atlas*, known to the inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*, he maketh to be distant the space of 200 miles. It also appeareth in the 30th chapter of *Ezekiel*, that *Phut*, *Ghush* and *Lud* were contermini and associates with the *Egyptians*.

### SECT. XII.

*Of the eleven sons of Canaan, the fourth son of Ham.*

#### † I.

*Of the bounds of the land of Canaan; with the names of his eleven sons.*

**C**ANAN, the fourth son of *Ham*, possess'd all that region called by the *Romans* *Palestina*; in the scriptures *Galilea*, *Samaria* and *Judea*; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy Land* and *Jury*; the limits whereof are precisely set down by *Moses*, *Genesis* 10. Then the border of the *Canaanites* was from *Zidon* as thou goest to *Gerar* until *Azzah*, and as thou goest unto *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, and *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, even unto *Lasha*. Now howsoever these words of the *Hebrew* text [as thou goest] be converted, *Moses's* meaning was, that *Gerar* was the south bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the north; *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* the east, and the other cities named, stood on the frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza*, in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermost territory of *Canaan* southward: and this was properly the land of *Canaan*.

<sup>1</sup> Now the sons of *Canaan* which possess'd this country, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven:

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth* or *Chethus*.
3. *Jebusi* or *Jebuseus*.
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgeshi* or *Girgeseus*.
6. *Hevi* or *Chiveus*.
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus*.
8. *Sini* or *Sineus*.
9. *Arvadi* or *Arvadeus*.
10. *Zamari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemarius*.
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamathæus*, or *Chamathæus*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zamari* or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

#### † II.

*Of the portions of Zidon and Heth.*

**Z**IDON the first-born of *Canaan*, built the famous city of *Zidon* in *Phenicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the tribe of *Asher*: for *Asher*, *Zabulon* and *Naphtali* had a great part of the ancient *Phenicia* distributed among them; but the *Asherites* could never obtain *Zidon* itself.

The second son of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal nations (commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out: namely,

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph. l. 1. Ant. c. 7.*

<sup>b</sup> *Herodot. Euxerpe.*

<sup>c</sup> *Lib. 5. c. 1.*



the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites* and *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the torrent *Besor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*, having the desert of *Pharan* to the south: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his posterity, as far to the north-east as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarah's* burial. Of which nation *Rebecca* bewailed herself to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the daughters of Heth*. The giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce nation, whose entertainments by the kings of *Israel* against them, the *Syrians* greatly fear'd: as in the second of the *Kings*; *Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites*.

† III.

*Of the Jebusites and Amorites.*

**JEBUSEUS** the third son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principal seat was *Jebus*, afterwards *Jerusalem*, were also a valiant and stubborn nation, and held their city and the country near it, till such time as *David* by God's assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were tributaries to *Solomon*.

*Amoreus* was the fourth son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that land to the east of *Jordan* below the sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the mountains of *Galaad* on the east, and *Jordan* on the west; of whom *Og*, king of *Basan*, and *Sihon*, overthrown by *Moses*, were princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœlesyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the mountains of *Juda*, and in *Idumæa* near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came, that all the *Canaanites* were sometimes called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* xv. *For the wickedness of the Amorites is not yet full*. And that this was also a powerful nation, we find in the prophet *Amos*; *Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of a cedar, and he was strong as the oaks*.

† IV.

*Of the Gergesites, Hevites and Harkites.*

**THE** fifth son of *Canaan* was *Gergeseus* or *Gergeson*, otherwise *Girgasi*, who inhabited on the east-side of the lake of *Tiberias*, or the sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* sets the city *Gerasa*, which *Josephus* calls *Gesera* in the territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* dispossest the possess'd with devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their coasts; because their swine filled with the evil spirits drowned themselves in the sea of *Galilee*. *Gergeseus* also built *Berytus*, sometime *Geris*, afterwards *Felix Julia*, three miles from the river *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*, in which the *Romans* held a garrison, and to which *Augustus* gave many large privileges.

*Heveus* the sixth son, and father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. These *Hevites*, howsoever the *Capthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the war of *Joshua*, and afterwards to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these

nations, but they were sometimes made tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times served, in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written *Judges* iii. *They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obey the commandments of God*.

The seventh son was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterranean* sea, over-against *Tripolis*, built the city of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

† V.

*Of Sini and Arvadi.*

**SINEUS** the eighth son, *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparorsa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judea*, not far from *Jebus*; to the south thereof, saith *Junius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which *St. Jerome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolemy*, *Simyra*; *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Simirus*; *Brochard*, *Sycon* (called *Synochis*) near *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the deserts of *Sinai*, or thereabouts; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another nation of *Sini*, written with the letter *C*, otherwise *Kenæi*, who descended of *Hobab* the son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites*, in their conduction thro' the wilderness of *Pharan*. But these *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of land with the *Naphtalims*, besides their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinæi* *Balaam* prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

The ninth son was *Aradeus* or *Arvadeus*, who in the isle of *Aradus* built the city *Arados*: opposite against which island, on the main of *Phœnicia*, they founded another city of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this city came *St. Peter*, saith *Clement*; and in this isle preached the gospel; and founded a church in honour of our lady: but we find no such work of his in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilful seamen, whom *Ezekiel* remembreth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*. *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners*.

† VI.

*Of Zemari.*

**OF** *Samareus* or *Zemari*, the tenth son, there are divers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœlesyria* at *Edeffa*, and founded *Samarism*, which in *Joshua* is placed in the tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samaraim* (of the same orthography) upon the mountains of *Ephraim*, saith *Beroaldus*, mentioned in the second of *Chronicles* xiii. 4. which the *Latin* converteth amiss, saith he, by *Semeron*. The *Hierosolymitan* paraphrast makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emiffani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemissen*, in *Cœlesyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the *Hebrew* orthography, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproveth. *And he bought the mountain Samaria, or Shemeron, of one Shemer, for two talents of silver, and built in the mountain: and called the name of the city which he built, after the*

\* Gen. 10. 19.    b Gen. 23.    c Gen. 27. 46.    d 2 Kings 7. 6.    e Deut. 1.    Num. 13.    f Amos 7.    g Judg. 4.  
\* Isa. 19. 3.    h Gul. Tyr. Vitr.    i Ezek. 27. 8.    k Beroald, in Chron. 1. 4.    l 1 Kings 16. 24.



name of *Shemir*, lord of the mountain *Samaria*. But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the conquest of the *Holy Land* by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritans* were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Jews* stood up, they always called themselves *Jews*; when it suffered or sunk, they then utterly denied to be of that nation or family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mix'd nation; partly of the colonies of the *Affyrians*, and partly of the naturals.

† VII.

Of Hamathi.

THE last of *Canaan's* sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi* of *Hamath*, saith *Beroaldus*, of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was present. *Josephus* and *St. Jerome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which standeth on the river *Orontes* on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the mountain *Cassius* and the province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which *St. Peter* was bishop, and in which *St. Luke* and *Ignatius* were born: but *Antioch* surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth between *Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cassiotis*. Yet indeed *Emath* cannot be taken for either; for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than ever any of those nations stragled. And whereas *St. Jerome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the tribe of *Naphtali*; it is manifest that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the north of *Emesa*, hath all the province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the land divided. And if *Libanon* it self were not shared among the tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the provinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica* are between *Epiphania* and any part of the *Holy Land*, and therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Naphtali*, as in the 13th of *Joshua* is directly proved. For *Joshua* counting the lands that remained unpossess'd, reckoneth all mount *Libanon* towards the sun-rising, from *Baal-gad* under mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason, among others, is used, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *David* accepted the presents of *Tobu*<sup>a</sup> king of *Emath*, and therewithal conditions of peace; which he would not have done, if that territory had ever belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this argument, as I take it, hath no great weight: for if the promise which God made be considered, as it is written in <sup>b</sup>*Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, tho' seated altogether without the bounds of the land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Joshua*; for *Emath* is indeed situate on the other side of the mountain of *Hermon*, which joineth to *Libanus*, and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joshua* xix. 35. and written in the *Latin* version *Emath*; therein, saith *Beroaldus*, was *St. Jerome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the mountains, and the city in *Nephtalim* should be written *Hamath*; and so the *Septuagint*, understanding the difference, write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeed belonged to the *Nephtalims*, seated on the south-side of *Libanus* to the east of

*Affedim*: which *St. Jerome* writes *Emath*, *Josephus* *Hamath*, others *Ematbin*, or *Amathes*, and the people *Amathein*; of which, as I take it, *Rabsakeh* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*; *Where is the God of Hamath*?

### SECT. XIII.

Of the sons of Chush, excepting Nimrod, of whom hereafter.

The sons of Chush were	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Seba,} \\ \text{Havila,} \\ \text{Sabta,} \\ \text{Raama,} \\ \text{Sabreca,} \\ \text{Nimrod.} \end{array} \right\}$	And the sons of Raama were	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sheba} \\ \text{and} \\ \text{Dedan.} \end{array} \right\}$
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† I.

That most of the sons of Chush were seated in Arabia the happy: and of the Sabeans that robbed Job: and of the queen that came to Solomon.

**S**EBA or Saba was the eldest son of Chush, the eldest son of Ham, to make a difference between him and his nephew Sheba, the son of his brother Raama, or Regma (or Ragma, after *Montanus*) his name is written with a single [S] Samech, and Sheba the son of Regma with an [S] aspirate, which is the *Hebrew* Schin. Seba the eldest son of Chush, Regma his brother, and Sheba the son of Regma, possess'd both the shores of *Arabia Felix*. Saba took that part toward the Red sea, as nearest his father Chush, and the land of the Chusites: Regma and Sheba, the east coast of the same Arabia, which looketh into the gulf of *Persia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi Arabum populi propter thura clarissimi ad utraque maria porrectis gentibus habitant*; The Sabeans, people of Arabia, famous for their frankincense, extending their nations, dwell along both the seas, to wit, the *Persian* and the *Arabian* or Red sea. This country was afterwards called *Arabia a populi mixtione*, saith *Posellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolemy*, who setteth the city of Saba towards the Arabian or Red sea, and the city *Rhegama* towards the *Persian*, with whom also we may leave Sabta: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, because he remembreth a nation (called *Stabæi*) near the *Persian* sea; and *Massabatæ* which descended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent Regma, or (as he calls him *Rhama*) into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Josephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath banished Saba or Seba to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabæi*, which stole away *Job's* cattle, should run thro' all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petraea*, and find out *Job* in *Traconitis* between *Palestina* and *Cœlesyria* 1200 miles off. Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that neither the *Sabæi* on the Red sea, nor those toward the *Persian* sea, could by any means execute the stealth upon *Job*, whichsoever *Beroaldus* shall take for nearest. But these were the *Sabæi* of Arabia the desert, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his own experience, that the city Saba is seated: the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Save*, now *Semiscasac*: and from this Saba in Arabia the desert, came those magi or wisemen which worshipped Christ, saith *Melchior*, whose words are these: *The magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as Chrysostome, Jerome, and Ambrose supposed) nor out of Arabia the happy, as many wise men do believe, but out of Saba in Arabia the desert: which city when myself was there, was (as I*

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. 8. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. 11. 24

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 18. 34.



judged it) called *Semiscasac*. And to approve this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that the *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other nations (as well those on the *Persian* sea, as those on the *Red* sea) are so disjoined with large deserts, as there is no possibility for strangers to pass them, especially with any numbers of cattle, both in respect of the mountains, of the sands, and of the extreame want of water in those parts: *Ubi nec homines nec bestiae videntur, nec aves, imo nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altissimi, asperrimi*; Where there are found neither men nor beast, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture, or grass, but only sharp, and high, stony, and craggy mountains. *Be-roaldus* and *Pererius* conceive that the queen of *Saba* which came to visit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the east side of *Arabia Fœlix*; but the contrary seemeth more probable, that she was queen of *Saba* towards the *Red* sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petrea*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the *Red* sea, as far down as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the west part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might without any far travel enter his territories, free from all danger of surprize by any other prince or nation.

But to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, with his sons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possessors of *Arabia* the happy and the desert: only *Havila* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the east side of *Chus*, who held *Arabia Petrea*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the city of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the same *Arabia*: of which both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; who withal nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found sixty temples. *Ezekiel* joineth the father and the son together, *The merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy merchants*. And that they were the eastern *Arabians* their merchandize witnesseth, formerly repeated in the chapter of *Paradise*. For *Josephus's* fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopian* *Astablari*, they be not worthy any farther answer than hath already been given: especially seeing these cities, preserving the memory of the names of *Saba* and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy's* time, tho' in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adjoining, the names of other of the brethren of the family of *Chus*, with little alterations are preserved. In *Arabia* the desert is found the city *Sabæ* or *Save* (now *Semiscasac*) with the city of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the nation by *Ptolemy* himself called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the happy is found the city of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*, which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the city of *Sapta* or *Saptah*, not far from the east coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chief city, in the body of the south part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the west of *Sabatha* towards the *Red* sea the great city of *Saba*; and the nation adjoining, *Sabæi*: and to the south thereof again towards the straight entrance of the *Red* sea, the region of *Sabæ*. To all these his brothers and nephews which were seated on the east side of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the passage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might pass by boat even unto *Rhegma* the city of *Raama* or *Rhegma*, set near the river of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* sea, which stood in *Ptolemy's* time.

+ II.

*Josephus's* opinion of *Dedan*, one of the issue of *Chus*, to have been seated in west *Ethiopia*, disproved out of *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*.

AND whereas *Josephus* (whom in this *St. Jerome* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the son of *Raamah* into west *Ethiopia*, it is strange that *Ezekiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15th verse, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in the 22d verse, to be the merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in west *Ethiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) above 4000 miles. Besides which the merchandize that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-mores*. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezekiel*) were thy merchants in precious cloths for thy chariots; and these western *Ethiopians* never saw cloth, till the *Portugals* seeking those coasts traded with them: the merchandize of the country being hides, elephants teeth, some gold and amber, civit cats, and rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linen, or iron chiefly.

But in those days the west part of *Africa* within the body of the land was known only by imagination: and, being under the burnt zone was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the negroes of west *Ethiopia*, which inhabit about *Serra*, *Liona*, or *Niger*, could either pass by sea or land to *Tyre* in the bottom of the *Mediterranean* sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chus*, which seats they held by that name in the time of *Jeremy* the prophet, let us hear *Jeremy's* own words: *Fly ye inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Esau upon him*. Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a neighbour to the *Idumeans*: and *Idumæa* is a province of *Arabia Petrea*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the north part of *Arabia Fœlix*, joined in that part to *Petrea*, the seat of his grand-father *Chus*; which neighbourhood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumeans* is also confirmed by *Ezekiel*; *I will stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and destroy man and beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword*.

#### SECT. XIV.

Of the issue of *Mizraim*: of the place of *Jeremy*, chap. ix. ver. 7.

AFTER *Chus* it followeth to speak of *Mizraim's* sons, whose names (saith *St. Augustine*) were plural, to signify the nations which came from them. *Ludim* the eldest son of *Mizraim* was the father of the *Libyans* in *Africa*: and the rest of his brothers dispersed themselves into all regions adjoining. Among the sons of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the son of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the son of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the son of *Mizraim* *Ludim*: and yet these names and nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of names and nations. For that *Ludim* the son of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Libyans* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not far from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the prophet *Jeremy*, who joineth them in this sort together. *Come up ye horses, and rage ye chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-mores and the Libyans which bear the shield: for those nations assisted the Egyptians being of one parent descended*.

<sup>a</sup> *Plin* l. 12. c. 14. *Ptol.* Tab. 6. *Asiæ*. <sup>b</sup> *Ezek.* 27. 22. <sup>c</sup> *Ezek.* 15. 15. <sup>d</sup> The termination *im* in the Hebrew, is commonly a sign of the plural number, as aim of the dual. <sup>e</sup> *Jer.* 46. 9.



And in *Ezekiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Ethiopia* (or *Chush*) saith *Ezekiel* c. xxx. ver. 5. *And Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the land that are in league shall fall with them by the sword*: which is as much to say, as the sons of *Chush* (which were the *Chusites*) the sons of *Mizraim* (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Libyans* (descended of his son *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa* shall fall together. *Hierosolymitanus* finds also in *Africa* a nation of the *Lydians*. And I believe it: because *Jeremy* joineth the *Libyans* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrews* called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) tho' 2 *Chron.* xii. 3. they seem to be called *Lubim* or *Lubæi*, a name somewhat nearer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may seem that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the 30th of *Ezekiel*) understandeth that which is spoken of in the 5th verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Libyans* at all: for he will have this threatening to be meant against the people of *Lyda*, a city, saith he, between *Egypt* and *Palestina*, which opinion I could not mislike, if the city of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the same city which was afterwards *Diospolis*, in which *St. Peter* cured *Eneas* of the palsy) standeth near the torrent *Gaas*, not far from *Joppe*, the port of *Jerusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this city might have *Lud* for the founder. For there are many cities of one name founded in all the regions of the world, and far asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, so of divers others. *St. Jerome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the father of *Libya* who was the 3d son of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Postellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraim's* sons have no proper countries given them in the scriptures, saving *Castubim* and *Caphthorim*, of whom came the *Philistines*, whom the scriptures call *Peleset*.

These *Castubim* inhabited *Cassiotis*, a region lying in the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestina*, in which the lake *Sirbonis* and the mountain *Cassius* are found: not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

*Caphthorim* seated near *Castubim* in that tract of *Egypt* called *Sethrotis*, not far from *Pelusium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sethroit*, of the city *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Castubim* and *Caphthorim* came the *Philistines*, which are called by the *Septuagint* *Allophyli*, which is, *Alienigenæ*, strangers, or of a strange kindred. These *Philistines* inhabited the south part of the holy land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palestina* took name. For the *Hebrews* (saith *Isidore*) do not use the letter [*P*] but instead of it [*Ph*]. Their principal cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gazæi*, *Ascalonitæ*, *Azotii*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*. *Isidore* affirms, that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that city the country adjoining. But where *Isidore* had it I know not.

The first known king of the *Philistines* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abraham's* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a covenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that he was also king of the *Philistines*, in these words: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar*. Now in regard that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* go-

verned the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistines* commanded that tract of land upon the *Mediterranean* sea to the northward, from the castle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Cæsarea Palestina* or *Straton's tower*) which was the south border of *Phenicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the river of *Egypt*. The *Anakims*, or strong giants, were of these *Philistines*, and *Goliath* was of *Geth*, one of the five cities above-named. They had sometimes five kings, saith *Liranius*. They mastered the *Israelites* at several times above 150 years, and kept them tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*; but in the end this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

It is objected, that because these cities and the countries adjoining were held by the sons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossess the sons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that altho' the *Palestines* or *Philistines* held it in the time of *Joshua*, yet at the time of the promise it was possess'd by the *Canaanites*; as in the 2d of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? for that the *Philistines* were of *Caphthor*, and so of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the prophet *Jeremy* witnesseth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistines, the remnant of the issue of Caphthor*: and in like manner in *Amos*, the *Philistines* are said to be the reliques of *Caphthorim*: *Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphthor, and Aram from Kir?* so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the *Vulgar* hath, *Et Palestinos de Cappadocia, Et Syros de Cyrene*, this conversion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphthor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a city directly west from *Egypt*, between *Ptolemais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* in *Asia* under the *Assyrians*: *Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*; and so hath the *Geneva*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphthorim* *Cappadocia*, according to the *Vulgar* translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the sea *Pontus* in the north of *Asia* the less. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palestina*, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the 2d of *Kings*, that *Teglathphalasser* king of the *Assyrians* carried away the inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Josephus* seems to understand this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene Media superior*: for it was the manner and policy of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other nations. And hence of it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captived.

## SECT. XV.

Of the issue of *Sem*.

### † I.

Of *Elim*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Lud*.

IT remaineth lastly to speak of the sons of *Sem* who were these:

<sup>a</sup> Basil upon the 33d Psalm. Jerome upon the 29th of *Ezekiel*. Book, Chap. vii. Sect. iii. † 5. <sup>c</sup> 2 *Kings* 16. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Jer. 47. 4. <sup>c</sup> *Amos* 9. 7. <sup>d</sup> Of which see in the second



1. *Alam*, or *Elam*.
2. *Asbur*.
3. *Arphaxad*.
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

The posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the genealogy and story of the *Hebrews*. For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.

Of these five sons the scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him and *Aram*, the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsal of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Nineveh*) was also said to be the father of the *Assyrians*, whose issues of *Cham* instantly contended for the empire of the east: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us, that all the east parts of the world were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam* and *Lud* (saving *India*) which I believe *Noah* himself first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the sons of *Joëtan* afterwards repaired. *Hi filii Sem ab Euphrate fluvio partem Asiæ usque ad oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; These sons of *Sem* (saith *St. Jerome*) held all those regions from *Euphrates* to the *Indian* ocean.

Of <sup>a</sup> *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred, *Acts* ii. 9. and the princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the *Persians* became masters of *Babylonia*: the east *Monarchy* being established in them. Some prophane writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the king's seat of *Persia* (witness *Daniel* viii. 2.) *And I saw* (saith he) *in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the palace of Susan, which is in the province of Elam*. This city is embraced by the river *Euleus* (according to <sup>b</sup> *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and seated in the border of *Susiana*.

*Asbur* (as most historians believe) the 2d son of *Sem*, was father of the *Assyrians*, who disdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Nineveh*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every man's hand hath been in this story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speak much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoiled the *Israelites*, destroy'd their cities, and led them captives, as both in divine and human letters there is large and often mention of this nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this empire, and honour this nation with ample dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the powerfulest princes among them, had yet the mountain *Taurus* for the utmost of his dominion towards the north east, and *Syria* bounded him towards the west, notwithstanding those vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Isaiah* xxxvii. 11. *Have the gods of the nations delivered them whom my fathers have destroyed? as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were at Telassar. Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivah?* all these indeed were but petty kings of cities, and small countries; as *Haran*, in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph*, in *Palmyra*: *Hamath*, or *Emath*, in *Iturea* under

*Libanus*: the isle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerful, before the conquest of *Egypt* had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palestina* and *Phenicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speak my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I have omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because he established the first empire: from whom the most memorable story of the world taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *S. Jerome*, and *Josephus*, but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: for the sons of *Cham* possess'd the rest. It is true that he was the father of the *Hebrews*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela* *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the 4th son of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the less, is the common opinion, taken from *Josephus* and *St. Jerome*; but I see not by what reason he was moved to straggle thither from his friends.

## † II.

### Of *Aram* and his sons.

**A** *Ram*, the 5th and last son of *Shem*, was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which <sup>c</sup> *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (saith <sup>d</sup> *Eusebius* out of *Josephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moses* was born; the same which others call the son of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Nabaraim*, which is as much to say, as *Syria duorum fluviorum*, *Syria* compassed with two rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*, and the Greeks *Mesopotamia* simply.

<sup>e</sup> *Arise and get thee to Padan Aram* (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) *to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father, and thence take thee a wife*. *Strabo* also remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as these his own words converted witness. <sup>f</sup> *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramēnios & Arameos vocant*; those which we call *Syrians* (saith he) themselves call *Aramenians* and *Arameans*.

Against this opinion that *Aram* the son of *Sem*, was the father and denominator of the *Syrians* in general (and not only of those in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some read *Gen.* xxii. 21. *Kemuel*, the father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the original read *Kemuel*, the son of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word [*Aram*] here, not for the nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the history of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel*'s posterity could be famous) we find *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Nabaraim*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seems) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* xxv. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancobaritis* (so called from the river *Chaboras*, which dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous use of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Nabaraim* (which latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this region: because the two rivers (as it were) yoked together go along it. The reliques

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph. Ant.* 1. 1. c. 7.    <sup>b</sup> *Ptol. Asiæ. Tab.* 5.    <sup>c</sup> *Isa.* 7. 8.    <sup>d</sup> *Euseb.* 10. 6.    <sup>e</sup> *Gen.* 28. 2. See *Gen.* 25. 20. also *Deut.* 23. 4. *Judg.* 3. *Paral.* 1. 19. *Psal.* 59.    <sup>f</sup> *Strab.* 1. 1.



of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two cities in *Ptolemy*, called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaborus*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The sons  
of *Aram* were

{ *Uz* or *Hus*,  
  *Hul*,  
  *Gether*, and  
  *Mes*ch or *Mes*.

*Uz* or *Hus* inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that city, say *Josephus* and <sup>a</sup> *St. Jerome*. But *Tositatus* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Josephus*, affirmeth that *Abraham's* steward *Eliezer* was the founder thereof; tho' it were likely that *Hus*, the eldest son of *Aram* dwelt near unto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a region of the same, adjoining to *Arabia* the desert, and to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*: whereof the prophet *Jeremy*: <sup>b</sup> *Rejoyce and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the land of Hus*. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the east region of *Traconitis*, adjoining to *Basan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the mountain *Seir* to the east, *Edrai* to the south, *Damascus* north, and *Jordan* west: having in it many cities and people, as may also be gathered out of *Jeremy*. <sup>c</sup> *And all sorts of people: and all the kings of the land of Hus*. In this region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the son of *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith *St. Jerome*) and married *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

*Hul* the 2d son of *Aram*, *St. Jerome* makes the father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the 3d son, parent to the *Arcanians* or *Carians*: which opinion (because I find not where to set him) I do not disprove, tho' I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his own brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the less. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the desert of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* setteth the city of *Cholle*.

*Gether* (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noah's* children feathers, to carry them far away in all haste. For mine own opinion, I always keep the rule of neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) that *Gether* seated himself near his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the province of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

*Junius* also giveth to *Mes* or *Mesch* the north part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, near the mountain *Mafius*. The certainty of those plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great region took name) planted his sons in the same land about him: for he wanted no scope of territory for himself and them; neither then when the world was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them into the desert parts of the world, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while: so ambition (which began together with angels and men) inhabiting the hearts of their children set them asunder. For altho' these sons of *Aram*, and the sons of the rest of *Noah's* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large kingdom; yet therein every one also sought a province apart, and to themselves; giving to the cities therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their posterity: the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many provinces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of others, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania*, and *Peru* excepted, because those countries are inaccessible to strangers) an easy force will cast them out of all the rest.

*Mes*, the 4th son, is made the parent of the *Medians*: <sup>d</sup> of whom something hath been spoken already. *Arphaxad*, the 3d son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah* and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sons, *Phaleg* and *Jottan*: and in *Phaleg's* time was the earth divided.

### † III.

*Of the division of the earth in the time of Phaleg, one of the sons of Heber, of the issue of Sem.*

THE many people which at the division (at *Phaleg's* birth) were then living, and the thorough plantation of all the east part of the world (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews* (saith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their chronicles) affirm that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the flood 101, and lived in all 239 years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it so many years after the flood, ere the children of *Noah* severed themselves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make how in so few years as 101 (the time of *Phaleg's* birth) so many people could be increased; *Pererius* gives this answer, That if 70 persons of the family of *Jacob* increased to 600000 fighting men in 215 years (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soon after the flood the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth*? What strength this answer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Israel* were 70, and had 215 years time: and the sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101 years time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the division, in memory thereof: as <sup>e</sup> *Josephus* and *St. Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the division were at *Phaleg's* death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48th of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12 years before his birth) then was the division 38 years after *Ninus*, who governed 52 years: in the 43d year of whose reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Affyrians* 80 years before this division (as this division is placed by the *Hebrews*, *Jerome* and *Chrysostom*) then was the earth so peopled in all the east and northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time since. For *Ninus* associated to himself *Ariæus* king of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (saith *Diodorus Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atque armis præstabant*, exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the king thereof, with his wife and seven children; vanquished all those regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, the kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembered out of *Cresias*) against *Zoroaster*, and

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. in Trad. Hebraic.

<sup>b</sup> Jer. Lam. 4. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Jer. 25. 20.

<sup>d</sup> Chap. viii. Ser. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. d. a. Ant. Aug. de

Civitate Dei. l. 16. c. 11. <sup>f</sup> Perer. in Gen. l. 15. c. 10.



others: and *Zoraster* on the other side, who made resistance with 400000, prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be masters of all; and greater armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill the earth: it was never meant that the earth could be filled every where at the very instant, but by time and degrees: and surely whatsoever men's opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the division of tongues and of men must go near together with the ceasing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101 after the flood, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or 10 years after he arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the etymology of whose name signifieth division) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confusion and partition. To this objection it may be answered, that the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*, and *Edom* *Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this division had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrews*, *St. Jerome* and *Chrysostom* account *Heber* for a great prophet, if that by giving his son the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the division which followed. To this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his son: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this prophecy (if any such had been) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell among the *Hebrews* themselves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the tower and city of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increas'd: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

† IV.

Of the sons of *Joctan*, the other son of *Heber*.

1. *Elmodad*.
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph*.
3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar*.
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraab*, or *Jerath*.
5. *Hadoram*.
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal*.
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla*.
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal*.
9. *Abimael*.
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba*.
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir*.
12. *Havila*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab*.

The sons of  
*Joctan* were

or *India*, even from the river *Copbe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen sons cannot be gathered out of the scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general. <sup>a</sup> *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar a mount in the east*. Of all these thirteen sons, there were only three memorable, to wit, *Sheba*, *Ophir* and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the sons of *Chush*, two of them had also the names of *Seba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grandchild by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the son of *Chush*, and *Sheba* the son of *Rhegma* his nephew, we have left in *Arabia Felix*: and *Havilah* the son of *Chush* upon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grandchild of *Abraham* was (as some have thought, the father of the *Sabeans* in *Persia*: of which nations *Dionysius de orbis situ* maketh mention. *Primum Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ, prope vero hos sunt Tasci*: The first are *Sabeans*; after these be *Passagardæ*; and near these the *Tasci*. And whereas it is written: <sup>b</sup> *But unto the sons of the concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son (while he yet lived) eastward to the east country*: hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the son of *Abraham* wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthestmost east country in respect of *Judea*; which also *Ovid* setteth under the sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abraham's* sons seated themselves on the borders of *Judea*, I rather chuse to leave *Saba* the son of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the desert, where *Ptolemy* setteth a city of that name.

But *Saba* the son of *Joctan*, the son of *Heber*, as I conceive, inhabited *India* it self. For <sup>d</sup> *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis*, or description of the world, which he wrote in *Greek* verse, among the regions of *India* findeth a nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilus hos inter medios habitatque Sabæus*; In the midst of these dwell the *Sabæi*, and the *Taxili*, saith this *Dionysius*.

† V.

Of *Ophir* one of *Joctan's* sons, and of *Peru*, and of that voyage of *Solomon*.

**O**PHIR also was an inhabitant of the *East-Indies*, and, as *St. Jerome* understands it, in one of the islands plentiful with gold, which are now known by the name of *Molucca*. *Josephus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsule*; of which there are two very notorious, *Callecut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an island, as *St. Jerome* doth, but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*: but *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther east.

*Arias Montanus* out of 2 *Chronicles* iii. 6. gathers, that *Ophir* was *Pern* in *America*, looking into the west ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the south sea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words in 2 *Chronicles* are these: *And he overlaid the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim*. *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: <sup>e</sup> *And the gold of that land is good*: finding a town in *Characene* a province of *Susiana* called *Barbatia*, so called, as he thinks, by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence those kings subjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *David* preserved for the enriching of the temple.

But this fancy of *Pern* hath deceived many men before *Montanus* and *Plessis*, who also took *Ophir*

**A**LTHOUGH those sons of *Joctan*, according to *St. Jerome*, dwelled in the east parts of the world,

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 10. 30.  
<sup>b</sup> Gen. 10. 28.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. 25. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Metam. l. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Τὸν δὲ μέγιστον ναύστατος Σουβαί ἢ Τάξιλος ἀνέρε.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. 2. 11, 12.



for *Peru*. And that this question may be a subject of no farther dispute, it is very true, that there is no region in the world of that name: sure I am, at least, that *America* hath none, no not any city, village or mountain so called. But when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered those lands to the south of *Panama*, arriving in that region which *Atabaliba* commanded, a prince of magnificence, riches and dominion inferior to none, some of the *Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signs, as they could, the name of the country, and pointing with their hand athwart a river, or torrent, or brook that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that brook, or of water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it down in the diurnal of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent over to *Charles* the emperour, all that west part of *America* to the south of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever since, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me; which also *Acosta* the *Jesuite*, in his natural and moral history of the *Indies*, confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies*, called *Jucatan*, took that name of *Jotzan*, who, as he supposeth, navigated from the utmost east of *India* to *America*: it is most true, that *Jucatan*, is nothing else in the language of that country, but [*What is that?*] or [*What say you?*] For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning, one of the savages answered *Jucatan*, which is, *What ask you?* or, *What say you*. The like happened touching *Paria*, a mountainous country on the south side of *Trinidad* and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring, as all men do, the names of those new regions which they discovered, pointed to the hills afar off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as high hills or mountains. For as *Paria* begins that marvellous ledge of mountains, which from thence are continued to the *Strait of Magellan*; from eight degrees of north latitude to fifty two of south; and so hath that country ever since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same happened among the *English*, which I sent under Sir *Richard Greenville* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that country, one of the savages answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as, *You wear good cloaths*, or gay cloaths. The same happened to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the island *Trinidad*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that self place which the sea encompassed, they answered *Caeri*, which signifieth an island. And in this manner have many places newly discovered been intitled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabouts such an island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now altho' there may be found gold in *Arabia* it self (towards *Persia*) in *Havilah*, now *Susiana*, and all along that *East-Indian* shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain islands planted by the *Spaniards* from the *East-Indies*. And by the length of the passage which *Solomon's* ships made from the *Red* sea (which were three years in going and coming) it seems they went to the uttermost east, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeed these that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finish that navigation in two years, and sometimes less: and *Solomon's* ships went not above a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way ex-

ceeding long. For before the use of the compass was known, it was impossible to navigate athwart the ocean; and therefore *Solomon's* ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needful for the *Spaniards* themselves, had it not been for the plenty of gold in the *East-India* islands, far above the mines of any one place of *America*, to sail every year from the west part of *America* thither, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those islands: wherein they have built a city called *Manilia*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the east, to have sped worse: neither could he navigate from the east to the west in those days, whereas he had no coast to have guided him.

*Tostatus* also gathereth a phantastical opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a country, whose mountains of gold are kept by griffins: which mountains *Solinus* affirmeth to be in *Scythia Asiatica*, in these words. *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluent, griffes tenent universa, alites ferocissime, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these countries abound in gold, and rich stone, the griffins defend the one and the other, a kind of fowl the fiercest of all other; with which griffins a nation of people, called *Arimaspi*, make war. These *Arimaspi* are said to have been men with one eye only, like unto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*; of which *Cyclopes* *Herodotus* and *Aristeus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third book, and *Valerius Flaccus*, and *Diodorus Siculus* in the story of *Alexander Macedon*. But for mine own opinion, I believe none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it, that this name signifying one-eyed was first given them by reason that they used to wear a vizard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a nation in the extreme north, at a place called *Gisflitron*, or the cave of the north-east wind. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded upon some true stories, or other things done, so might these tales of the griffins receive this moral. That if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this world, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And tho' this fable be feigned in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beasts or serpents defend mountains of gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and impassable mountains which are very rich and full of Gold, inhabited only by tygers, lions, and other ravenous and cruel beasts: unto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same war, which the *Arimaspi* make against the griffins: not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that metal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow enraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegartos*, which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodiles*, defend those pearls which lie in the lakes of the inland: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearl, yet they find favour in the



THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED  
THRACE MA CEDON EPIRVS AND  
THE REST OF GREECE SENT  
COLLON<sup>ies</sup> WESTWARD INTO THE  
BODIE OF EVROPE

THE EVXIN SEA

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THRACE  
Constantinople

CETHIM or KITTIM  
the 5 sonn of IAVAN peop-  
led MACEDON by a second  
plantation

ASIA

RIPHATH  
the 2 sonn of GOMER  
inhabited PAPHLAGONIA

GOMER by a second  
plantation peopled  
that Comurie after called  
GALATTA

PONTVS and CAPA  
DOCLIA possesed by  
ASCHESAZ

ARMENIA the les  
by a second reigne peop  
led by TOGORMA

MAGOG from Hierapolis  
in SYRIA planted LYDIA

MI  
NOR

IAVAN planted IONIA  
and then GRECE

THARSIS so called  
of IAVANS 2. sonn

EPIRVS planted by the  
Isfues of DODANIM from  
RODES

IAVAN  
his second  
plantation

THE SEA  
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ELISA  
planted  
MOREA and  
the Islands of  
GRECE

RODES  
first planted by  
DODANIM who  
afterward sent collonis  
into EPIRVS

CRETA

CYPRVS

CYPRVS possesed by  
CETHIM who from thens  
peopled MACEDON

MAGOG  
GOMER  
TVBAL and TO  
GORMA were the  
planters of SYRIA  
Libanus & CILIA

ARADEVS

HEVEVS LUDANVS  
ZIDON  
HAMA  
THEVS

AMOREVS  
CANAN and  
his sonn of whom  
were all the  
ZIMMIMS and

IEEVSEVS  
HETHEVS  
EDON

THE MEDITERAN SEA

THE APHRICAN SEA

ALEXANDRIA

THE GREAT  
SIRTIS

LVDIM  
The first borne of  
MISRAIM was the  
parent of the IX  
BYANS

E G I P T

The passage of  
LVDIM

PHVT the father  
of the MORITANIANS  
whose offesues peopled the  
regions adioyning as their  
numbers increased

A F R I C A

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first by CETHIM and his  
sonn MISRAIM by both  
wich names the scriptures  
knowe it also phut in  
Orfide one of the holys booke  
of the AEGYPTIANS witness  
feth that it had the name of  
CHEMIA for CHAMIA  
it was in after tymes called  
AERIA POTANIA & OGY  
GIA stephanus and Eustatius  
entitled it MELANPODES  
Apollodorus MYARA others  
THEBAE as Herodotus & Aristotle  
the Aegypti and now by the  
Turkes ELCHERITES

THE

RE

LIBYA INTERIOR

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LIBIA INTERIOR  
AND ÆTHIOPIA PEO  
PLED IN PROCES OF  
TYME BY LVDIM PHVT  
AND THEIR ISSUES



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ARMENIA  
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to Chalne upon Euphrates and  
unto Saphar adjoining dwelt the  
sons of IOCTAN all but OPHIR  
and HAVILAH who inhabited the  
east INDIA

TAMIA

ACHAD  
The passage of IAPHET'S sons

ARABIA  
DESART

MIZAIM into Egypt  
The passage of  
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in the simoy  
CHVDVCA  
first CHVS  
CHVS seated  
after 3 flood  
whence the  
peopled the three Ambias

VR Ptolome VR  
CHOA Where the issues of  
SEM as many as came  
into Shinaar first seated  
who by ARPHAXAD  
were afterward the fathers  
of the HEBRES

SABA the plantation  
of SABA or SEBA the  
eldest son of CHVS

SABE REGIA  
ADEN

THE CASPIAN SEA

NINIVE  
Chalne  
BABEL Where  
NIMROD seated him selfe  
and thence built ACHAD  
EREC CHALNE and  
then NINEVE  
EREC  
SVSAN

ELAM The eldest son of SEM pos  
sessed the regions of PERSIA and ther  
fore were those nations first called  
ELAMITES but that ever him selfe  
came into SHINAAR it is not probable  
but that he planted it from the east wher  
the ARKE of NOE rested after the  
flood as in the description of NOAS  
ARKE is expressed

THE PERSIAN SEA

SABATHA  
the plantation of Sabia  
the 3 son of CHVS  
RHEGMA  
RHAENA

ARABIA THE HAPPIE

BY COLLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA  
AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS  
THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED

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flesh and blood of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

† VI.

*Of Havilah the son of Joctan, who also passed into the East-Indies : and of Mesha and Sepher named in the bordering of the families of Joctan : with a conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the world.*

**O**F *Havilah* the son of *Joctan* there is nothing else to be said, but that the general opinion is, that he also inhabited in the *East-Indies* in the continent, from which *Ophir* pass'd into the islands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the *East-Indies*, which took name of *Havilah* the son of *Joctan* : but *Havilah*, which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the son of *Chush*, as is formerly proved by this place of scripture : *a Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But that *Saul* ever made war in the *East-Indies*, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen sons of *Joctan*, these three *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir* ; tho' at the first seated by their brethren about the hill *Mafius*, or *Mesb*, Gen. xi. 30. to wit, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia* ; yet at length either themselves or their issues removed into the *East-Indies*, leaving the other families of *Joctan*, to fill the countries of their first plantation, which the scripture defines to have been from *Mesb* unto *Sephar*. And altho' St. *Jerome* takes *Mesb* to be a region of the *East-Indies*, and *Sephar* a mountain of the same (which mountain *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are far beyond my understanding. For the word [*east*] in the scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judea*, is never farther extended than into *Persia*. But *Mesb* is that part of the mountain of *Mafius* in the north of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the river *Chaboras* springeth, which runneth by *Charran* : and in the same region we also find for *Sephar* (remembered by *Moses*) *Sippbara* by *Ptolemy*, standing to the east of the mountain *Mafius* ; from whence *Joctan* having many sons, some of them might pass into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process of time.

The other fashion of planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this mountain in the east was no farther off than in those regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the scripture where the same phrase is used : as in *Numbers* xxiii. 7. *Balac the king of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountain of the east ; which was from the east part of Mesopotamia.* For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia* (witness this place of *Deuteronomy* xxiii. 4.) *Because they hired Balaam the son of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Nabaraim, to curse thee : for Aram Nabaraim was Syria Fluviorum, which is Mesopotamia, as aforesaid.*

This plantation of the world after the flood doth best agree, as to me it seems, with all the places of scripture compared together. And these be the reports of reason and probable conjecture ; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to go after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himself hath disguis'd all things, so the factious and hire-

ling historians of all ages (especially of these latter times) have, by their many volumes of untrue reports, left honour without a monument, and virtue without memory : and instead thereof, have erected statues and trophies to those, whom the darkest forgetfulness ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And altho' the length and dissolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the world's first planters after the flood (I mean the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the footsteps of antiquity (as appears by that which hath been spoken) are not quite worn out nor overgrown : for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel* ; *Phenicia* hath *Zidon*, to which city the eldest son of *Canaan* gave name ; so hath *Cilicia* *Tharsis* ; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumeans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulness some signs of their first founders and true parents.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of the beginning and establishing of Government.*

### SECT. I.

*Of the proceeding from the first government under the eldest of families to regal, and from regal absolute to regal tempered with laws.*

**I**T followeth now to intreat how the world began to receive rule and government, which (while it had scarcity of people) underwent no other dominion than paternity and eldership. For the fathers of nations were then as kings, and the eldest of families as princes. Hereof it came, that the word [*elder*] was always used both for the magistrate, and for those of age and gravity : the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in *Numbers* xi. God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70 of the elders of the people, and governors over them : the *Hebrew* bearing the same sense, which the *Latin* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susannah*, *Then the assembly believed them as those that were the elders and judges of the people.* And so in the words of those false judges and witnesses to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the office of an elder.* *Demosthenes* useth the same word for the magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato*, giveth two other reasons for this appellation : *Apud Lacedemonios qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes* : Among the *Lacedemonians* the chief magistrates, as they are, so are they called *Eldermen* : and again, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus non summum concilium majores nostri appellassent Senatum* ; If reason and advisement were not in old men, our ancestors had never called the highest council by the name of a senate.

But tho' these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of [*elders*] for governors or counsellors of state, there is a sign that the first governors were the fathers of families ; and under them the eldest sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian* and *Spaniard*, take the word [*Signor*] and out of it [*Seignoury*] for lordship and dominion : signifying, according to *Loyseau*, puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignoury*, *Seneca* makes two : the one, *Potestas aut imperium*, Power or command : the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*, Propriety or mastership :



the correlative of the one is the subject, of the other the slave. *Ad Cæsarem*, saith he, *poteſtas omnium pertinet, ad ſingulos proprietas*; *Cæſar* hath power over all, and every man proprietor in his own. And again, *Cæſar omnia imperio poſſidet, ſinguli dominio*; *Cæſar* holdeth all in his power, and every man poſſeſſeth his own. But as men and vice began abundantly to increaſe, ſo obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent ſeed ſeldom ripeneth) being exceedingly overſhadowed with pride and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the ſoft weapons of paternal perſuaſions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the original and firſt giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to reſiſt the firſt inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to conſtrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and ſteered by their own fancies, and toſs'd to and fro' on the tempeſtuous ſeas of the world, while wiſdom was ſeevered from power, and ſtrength from charity; \* Neceſſity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wiſe and fooliſh underſtand at once, that the eſtate of reaſonable men would become far more miſerable than that of beaſts, and that a general flood of conſuſion would a ſecond time overflow them, did they not by a general obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the mighty, who truſted in their own ſtrengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themſelves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. Inſomuch, that licentious diſorder (which ſeemed to promiſe a liberty upon the firſt acquaintance) proved upon a better trial, no leſs perilous than an unendurable bondage.

Theſe arguments by neceſſity propounded, and by reaſon maintained and confirmed, perſuaded all nations which the heavens cover, to ſubject themſelves to a maſter, and to magiſtracy in ſome degree. Under which government, as the change (which brought with it leſs evil, than the former miſchiefs) was generally pleaſing: ſo time (making all men wiſe that obſerve it) found ſome imperfection and corroſive in this cure. And therefore the ſame neceſſity which invented, and the ſame reaſon which approved ſovereign power, bethought it ſelf of certain equal rules, in which dominion (in the beginning boundleſs) might alſo diſcern her own limits. For before the invention of laws, private affections in ſupreme rulers, made their own fancies both their treaſurers and hangmen: meaſuring by this yard, and weighing in this balance both good and evil.

For as wiſdom in eldership preceded the rule of kings, ſo the will of kings forewent the inventions of laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant*; The people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of princes. Hereof it followed, that when kings left to be good, neither did thoſe mens virtues value them, which were not fancied by their kings, nor thoſe mens vices deform them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt*; Love ſees one while too much, another while ſtark nothing. Hence it came to paſs, that after a few years (for direction and reſtraint of royal power) laws were eſtabliſhed: and that government which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even balance ſupreme power and common right) acquired the title of regal; the other (which had it not) was known for tyrannical: the one God eſtabliſhed in favour of his people; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this regal authority, princes, as they were choſen for their virtues only, ſo did they meaſure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (ſaith *Fabius Piſtor*) *b Principes, quia juſti erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti*; Princes, becauſe they were juſt and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.

And tho' (ſpeaking humanly) the beginning of empire may be aſcribed to reaſon and neceſſity; yet it was God himſelf that firſt kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they ſaw that they could not live and be preſerved without a ruler and conductor: God himſelf by his eternal providence having ordained kings; and the law of nature leaders and rulers over others. For the very bees have their prince, the deer their leaders; and cranes (by order impoſed) watch for their own ſafety. *c The moſt High beareth rule over the kingdoms of men; and appointeth over it whomſoever he pleaſeth.* *d By me*, ſaith *Wiſdom*, ſpoken by the Son of God) *kings reign; by me princes rule; and it is God* (ſaith *e Daniel*) *that ſetteth up kings, and taketh away kings*: and that this power is given from God, Chriſt himſelf witneſſeth, ſpeaking to *Pilate*, *f Thou couldeſt have no power at all againſt me except it were given thee from above.*

It was therefore by a threefold juſtice that the world hath been governed from the beginning, to wit, by a juſtice natural: by which the parents and elders of families governed their children, and nephews, and families, in which government the obedience was called natural piety: again, by a juſtice divine, drawn from the laws and ordinances of God; and the obedience hereunto was called conſcience: and laſtly, by a juſtice civil, begotten by both the former; and the obedience to this we call duty. That by theſe three thoſe of the eldeſt times were commanded; and that the rule in general was paternal, it is moſt evident: for *Adam* being lord over his own children, inſtructed them in the ſervice of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought oblations before God, as they had been taught by their parent, the father of mankind.

## SECT. II.

*Of the three commendable ſorts of government with their oppoſites: and of the degrees of human ſociety.*

WHAT other policy was exerciſed, or ſtate founded after ſuch time as mankind was greatly multiplied before the flood, it cannot be certainly known, tho' it ſeems by probable conjecture, that the ſame was not without kings in that firſt age: it being poſſible that many princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general flood; and very likely, that the cruel oppreſſions in that age proceeded from ſome tyranny in government, or from ſome rougher form of rule, than the paternal.

*Beroſus* aſcribeth the rule of the world in thoſe days to the giants of *Libanus*, who maſtered (ſaith he) all nations from the ſun-riſing to the ſun-ſet. But in the ſecond age of the world, and after ſuch time as the rule of eldership failed, three ſeveral ſorts of government were in ſeveral times eſtabliſhed among men, according to the divers natures of places and people.

The firſt, the moſt ancient, moſt general, and moſt approved, was the government of one, ruling by juſt laws, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is oppoſed, being alſo a ſole and abſolute rule, exerciſed according to the will of the com-

\* Neceſſitas eſt firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ poteſtas. 8. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Dan. 2. 21.

<sup>d</sup> John 19. 21.

<sup>e</sup> Beroſ. l. 1.

<sup>b</sup> De aureo ſeculo, par. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Dan. 5. 21.

<sup>d</sup> Prov.



mander, without respect or observation of the laws of God or men. For a lawful prince or magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the keeper of right and equity: and of this condition ought every magistrate to be, according to the rule of God's word. *Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in thy cities: and these shall judge the people with righteous judgment.*

The second government is of divers principal persons established by order, and ruling by laws, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimum potestas*; to which *Oligarchy* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great ones) is opposed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a state popular (or government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the state, contrary to their own laws and ordinances. These three kinds of government are briefly express'd by *Tholofanus*: *Unius, paucorum, & multorum*; Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy since the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this sort: first of all, every father, or eldest of the family, gave laws to his own issues; and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiply'd into many households (man by nature loving society) joined their cottages together in one common field or village, which the *Latins* call *Vicus*, of the *Greek* οἶκος, which signifieth a house, or of the word [*Via*] because it hath divers ways and paths leading to it. And as the first house grew into a village, so the village into that which is called *Pagus* (being a society of divers villages) so called of the *Greek* πῦρ, which signifieth a fountain: because many people (having their habitations not far asunder) drank of one spring or stream of water. To this word the *English* hundreds, or (as some think) shires answereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride between the races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselves from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to join and set together divers of their villages, environing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with walls: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus*, because walls were opposed against enemies, or *ab opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence: as also they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbe*; because when they were to build a city, they made a circle with a plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortify. And altho' *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* signified no other than the very walls and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*; and that, *ab eo quod multitudo coivit*, of coming together. But all inhabitants within these walls are not properly citizens, but only such as are called free-men; who bearing proportionably the charge of the city, may by turns become officers and magistrates thereof: the rest go under the name of subjects, tho' citizens by the same general name of subjects are also known. For every citizen is also a subject, but not every subject a citizen: perhaps also some citizen (as the chief magistrate, if he be so termed one of the citizens) is no subject; but of this we need not stand to

inquire. The word [magistrate] is taken, a *magistro*, from a master, and the word [master] from the adverb *magis* (as also *magisteria*, precepts of art) or else from the *Greek* word [*megistos*]; and so the *Greeks* call them *megistanes*, whom the *Latins* call *magnates* or *magistratus*.

The office and duty of every magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few words: *A magistrate or prince*, saith he, *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the same is best taught by *St. Paul*, who expresseth both the cause efficient and final, that is, by whom magistrates and princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. *A magistrate is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He also teacheth in verse 1, 2. *That every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained; and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God*, the giver and fountain thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and condemnation of man, but of God: *For ye must be subject*, saith he, *not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.* ver. 5.

The examples are not to be numbred of God's punishments upon those that have resisted authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any subject therefore to resist the power of kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the commandment of obedience is without distinction. The prophets and *Christ* himself subjected themselves to the power of magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cesar* should be given unto him: and he pay'd tribute for himself and *Peter*. *Jeremy* commanded the *Israelites* (even those that were captives under heathen kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* pray'd for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* blessed the king of *Egypt*. And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour, saith *Paul*, that ye make supplications and prayers for kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for such kings as were idolatrous, much more for Christian kings and magistrates. And so much did *St. Chrysostom* in his homily to the people, prefer *monarchical* government, as he rather commended the rule of kings (tho' tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Præstat regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum*; better a tyrannous king, than no king: To which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his history) *sub malo principe esse, quam nullo*; It is better to have a bad prince than none at all. And be they good kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them: *Neque enim libertas tutior ulla est, quam domino servire bono*; No liberty, saith he, more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous. And certainly howsoever it may be disputed, yet is it safer to live under one tyrant, than under 100000 tyrants: under a wise man that is cruel, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agessilaus* answered a citizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the government, that kind of rule which a man would disclaim in his own house, were very unfit to govern great regions by.

Lastly, as many fathers erected many cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembered) many households joined themselves together, and made villages; many villages made cities: so when these cities and citizens joined

<sup>a</sup> Deut. 16. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Ethic. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Rom. 13. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Jerem. 29. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. 20. 17. 17. 10.



together, and established laws by consent, associating themselves under one governor and government, they so joined were called a commonwealth: the same being sometimes governed by kings; sometimes by magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

### SECT. III.

*Of the good government of the first kings.*

NOW this first age after the flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and the families became strong, and dispersed into several parts of the world, was by ancient historians called golden: ambition and covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For while the law of nature was the rule of man's life, they then sought for no larger territory than themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of diet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel than to cover them from the cold, the rain and the sun.

And sure if we understand by that age (which was called golden) the ancient simplicity of our forefathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time, and none else) it may be doubted. For good and golden kings make good and golden ages; and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of empire (when princes play'd their prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the golden age: so may the beginning of all princes times be truly called golden: for be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least impediments: and if ever liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But age and time do not only harden and shrink the openest and most jovial hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth princes torn estates before their eyes, and withal persuadeth them to compassionate themselves. And altho' there be no kings under the sun whose means are answerable unto other men's desires; yet such as value all things by their own respects, do no sooner find their appetites unanswered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and iron. And as this falleth out in the reign of every king; so doth it in the life of every man, if his days be many: for our younger years are our golden age; which being eaten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and indeed the grievous alterations in our selves, and the pains and diseases which never part from us but at the grave, make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of man's nature being also such, as it adareth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just soever. *\* Fit humana malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, presentia in fastidio sint;* It comes to pass, saith Tacitus, by the vice of our malignity, that we always extol the time past, and hold the present fastidious. For it is one of the errors of way-ward age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti;* That they are praisers of forepassed times, forgetting this advice of Solo-

mon: *<sup>b</sup> Say not then, why is it that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing:* to which purpose Seneca, *Maiores nostri questi sunt, & nos querimur, posterique ventur, eversos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum, & in omne nefas labi;* Our ancestors have complained, we do complain, our children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil. These are the usual discourses of age and misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of Arnobius: *<sup>c</sup> Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus quibus cepit nova fuit & repentina;* Whatsoever is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they took beginning were also new and sudden. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times have made golden, this we may set down for certain, that as it was the virtue of the first kings, which, after God, gave them crowns: so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of subjects to princes: so (relatively) he gave the care and justice of kings to the subjects; having respect, not only to the kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his creatures. *<sup>d</sup> Nunquam particulari bono servit omne bonum;* The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only: for he that made the small and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that princes hold a general obedience: for *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum;* All human power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.

### SECT. IV.

*Of the beginning of nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.*

AND with this supreme rule and kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among subjects. For princes made election of others by the same rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust and power. From which employments and offices sprung those titles, and those degrees of honour, which have continued from age to age to these days. *<sup>e</sup> But this nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the succession of blood, but to succession of virtue, as hereafter may be proved.* Tho' at length it was sufficient for those, whose parents were advanced, to be known for the sons of such fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excel, upon whom glory or worldly nobility necessarily descended: Yet hereof had nobility denomination in the beginning, that such as excelled others in virtue were so called: *Hinc dictus nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after such time as the deserved honour of the father was given in reward to his posterity, St. Jerome judged of the succession in this manner: *Nil aliud video in nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent;* I see no other thing to be affected in nobility, than that noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound not to degenerate from the virtue of their ancestors. For if nobility be *virtus & antiquæ divitiæ*, virtue and ancient riches, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like,

<sup>a</sup> Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

<sup>b</sup> Ecclesi. 7. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Arnob. l. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Wisd. 6. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Verus nobilis non nascitur, sed fit



do no otherwise define nobility, than the word *animal* alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour, according to *L. Vives*, be a witness of virtue and well-doing: and nobility, after *Plutarch*, the continuance of virtue in a race or lineage: then are those, of whom virtue is extinguished, but like unto painted and printed papers, which ignorant men worship instead of Christ, our Lady, and other Saints: men, in whom there remain but the dregs and vices of ancient virtue: flowers and herbs, which by change of soil and want of manuring are turned to weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foul, filthy, and defiled? <sup>a</sup> *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando cicuta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum*; Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poisoning henbane: and out of barren soil precious gold. For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Charron* (in his chapter of nobility) call the race and lineage but the matter of nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be virtue and quality, profitable to the commonweal. For he is truly and entirely noble, who maketh a singular profession of publick virtue, serving his prince and country, and being descended of parents and ancestors that have done the like. And altho' that nobility, which the same author calleth personal (the same which our selves acquire by our virtue and well-deservings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by descent, and also personal; yet if virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired nobility by many degrees to be preferred: for, saith *Charron*, this honour, to wit, by descent, may light upon such an one, as in his own nature is a true villain. There is also a third nobility which he calleth nobility in parchment, bought with silver or favour: and these be indeed but honours of affection, which kings with the change of their fancies wish they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving our selves of such and such parents, we should rather know such nobility (without virtue) to be shame and dishonour, than nobleness, and glory to vaunt thereof. <sup>b</sup> *What calamity is wanting (saith Bernard) to him that is born in sin, of a potshave body and barren mind?* for (according to the same father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & male coronate nitorem gloriæ, &c.* Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill crowned glory, that then thou may'st consider thy self nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy mother's womb. Camest thou thence with thy mitre, or glistering with jewels, or garnished with silks, or adorned with feathers, or stuffed with gold? if thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certain morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing because he is naked, and weeping because he is born, and repining because he is born to labour, and not to honour.

For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: which if <sup>c</sup> *thou dost not believe* (saith St. Chrysostom) *look into the sepulchres and monuments of thy ancestors, and they shall easily persuade thee by their own example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seem more noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not*

*from the diversity of his nature, but from the cunning of his Creator.*

<sup>d</sup> For true nobility standeth in the trade Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly line: For blood is brute, but gentry is divine.

And howsoever the custom of the world have made it good, that honours be cast by birth upon unworthy issues: yet *Solomon* (as wise as any king) reprehendeth the same in his fellow princes. <sup>e</sup> *There is an evil (saith he) that I have seen under the sun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folly is set in great excellency.*

## CHAP. X.

*Of Nimrod, Belus and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.*

### SECT. I.

*That Nimrod was the first after the flood that reigned like sovereign lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.*

THE first of all that reigned, as sovereign lord after the flood, was *Nimrod*, the son of *Chush*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to St. *Augustine*) in one of these two respects: either for his eminency, and because he was the first of fame, and that took on him to command others: or else in that he was begotten by *Chush*, after his other children were also become fathers; and of a later time than some of his grandchildren and nephews. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in expresse words calleth *Nimrod* the son of *Chush*, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have no respect. This empery of *Nimrod*, both the fathers, and many later writers, call tyrannical: the same beginning in *Babel* (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to me, that *Mcclanethon* conceived not amiss hereof: the same exposition being also made by the author of that work called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, a bitter or severe governor, because his form of rule seemed at first far more terrible than paternal authority. And therefore is he in this respect also called *a mighty hunter*: because he took and destroy'd both beasts and thieves. But St. *Augustine* understands it otherwise, and converts the word [*ante*] by [*contra*] affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty hunter against God, *Sic ergo intelligendus est gigas ille, venator contra Dominum*; So is that giant to be understood, a hunter against the Lord. But howsoever this word [*a mighty hunter*] be understood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the east into *Shinaar*: so this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himself, or any of the sons of his own body, came with this troop into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the succeeding story of the *Hebrews*: nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by divers ancient historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Joetan* were the captains and leaders of all those which came from the east. And tho' *Sem* came not himself so

<sup>a</sup> Pint in Ezek. <sup>b</sup> Bernard. 1. 2. de Consider. ad Eugen. Pap. <sup>c</sup> Chrysost. homil. 2. de incomposita Dei natura, con. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Psal. <sup>e</sup> Ecclesi. 10.



far west as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the east parts) yet from his son's nephew *Heber*, the name and nation of the *Hebrews* (according to the general opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the southermost parts of *Chaldea* about the city of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charan*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea* were no partners in the unbelieving work of the tower: therefore (as many of the fathers conjecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the fathers of the first age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his issues. <sup>a</sup> *In familia Heber remansit hæc lingua*; In the family of *Heber* this language remained (saith St. *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this language *Abraham* used: yea, it was anciently and before the flood the general speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cælestinus*) *lingua humana*, the human tongue.

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chief leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just authority, than by violence of usurpation.

## S E C T. II.

*That Nimrod, Belus and Ninus, were three distinct persons.*

**B**Enzo, and out of him *Naclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*. *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*; and so doth St. *Jerome* upon *Osea*; and these words of St. *Augustine* seem to make him of the same opinion. <sup>b</sup> *Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat 65 annos*; There did *Ninus* reign after the death of his father *Belus*, who first governed in *Babylon* 65 years. But it could not be unknown to St. *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that empire: *Moses* being plain and direct therein. For the beginning of *Nimrod's* kingdom (saith he) was *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*, in the land of *Shinaar*: wherefore *Nimrod* was the first king of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus's* time, the world was marvellously replenished. And if St. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane authors. And for those words of St. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*, who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the founder of the *Babylonian* empire. For altho' *Julius Cesar* overthrew the liberty of the *Roman* commonwealth, making himself perpetual dictator; yet *Augustus* was the first established emperor, and the first that reigned absolutely by sovereign authority over the *Romans*, as an emperor. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of eldership and paternity, laying the foundation of sovereign rule, as *Cesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a general allowance, exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of

opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them, both agreeing in time: for it was about 200 years after the flood, as they account, that *Belus* reign'd: but such agreement of times prove it not. For so *Edward III.* and his grandchild *Richard II.* were kings both in one year; the one died, and the other in the same year was crowned king.

And yet the opinion, that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one, is far more probable than that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plain, that the beginning of *Nimrod's* kingdom was *Babel*, and the towns adjoining: but the first and most famous work of *Ninus* was the city of *Nineveh*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth that *Ninus* overcame and suppress'd the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his empire at *Nineveh* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easy: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis's* time.

—————*Dicitur altam*

*Coetilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem.*

*Semiramis* with walls of brick the city did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the scriptures call *Nimrod* mighty: so *Justin* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator's* arguments: it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other kings as well. For if we may believe *Justin*; then were *Vexoris* king of *Egypt*, and *Tanaïs* of *Scythia*, mighty kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them. For whereas *Mercator* conceiveth that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have invaded and mastered those cities so far removed from *Babel*, namely *Erec*, *Accad* and *Chalne*: which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, that ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these cities; but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The city of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archad*, and *Epiphanius* *Arphal*; *Junius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the region thereabout, the *Cosmographers* (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others understand *Nisibis* and *Nineveh* to be one city: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*; but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran* are distinct places. Tho' I cannot deny *Accadene* to be a region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of St. *Jerome* calls *Archad*: and so do the *Hebrews*



also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the city of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*, *St. Augustine* *Oreg*, and *Pagninus* *Erec*; this place *Junius* understands for *Arraca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a city in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeed likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third city (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calanifis*: of which <sup>a</sup> *Am. Marcellinus*. *St. Jerome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Cresiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, destroy'd and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the moderator and judge of this dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these cities are not seated in so divers and distant regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his kingdom* (speaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar*: so as in this valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think with *Viterbiensis*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were cities far removed, and in several provinces, did not the prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. Go you (saith *Amos*, vi. 2.) *to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistines*. The *Geneva* translation favouring the former opinion, to set these cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all these cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldea*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod's* empire, there was no such *Babylon*, nor any city at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great city of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not far from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient city, but not so ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, that *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successive kings.

### SECT. III.

That *Nimrod*, not *Assur*, built *Nineveh*: and that it is probable out of *Isaiah* xxiii. 13. that *Assur* built *Ur* for the *Chaldees*.

NOW as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controversy wearisomely disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Junius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disjoyn the sense of the scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the *Hebrew* text. *Erat enim principium regni ejus Babel, & Erec, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris; e terra hac processit in Assyriam ubi edificavit Niniven*: (which is) For the beginning of his kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erec*, and *Accad*, and *Chalneh*, in the land of *Shinaar*: and he went forth of this land into *Assyria*, and built *Nineveh*. So as *Junius* takes *Assur*

in this place, not for any person, but for the region of *Assyria*: the land being so called in *Moses's* time, and before it. For certainly the other construction, (where the word [*Assur*] is taken for *Assur* the son of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* observeth thro' all the books of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the 10th chapter he setteth down the sons of *Noah* in these words. *Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japhet, unto whom sons were born after the flood*: then it followeth immediately. *The sons of Japhet were Gomer, &c.* so as *Japhet* is last named among *Noah's* sons, be he eldest or youngest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and sets down his issue, and then the issue of his sons: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Japhet's* eldest son; and then speaks of *Javan* and his sons: for of the rest of that family he is silent. Anon, after he numbrell the sons of *Ham*, of which *Cush* was the eldest: and the sons of *Cush* and *Mizraim*; and afterwards of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the last, because he would not disjoin the story of the *Hebrews*. But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*; and so to *Jacob*, and the fathers of that nation. But to have brought in one of the sons of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had been against order; neither would *Moses* have pass'd over so slightly the erection of the *Assyrian* empire, in one of the sons of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning; it being the story of *Shem's* sons which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the sons of *Cush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* empire: and in the 11th chapter he returns to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the 10th chapter, with those other cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the 10th chapter, so also in the 11th he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finish'd so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Junius's* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive that *P. Comeslor in Historia Scholastica* gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in some other sense, he useth these words. *Vel intelligendum non est de Assur filio Sem, &c. sed Assur, id est, regnum Assyriorum inde egressum est, quod tempore Sarug praeavi Abrahami factum est* (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of *Assur* the son of *Shem*, &c. but *Assur* (that is the kingdom of the *Assyrians*) came from thence (*viz.* from *Babylon*) or was made out of it; which happened in the time of *Sarug* the great grandfather of *Abraham*. After which he reconcileth the differences in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first erecter of the *Assyrian* empire, or the first founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*, respecting the beginning; but others conceive, that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad regni ampliacionem*, regarding the enlargement of the empire. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius* confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the son of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, *St. Jerome* and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly, <sup>b</sup> *Torniellus*; who saith, he took upon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus* after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 23. <sup>b</sup> Torniell. Annal. Sac. in Gen. 10.



many scriptures, as *Psalms lxxxix. Isaiah x. Hosea v, &c.* but to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the son of *Ivri*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was archbishop of *Mentz* in the year of Christ 854, an ancient and learned writer, understands this place with *Comestor*, or *Comestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moses* he giveth this sense, *De hac terra Assyriorum pululavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Beli filii, Nilum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this land grew the empire of the *Assyrians*, who built *Ninus* the great city, so named of *Ninus* the son of *Belus*. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Isaiah xxiii. 13. Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this was no people, Assur founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderness*; than which there is no one place in the scriptures that hath a greater diversity in the translation and understanding; inasmuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Isaiah* (tho' in all else very diligent) passeth it over. But *Calvin* seemeth hereby to infer, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur* rather than *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* empire, and built *Nineveh*: contrary to the former translation of *Junius*, and to his own opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Jerome's* translation) it may be gathered, that *Assur* both founded and ruin'd this state or city of the *Chaldeans*, by *Isaiah* remembred: unto which city, people, or state, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians*, that they cannot trust or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the prophet maketh this city of *Chaldea*, and that state, an example unto those *Phenicians*, whom in this place he foretelleth of their ruin: which city of *Chaldea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was notwithstanding by the *Assyrians* utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them that their own city of *Tyre* (invincible, as themselves thought) should also soon after be overturned by the same *Assyrians*: as indeed it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words of *Jerome*; *Ecce terra Chaldeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robustos ejus, suffoderunt domos ejus, posuit eam in ruinam*; which is, Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, such a people there were not (or this was no people, after the *Geneva*) *Assur*, or the *Assyrians* founded it, they carried away their strong men captive, they undermined their houses, and ruined their city. The *Septuagint* express it but in a part of another verse, in these words; *Et in terra Chaldeorum, & hæc desolata est ab Assyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the sense perfect by the preceding verse, which altogether may be thus understood. *If thou go over to Chittim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou shalt have no rest, (speaking to the Tyrians) neither in the land of the Chaldeans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their walls fell together to the ground.* *Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus, *Ecce terra Chaldæum, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius, contriverunt ades ejus, posuerunt eam in ruinam*: which may be thus englisht. Behold the land of the *Chaldeans*, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for *Assur* built it a harbour for ships, they erected the towers thereof, and again brake down the houses thereof, and ruinated it. *Junius* in the place of ships sets the word [*pro Barbaris*] that is, for the *Barbarians*: and the *Geneva*, by the *Barbarians*. But this is undoubted, that the prophet *Isaiah* (as may be gathered by all the sense of the chapter) did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future

destruction; which accordingly fell on them: where (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, cities and regions, whose trade the state and greatness of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians*; under the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans* and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the mart-town of the world most renowned. And (as it appears in our discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chief merchandise came in by the city *Ur*, or *Urchoa* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chief stream of *Euphrates* (even that stream which runneth thro' *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his passage into the *Persian* gulf; though now it be stopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted) the *Arabians*, that descended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*, dwelling on the east banks of the *Persian* gulf, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran* and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandise by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur* or *Urchoa*; and then by *Babylon*, and thence by river and over land they conveyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*, as they do this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a port-town, and one of those cities which had intelligence, trade and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it stood by the great lakes of *Chaldea*, thro' which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which passage is now stopt up. *Ejus cursum vetustas abolevit* (saith *Niger*.) And *Pliny*, *Locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen salsum*; Time hath worn away the channel of *Euphrates*: and the place where the mouth thereof was, is a bay of salt water. These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the city of the *Chaldees*, whose calamities *Isaiah* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians* to be the city anciently called *Ur*; and by *Hecataeus*, *Camerina*; by *Ptolemy*, *Urchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chalceopolis*, The city of *Chaldea*; which the sons of *Shem*, until *Abraham's* time, inhabited. And whereas in all the translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruin'd it: it may be understood, that *Assur* the founder was the son of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldea*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruin: which thing God foreseeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted [*by ships*] do bear that sense, the same may be the better approved; because it was a port-town: and the river so far up as this city of *Ur*, was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word [*for the Barbarians*] or [*by the Barbarians*] be also in the *Hebrew* text, it is no less manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other unto it. For *Chaldea* is now called *Arachaldar*, which signifieth desert lands, because it joineth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Itureans*) addeth that they are of all other people the most savage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Isaiah*, which breedeth some doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of *Junius*, nor the interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus*. For tho' other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Assur* is in this place diversly taken; (as for the son of *Shem*, when he is spoken of as a builder of *Ur*; and when, as a destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian*



*Assyrian* nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seem to enforce it. And so this founding of the city of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the posterity of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the idolatry of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to prove that the same *Assur* built *Nineveh*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Assur*, who was the son of *Shem*, both an idolater and the son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious sacrificer to idols, and the first that set up a statue or image to be honoured as God. Now if *Assur* must be of that race, and not of the family of *Sem*, as he must be if he founded *Nineveh*, then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true parent and religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur* whom they make the founder of *Nineveh* (and so the son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very unworthy and obscure, and not like to be the founder of such an empire and such a city, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*; whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to scripture and to reason, and best agreeing with the story of that age written by prophane authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first works and beginnings of his empire, according to *Moses*, and that these works being finish'd within the valley of *Shinaar*, he look'd farther abroad, and set in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying near unto the same stream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his grandchild *Ninus* afterwards amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus*'s wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to pass, that as *Semiramis* was counted the foundress of the city which she only finish'd: so also *Ninus* of *Nineveh*. *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare*; She might repair or renew *Babylon*, saith *St. Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himself to be the founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up again some part of the wall overborn by the fury of the river: which work of his stood till *Alexander*'s time; whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?*

#### SECT. IV.

*Of the acts of Nimrod and Belus, as far as now they are known.*

**B**UT to return to the story, it is plain in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*, and *Julius Africanus* surnamed *Saturn*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian* monarchy, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his empire in the beginning consisted of those four cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad* and *Chalne*; and that from hence he propagated his empire into *Assyria*; and in *Assyria* built four more cities, to wit, *Nineveh*, *Rebobotb*, *Celab*, and *Rosen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it self and those adjoining, and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*, that work of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three cities, and the large foundation of *Ni-*

*neveh*, and the other cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his successors in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an increase of people; and the examples and patterns of his beginning so great an advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these nations were called *Meropes*, *A sermonis linguarum terræque divisione*; By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

*Belus* or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114 years; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm ground of all those great fens and overflown marshes which adjoin'd unto it. For any of his wars or conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* king of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose son and successor *Barzanes* became subject and tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the war to effect, which was by his father *Belus* begun.

#### SECT. V.

*That we are not to marvel how so many kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.*

**T**HAT so many kingdoms were erected in all those eastern parts of the world so soon after *Nimrod* (as by the story of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold; namely, opportunity, example and necessity. For opportunity, being a princess liberal and powerful, bestoweth on her first entertainers many times more benefits, than either fortune can, or wisdom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every leader of a troop (after the division of tongues and dispersion of people) finding these fair offers made unto them, held the power which they possess'd, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destin'd places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like beasts in a desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the world, and by distinct families and nations: otherwise those remote regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had kings, and were peopled in *Ninus*'s time, would not have been possess'd in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled far off (order being the true parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprizes without a conductor or commander. Secondly, The example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a commander and magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their own travels: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own ministers and attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the



undertakings and conquests of *Ninus* (the son of *Belus*) made it apparent : for he found every where kings and monarchs, what way soever his ambition led him in the wars.

But *Nimrod* (his grandfather) had no companion king, to us known, when he first took on him sovereignty and sole commandment of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the east into *Babylonia* : tho' in his life-time others also raised themselves to the same estate ; of which hereafter. *Belus*, his son and successor, found *Sabatus* king of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerful to resist his attempts : which *Sabatus* I take to be the same which *Justin* calls *Tanais* ; and should conjecture, that *Mizraim* had been his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error (as *Justin* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seems to me rightly accounted by the judicious and learned *Reineccius* all one with the great *Sesostris*, that lived certain ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second king of *Babylon*, reigned 65 years, according to the common account.

#### SECT. VI.

*Of the name of Belus, and other names affine unto it.*

**W**HENCE this second king and successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath been made ; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

*Cyrellus* against *Julian* calls the father of *Ninus*, *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god : which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriv'd. But *Bel*, as many learned writers have observed, signifieth the sun in the *Chaldean* tongue ; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their father, that he might be honoured as the sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldean* princes, and *Babylonians* *Satrapæ* : so was it used (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other nations, as some historians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) those voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphegor*, *Belsebub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldean*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latin*, *Princeps militiæ*, Chief in the war, tho' *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) *ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum* ; In honour of his expounding secrets. <sup>b</sup>St. *Jerome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the same signification : and saith, that the idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his father set up to be worshipped : to which that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyranus*) came idolatry, and the first use of images into the world. <sup>c</sup>*Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient ; adding, that as among the *Affyrians* it is taken for *Saturn* and the *Sun* : so in the *Punic* or *Carthaginian* language it signifieth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Affyrian* name properly ; and *Josephus*, a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth, that the idol which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the mountain *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latins* call *Priapus*, the God of gardens ; which also was the opinion of <sup>e</sup>St. *Jerome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word

*Beelzebub*, the idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel*, foundeth [God] and *Sebub* [flies or hornets:] by which name notwithstanding the *Jews* express the prince of devils. But the prophet *Hosea* teacheth us the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himself ; *And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me Isbi, and shalt call me no more Baalim : for I will take away the name of Baalim out of their mouths.* For altho' the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be justly to be used towards God ; yet in respect that the same was given to idols, God both hated it and forbade it. And the using of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the sun, was not because it properly signifieth the sun, but because the sun there was worshipped as a god : as also the fire was, *Tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belsephon* ; *Belsephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus speculæ vel custodiæ* ; The lord of the watch tower, or of the guard : the other word noteth the idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpeor* or *Baalpeor* : and *Peor*, they say, is as much as *denuavit* ; and therefore the word joined expresseth a naked image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the son of *Saturn* ; for it was used among the ancients to name the father *Saturn*, the son *Jupiter*, and the grandchild *Hercules*. <sup>d</sup>*Saturni dicuntur familiarum nobilium, regum qui urbes condiderunt senissimi ; primogeniti eorum Joves & Junones ; Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi* ; The ancientest of noble families, and kings which founded cities, are called *Saturns* ; their first-born *Jupiters* and *Juno's* ; their valiant nephews *Hercules*. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Vives*) was famous by reason of his warlike son *Ninus*, who caused his father to be worshipped as a God by the name of <sup>e</sup>*Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by the dreams of their antiquity) make one of theirs. For *Neptune*, say they, upon *Libya* the daughter of *Epaphus*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was father to *Ægyptus*. They add, that this *Belus* carrying a colony to the river of *Euphrates* there built a city, in which he ordained priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the son of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or with *Eusebius* of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis*, *Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*, the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speak, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of the worshipping of images begun from Belus in Babel.*

**A**S for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the inventor of *Astronomy*, if *Pliny* say true : from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the doctrine. Some part of the temple, in which his statue or image was honoured as a god, the same author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Of the sepulchre of *Belus*, <sup>b</sup>*Strabo* writeth thus. *Over the river, saith he, there are gardens, where they say the ruins of Belus's tomb, which Xerxes broke up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth.* It appears by <sup>c</sup>*Cyrell* against *Julian*, that he obtained divine worship yet living : for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus* : *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis deitatis nomen*

<sup>a</sup> See more of this, l. 2. of this first part, c. 2. §. 6. <sup>b</sup> Hier. in Ose. c. 2. <sup>c</sup> Lyr. in sapient. Salom. c. 11. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. l. 8. c. 11. <sup>e</sup> Hier. in Ose. c. 1. & 9. <sup>f</sup> Auctor. de requit. l. 1. <sup>g</sup> Diod. l. 3. <sup>h</sup> Strabo, l. 13. c. 3. <sup>i</sup> L. 4. cont. Julian.



*accepisse : perseverarunt igitur Assyrii, & finitimæ illis gentes sacrificantes ei. Arbelus,* A man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their subjects with the title of deity (or with the name of God) the *Assyrians* therefore and the bordering nations have persevered, sacrificing to him. Even *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninyas*, was made an idol-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thuras* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the planet *Mars*; a man of shape and fierce disposition, who bidding battle to *Caucasus* of the stock of *Japhet*, slew him. The *Assyrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among idolatrous nations were deified in their life-times, or soon after: tho' I deny not but that the most of their images and *Statuæ* were first erected without divine worship, only in memory of the glorious acts of benefactors, as *Glycis* rightly conceiveth; and so afterwards the devil crept into those wooden and brazen carcases, when posterity had lost the memory of their first invention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner. *Quos autem Pagani Deos asserunt homines fuerunt, & pro uniuscujusque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, colit apud suos post mortem cæperunt: sed (demonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos existimârunt: ad ista vero magis excolenda acceperunt poetarum figmenta;* They were men, saith he, whom the *Pagans* affirmed to be Gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to be honoured of his own. But at length (the devils persuading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the fictions of the poets made the opinions (concerning the honours of the dead) much more superstitious.

And that the worshipping of images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and heathen nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregory*: *ⁱ Gentilitas* (saith he) *inventrix & caput est imaginum;* *Gentilism* is the inventress and ground of images: and *Ambrose*; *ⁱ Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei;* The *Gentiles* adore wood as it were the image of God. *ⁱ Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of images a custom borrowed of the heathen. The like hath *ⁱ St. Augustine* against *Adimantus*. *Et verentur* (saith *ⁱ Lactantius*) *ne religio vana sit, si nihil vident quod adorent;* They fear their religion would be vain, should they not see that which they worship.

And (out of doubt) the schoolmen shift this fearful custom very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfy it self with the distinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those images after they are made? and it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should strain their wits to defend the use of those things, which the scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the express commandment of God himself, *Thou shalt not make any graven image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the prophets after him could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any persuasions, lead the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight,

or of plainer instruction than these? *Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven image, or representation of any figure, whether it be the likeness of male or female.*

And besides the express commandment, *Thou shalt make thee no graven image*, and the prohibition in many scriptures, so it is written in the book of *Wisdom*, *That the invention of idols was the beginning of whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the schoolmen affirm, that the prophets spake against the worshipping of the heathen idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no image* (saith *Moses*) *that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*, *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua;* Do not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind too. Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption unlawful to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do those men presume that put him under the greasy pencil of a painter, or the rusty ax, or other instrument of a carpenter or carver.

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God began in *Babel*: so did the devil transport and spread this invention into all the regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romans* for a while resisted the erection of these idols and images, refusing to set them in their temples for 170 years, observing therein the law of *Numa*: who thought it impiety to resemble things most beautiful, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a nation of all others under the sun most deluded by *Satan*) set up the images of their Gods; which (as *ⁱ St. Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth. *Simulachra decorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant, & cum hæc suspiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt;* The images of the Gods are worshipped, those they pray unto with bended knees, those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they condemn the handicraftsmen that made them: which also *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this sort scoffed at.

*Hæu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumque Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere verentur. Quis furor est? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit? Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque draconem,*

*Semi-hominemque canem supplex homo pronus adoret.*

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,  
And consecrate dumb idols in their heart,  
Whom their own Maker (God on high) despise,  
And fear the work of their own hands and art.  
What fury? what great madness doth beguile  
Mens minds? that man should ugly shapes adore,  
Of birds, or bulls, or dragons, or the vile  
Half-dog half-man on knees for aid implore.

And tho' this device was barbarous, and first, and many years practised by heathen nations only,

<sup>ⁱ</sup> Greg. Novec. 14. <sup>ⁱ</sup> Amb. in Psal. 108. <sup>ⁱ</sup> Euseb. l. 7. c. 18. <sup>ⁱ</sup> Aug. c. 13. <sup>ⁱ</sup> Basil. l. 2. c. 2. <sup>ⁱ</sup> De Civit. Dei. l. 4. c. 31.



till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant stupidity of his nation: but *Justin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sibyls* inveighed against images: and *Hospinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the souls of men to erect and adore those Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witness, that the *Persians* did not erect or set up any statue of their gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedemonians*, but thought it impiety to represent immortal natures by mortal figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixth book *de præparatione evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that images should be worshipped. The same do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other authors might be remembered that witness the disdain which the heathens themselves had of this childish idolatry: of which *Hospinian* hath written at large in his tract *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly said, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt*; All ill examples have sprung from good beginnings. The heathen at first made these *statuæ* and images, but in memory of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their countries and commonwealths: *Effigies hominum* (saith *Pliny*) *non solebant exprimi nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium*; Men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered. And tho' of the more ancient *Papists*, some have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeareth in *Lactantius*) that defence for images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea discerent homines Deum invisibilem cognoscere*; Images (say they, and so before them the heathen said) are instead of letters, whereby men might learn to know the invisible God: in which understanding (perhaps) they no otherwise esteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel*, set up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterwards the most revered idol of the world, by which so many nations (and they which were appropriate to God himself) were misled and cast away: so those very stocks and stones, and painted canvases (called the pictures of Christ, or Lady, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not only adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. *On these stocks we call* (saith the book of *Wisdom*) *when we pass through the raging waves, on these stocks more rotten than the ship that carrieth us*.

This heathen invention of images became so fruitful in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dii consentes, seu majorum gentium*; *selecti, patritii, insigniores, dii medii*: counselling gods, or gods of the mightiest nobility; select gods, patritian, gods of mark, and common gods (which the *Romans* called *Medioximi*) *dii infimi*, and terrestrial hero's, and multitudes of other gods: of which *St. Augustine* hath made large mention in his book *de Civitate Dei, lib. 14*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable souls and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their idols, did *Epimenides Cretensis* (by what good angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* fields, altars to the unknown God, which stood with the same title and dedication even to the times of *St. Paul*: who made them first known to whom those altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which

lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the devil had so many years led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in general, or that every nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them; as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens* *Minerva*, in *Samos* *Juno*, in *Paphos* *Venus*, and so of all other parts; but every city, and almost every family, had a god apart. For it is written in the 2d of *Kings* xvii. 18, 31. the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Ashima*, and the *Avins* made *Nibhaz* and *Tarrack*, and the *Sephernaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the prophet *Isa. c. xlv.* derided? *Men cut down trees, rinde them; burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god, an idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their hearts from understanding.* It is therefore safest for a Christian to believe the commandments of God so direct against idolatry, to believe the prophets, and to believe *St. Paul*, who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly. *My beloved fly from idolatry, I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say.*

#### SECT. VIII.

*Of the wars of Ninus: and lastly of his war against Zoroaster.*

UNTO this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his neighbour-princes; and the first that without shame or fear committed adultery in publick. But as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose story is gathered out of profane authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For altho' that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented upon by *Ammius* hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrysostomus* noteth) to the understanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnassæus*, and others: yet *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which lived in *Alexander's* time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Josephus*: and whose statue the *Athenians* erected, saith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* princes, even from *Nimrod* to the 18th king *Ascatades*, and to the times of *Joshua*. For of *Metasthenes* an historian, of the race of the *Persian* priests, there are found but certain papers, or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian* monarchies: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* kings is not without his errors.

*Ctesias* of *Cnidus* (a city adjoining to *Halicarnassus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his history out of the *Persian* records, and reacheth as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and tho' in the story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in some things, and *Athenæus*, *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and princes with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the armies of *Ninus*, and especially of



*Semiramis*; as whatsoever his reports were, times have consumed his works, saving some very few excerpts lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this 3d *Affyrian*, in as few words as I can express them. St. *Augustine* affirms that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he won it all, save *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his conquests, with whom he entered into a straight league of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a *Chusite*, and the nearest prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he invaded it on the sudden, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their king *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the conquest thereof.

The king of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his war against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* he bent himself that way towards the east; but that ever he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I do not believe, for none of his successors had any possession therein.

His third war was against *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, whom it is said that he overthrew, and cruelly murdered with his seven children, tho' others affirm that they all died in one battel against him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Nineveh*, or after, it is uncertain. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill success in the first, he returned, and set the work of *Nineveh* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 foot, and 200000 horse, and 10600 chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaster* with 400000. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaster* being slain, he entred farther into the country, and besieged the chief city thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (saith *Stephanus*) which by a passage found, and an assault given by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and possessed. Upon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her person and external beauty, fancy'd her so strongly, as (neglecting all princely respects) he took her from her husband, whose eyes he threatened to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yielding to the passion of love in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himself, by the strong persuasions of shame and dishonour, cast himself headlong into the water and died.

## C H A P. XI.

Of *Zoroaster*, supposed to have been the chief author of magick arts: and of the divers kinds of magick.

### S E C T. I.

That *Zoroaster* was not *Cham*, nor the first inventor of astrology, or of magick: and that there were divers great magicians of this name.

**Z**oroaster king of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* supposeth to be *Cham*, the son of *Noah*: a fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the paternal ancestor of *Ninus*, the father of *Chus*, the grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose son was *Belus*, the father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that book which was called *Scripture*

*Cham*, devised by some wicked knave, and so intitled: of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of magick to *Cham*, the son of *Noah*: so did *Comestor* in his scholastical history: wick art (saith he) with the seven liberal sciences he writ in fourteen pillars: seven of which were made of brass, to resist the defacing by the waters of the flood; and seven of brick against the injury of fire. There was also another devised discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like unto this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus*'s words: *Cham* (*filius* *Noah*) *qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super hiis memorialem librum in arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre justo, &c.* *Cham* (the son of *Noah*) who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious arts, knowing that he could not bring any book or memorial of that nature into the ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly father, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be graven in metal and hard stone.

St. *Augustine* noteth, that *Zoroaster* was said to have laugh'd at his birth, when all other children weep; which presaged the great knowledge which afterwards he attained unto: being taken for the inventor of naturalmagick and other arts; for the corrupter, saith *Pliny* and *Justin*. But I do not think that *Zoroaster* invented the doctrine of the horoscopes or nativities: or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and minerals, or their sympathetic or antipathetical workings; of which I know not what king of *Chaldea* is also made the inventor. I rather think that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster* (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giver of life and virtue to nature and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting God's infinite, dispersed, and universal power) admired the instruments and attributed proper strength to the things themselves (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, *Which being one, and remaining in it self, can do all things and reneweth all.*

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the magician, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a spirit (being in the midst of his disciples) as some authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slain by *Ninus*, was not the magician: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Josephus* and *Cedrenus* affirm that *Seth* first found out the planets, or wandering stars, and other motions of the heavens: for if this art had been invented by *Zoroaster*, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life-time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgment, he might add somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to posterity.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no less jangling about the word and art of magick. *Arnobius* remembreth four to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres*, was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dion* seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astro-rum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactri-*



an, which may be the same that *Ninus* overthrew: the second, a *Chaldean*, and the astronomer of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth *Zoroaster Armenius*, the nephew of *Hofstanes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there pass'd 78 years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Perfomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the son of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what nation the first and chief *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius* make him a *Chaldean*. But by those books of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the author of them was a *Chaldean* by nation, tho' the word (*Chaldean*) was as often given to the learned priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishing of nations. *Porphyrus* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers; *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldean* both by nation and profession, it appeareth by his books, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* tongue; and the comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those books of *Zoroaster*, which in an epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intitled, *Patris Ezre Zoroastris* & *Melchior magorum oracula*.

#### SECT. II.

*Of the name of Magia: and that it was anciently far diverse from conjuring and witchcraft.*

NOW for magick it self; which art (saith <sup>a</sup>*Mirandula*) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt*; Few understand, and many reprehend: *Et sicut canes ignotos semper allatrant*; As dogs bark at those they know not: so they condemn and hate the things they understand not: I think it not amiss (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to speak somewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhor the very name and word [*Magus*] because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, that is, familiar with evil spirits, usurped that title. For magick, conjuring and witchery are far differing arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant, scoffeth thereat. For *Nero*, saith <sup>b</sup>*Pliny*, who had the most excellent magicians of the east, sent him by *Tyridates* king of *Armenia*, who held that kingdom by his grace, found the art after long study and labour altogether ridiculous.

<sup>c</sup>*Magus* is a *Persian* word primitively, whereby is express'd such a one as is altogether conversant in things divine. And, as <sup>d</sup>*Plato* affirmeth, the art of magick is the art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his epistles expounding the word [*μαγικός*] saith, that the *Persians* called their gods *μάγας*: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either *ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεός* or *θεοπαρεμύνης δαίμων*, that is, that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the service of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Matt.* ch. ii. ver. 1. And this is the first and highest kind: which <sup>e</sup>*Piccolomini* calleth divine magick: and these did the *Latins* newly intitle *sapientes* or *wise men*: For the fear and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These *wisemen* the *Greeks* call *Philosophers*: the *Indians* *Brachmans*: which name they somewhat nearly retain to this day, calling their priests *Bramines*; among the *Egyptians* they were termed priests; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabalists*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*,

and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldeans*: and among the *Persians* *Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hofstanes*, one of the ancient magicians) useth these words, *Et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur, & angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, ejus venerationi novit assistere. Idem demonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos. Sosthenes* (for so *M. Felix* calleth him, not *Hofstanes*) ascribeth the due majesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are devils earthly and wandring, and enemies to mankind.

His majesty also in his first book of *Demonology*, c. iii. acknowledgeth, that in the *Persian* tongue the word [*Magus*] imports as much as a contemplator of divine and heavenly sciences, but unjustly so called, because the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true divinity. And it is also right which his majesty avoweth, that under the name of magick, all other unlawful arts are comprehended, and yet doth his majesty distinguish it from necromancy, witchcraft, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the magick which his majesty condemneth, is of that kind whereof the devil is a party. *Daniel*, in his 2d chapter, nameth four kinds of those wisemen: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, & *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latin* translation calleth *Sophistas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists*: *Nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod philosophi apud Græcos (scilicet) divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam profitentes*; For the *Magi* are the same with the *Barbarians*, as the *Philosophers* are with the *Grecians*, that is, men that profess the knowledge of things both divine and human. The *Greek* and the *English* call them inchanters; *Junius* magicians; *Castalion* conjecturers: in the *Syrian* they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*, The wisemen of *Babel*.

The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English* call *Astrologers*, *Jerome* and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Jerome*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches*, or *Poisoners*; in *Junius*, *Præstigiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in *English*.

That witches are rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poisoners*; and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which without any art of magick or necromancy, use the help of the devil to do mischief, his majesty confirmeth in the first chapter of his second book: speaking also in the fifth chapter of their practice, to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the devil prepared; and at other times to make pictures of wax, or clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the devil by other means bringeth to pass.

The fourth, all translators call *Chaldeans*: who took upon them to foretel all things to come, as well natural as human, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the stars by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of magick, having chiefly sought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A second kind of magick was that part of *Astro-*

<sup>a</sup> Pic. Mir. fol. 81.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. l. 30. hist. nat.

<sup>c</sup> Porphyr. & Apul.

<sup>d</sup> Plato. in Alcib.

<sup>e</sup> Piccol. de defin. Prov. 1. 7. John.

Hug. Lanchot.

<sup>f</sup> In Octavio Minutii Felicis cum Arnobio, pag. 360.

<sup>g</sup> Demonolog. l. 2. c. 1.



logy, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandry : which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the stars into those lower elements.

*Philo Judeus* goeth farther, affirming that by this part of *magick* or *astrology*, together with the motions of the stars and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldea* : *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem* (saith *Jo. Damascen.*) Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. *Iosephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that he instructed the *Egyptians* in arithmetick and astronomy, who before *Abraham's* coming unto them knew none of these sciences.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo* in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garfias*. *Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt, quod Abraham sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus Chaldeos primum, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios sacerdotes astrologiam & divina docuerit* : *Alexander* (saith he) meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*, and *Eupolemon* affirm, that *Abraham* the holiest and wisest of men did first teach the *Chaldeans*, then the *Phœnicians*, lastly the *Egyptian* priests astrology and divine knowledge.

The third kind of magick containeth the whole philosophy of nature ; not the brablings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and draweth them out of nature's hidden bosom to human use, *Virtutes in centro centri latentes* ; Virtues hidden in the center of the center, according to the chymists. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa Nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others : and before these, in elder times, and who better understood the power of nature, and how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of : *Apolonius Tyaneus* remembred by *St. Jerome* to *Paulinus* ; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans* : among the *Indians*, *Thespion* : among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes* : among the *Babylonians*, *Budda* : the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis* : the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris* : and the *Italians*, *Pet. Aponensis*. The magick which these men profess'd is thus defin'd. *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant* : Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderful to those that know not their causes. In all these three kinds which other men divide into four, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned ; especially in the first and highest. For in his oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the universal : he believeth of the Trinity, which he could not investigate by any natural knowledge : he speaketh of angels, and of *Paradise* : approveth the immortality of the soul : teacheth truth, faith, hope, and love, discoursing of the abstinence and charity of the *magi* : which oracles of his, *Psellus*, *Terminus*, *Patritius*, and others have gathered and translated.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the theology of the *Phœnicians* using *Zoroaster's* own words : *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilis, sempiternus, ingenuus, expers partium, sibi ipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater Jovis, sine doctrina iustitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacre naturæ unicus inventor, &c.*

Thus writeth *Zoroaster*, word for word. God the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himself, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learn'd justice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the only inventor thereof.

*Sixtus Senensis*,<sup>1</sup> speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth distinguish those wise men into five orders, to wit, *Chascedim*, or *Chaldeans* : *Asaphim*, or *Magicians* : *Chartumim* ; (which he translates *Arioli* or *Sophists*) *Mecasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poisoners* ; and *Gazarim Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diviners*.

*Chascedim* were those which had the name of *Chaldeans*, which were astronomers ; *Hi cœlorum motus diligentissime spectarunt* ; These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens : whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

*Asaphim* were in the old *Latin* translation called philosophers : of the *Septuagint* and of *Jerome*, magicians : *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis philosophati sunt* ; Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as human : of whom *Origen*, makes *Balaam* the son of *Beor*, to be the first : but *Laertius* ascribeth the invention of this art to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*.

*Chartumim*, or *inchanters*, the disciples (saith *St. Augustine*, *Pliny* and *Justin*) of another *Zoroastres* : who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *magi*, which he received from his ancestors.

*Mecasphim*, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those of which we have spoken already out of his majesty's book of *Demonology*.

*Gazarim*, or *Aruspices*, after *St. Jerome*, which divine from the entrails of beasts slain for sacrifices : or by *Gazarim* others understand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceive the difference between those wise men which the kings of *Babylon* entertained ; and that the name and profession of the *magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer* truly observeth, *Præerant religioni Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, studiisq; veræ philosophiæ dediti erant : nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea magorum disciplinam scientiamque percepisset*. The *magi* (saith he) were the chief ministers of the *Persian* religion, as the *Levites* among God's people, and they were given to the studies of true philosophy : neither could any be king of the *Persians*, who had not first been exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the *magi*. *Sixtus Senensis* in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus* hath two kinds of magick ; his own words are these : *Et ne quem moveant præmissa Polychronii & Theophili testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse magiam ; alteram ubique ab Origene damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut vere aut apparenter operatur ; alteram ab Origene laudatam, quæ ad practicam naturalis philosophiæ pertinet docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium* : That the testimonies of *Theophilus* and *Polychronius*, saith he, may not move any man, it is to be understood that magick is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by *Origen* ; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by covenants made with devils : the other commended by *Origen* ; which appertaineth to the practic part of natural philosophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally. This partition *Jerome* doth embrace in the first of

<sup>1</sup> De civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 2. <sup>2</sup> See upon his Comment. in Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2. <sup>3</sup> Toto in mundo lucet. <sup>4</sup> Plin. & Pict. <sup>5</sup> De præp. <sup>6</sup> Bib. l. 6. fol. 424. <sup>7</sup> De præp. l. 1. c. 1. <sup>8</sup> Laert. l. 1. <sup>9</sup> Peucer de divin. in c. de mag. fol. 125. & 136. <sup>10</sup> Bib. l. 6. fol. 424. his



his commentaries upon *Daniel*; where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between these four kinds of wise men formerly remembred, he useth this distinction; *Quos nos Hariolos, ceteri ἐπαοιδῆς (id est) Incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; malefici, qui sanguine utuntur & victimis, & sepe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldeis Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint philosophi Chaldeorum: & ad artis hujus scientiam reges quoque & principes ejusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate Domini Salvatoris ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes in sanctam Bethlehem adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente.* They whom we call forcerers, and others interpret inchanters, seem to me such as perform things by words; magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; witches, that use blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the *Chaldeans* I take them to be signified by the name of conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call mathematicians. But common custom takes magicians for witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own nation: for they are the philosophers of the *Chaldeans*: yea kings and princes of that nation do all that they do according to the knowledge of this art: whence at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour they first of all understood his birth, and coming unto holy *Bethlehem* did worship the child, the star from above shewing him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference between the doctrine of a magician, and the abuse of the word. For tho' some writers affirm, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere factò utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque*; That he is called a magician now-a-days, who having entered league with the devil, useth his help to any matter; yet (as our Saviour said of divorce) it was not so from the beginning. For the art of magick is of the wisdom of nature; other arts which undergo that title were invented by the falshood, subtlety and envy of the devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies *per malam fidem*, by an evil faith: in the former no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work to things that suffer. And tho' by the *Jews* those excellent magicians, philosophers and divines, which came to worship our Saviour *Christ*, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecassphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. *Consuetudo autem communis magos pro maleficis accipit*; Common custom, saith <sup>a</sup> St. Jerome, understandeth witches under the name of magicians: and antiquity, saith <sup>b</sup> Peter Martyr, by the word [*magi*] understood good and wise men. <sup>c</sup>*Quid igitur expavescis magi nomen formidolose, nomen evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat & sacerdotem?* O thou fearful one, saith *Picinius*, why doubtest thou to use the name of *Magus*, a name gracious in the gospel, which doth not signify a witch or conjurer, but a wise man and a priest? For what brought this slander to that study and profession but only idle ignorance, the parent of causeless admiration? <sup>d</sup>*Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ revera opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratore demonum naturas ipsas vel conjungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter*

*ad operandum expedientium facta sunt; opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujusmodi est magia naturalis, quam necromantiam multi improprie vocant.* The marvellousness of some works, which indeed are natural, hath been the cause of this slander: but because these works have been done by procurement of devils joining the natures together, or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among these works is natural magick, which men call very improperly necromancy.

*Mirandula* in his *Apology* goeth further: <sup>e</sup> *For by understanding, saith he, the uttermost activity of natural agents we are assisted to know the divinity of Christ: for otherwise (to use his own words) Ignoratis terminis potentie & virtutis rerum naturalium, stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, que fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia*; The terms or limits of natural power and virtue not understood, we must needs doubt whether those very works which *Christ* did, may not be done by natural means: after which he goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non heretice, non superstitiose dixi, sed verissime & Catholice, per talem magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi*; Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and catholickly, that by such magick we are furthered in knowing the divinity of *Christ*. And seeing the *Jews* and others the enemies of *Christian* religion, do impudently and impiously object, that those miracles which *Christ* wrought were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula*, a man for his years fuller of knowledge than any that this latter age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of nature's works being known, the works which *Christ* did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man could do, do manifestly testify of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held nature therein but as a pencil, and by a power infinitely supreme and divine: and thereby those that were faithless, were either converted or put to silence.

### SECT. III.

*That the good knowledge in the ancient magick is not to be condemned; tho' the devil here as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evil things under the name and colour of good things.*

**S**EEING therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a magician (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than *Divinorum cultor & interpres*; A studious observer and expounder of divine things: and the art itself (I mean the art of natural magick) no other, *Quam naturalis philosophiæ absoluta consummatio*, Than the absolute perfection of natural philosophy. Certainly then it proceedeth from ignorance, and no way sorteth with wise and learned men *promiscue*, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawful and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and, to use *St. Paul's* words, *With those beggarly rudiments*, which the devil hath shuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and beseeleth graceless men. For if we condemn natural magick, or the wisdom of nature, because the devil, who knoweth more than any man, doth also teach witches and poisoners the harmful parts of herbs, drugs, minerals, and excrements: then may we by the same rule condemn the physician, and the art of healing. For the devil also in the oracles of *Ambro-*

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. in Dan.

<sup>b</sup> Pet. Mart. loc.

<sup>c</sup> Mar. Picin. part prim. fol. 573

<sup>d</sup> Gul. Parisien. de lege, c. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Fol. 80



*raus, Amphiloehus, Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in dreams, what herbs and drugs were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of judgment is ignorant, that the devil from the beginning hath sought to thrust himself into the same employment among the ministers and servants of God, changing himself for that purpose into an angel of light. He hath led men to idolatry as a doctrine of religion; he hath thrust in his prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the art of astrology, by giving a divine power to the stars, teaching men to esteem them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as <sup>a</sup> *Bunting* observeth) it is true that judicial astrology is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the art; considering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience sheweth) have and exercise their operation upon the inferiour. For the sun, and the star of *Mars* do dry; the moon doth moisten, and govern the tides of the sea. Again, the planets, as they have several and proper names, so have they several and proper virtues: the stars do also differ in beauty and in magnitude; and to all the stars hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not. <sup>b</sup> *He counteth the number of the stars, and calleth them by their names.* But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestial influences, the devil ceaseth not to shuffle in his superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret virtues of nature hath he fastned his doctrine of characters, numbers and incantations; and taught men to believe in the strength of words and letters: (which without faith in God are but ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the all-powerful word of God, or to diminish the glory of God's creating word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, He was never ignorant, that both the wise and the simple observe when the sea-birds forsake the shores and fly into the land, that commonly some great storm followeth; that the high flying of the kite and the swallow betokeneth fair weather; that the crying of crows and bathing of ducks foreshew rain: for they feel the air moistened in their quills. And it is written in *Jeremy* the prophet, *Even the stork in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow.* Hereupon this enemy of mankind working upon these, as upon the rest of God's creatures, long time abused the heathen, by teaching them to observe the flying of fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill success in the war: and withal to look into their entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the livers and bowels of birds and beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by dreams, not only to warn and teach his prophets and apostles, but heathen princes also; as <sup>d</sup> *Abimelech* to restore *Sarah* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Joseph*, and by dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharaoh*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the east, and others. For as it is remembered in *Job*: <sup>e</sup> *In dreams and visions of the night when sleep falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the ears, that he might cause man to return from his enterprise*: therefore, I say, doth the devil also practise his divinations by dreams, or after *Parisiensis*, *Divinitatis imitationes*, His mock-divinity. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own dreams: *Mithridates*

of those of his concubines. Yea, the *Romans* finding the inconvenience hereof, because all dreams, without distinction of causes, were drawn to divination, forbad the same by a law, as by the words of prohibition, <sup>f</sup> *Aut narrandis somniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*, it may appear. Likewise by the law of God in *Deuteronomy* xiii. seducing dreamers were ordered to be slain. Yet it is not to be contemned that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his dream for two grievous diseases that oppress'd him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemy's* poison'd wound; nor that which <sup>g</sup> *St. Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoise*, whose son (the father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his father in a dream where the acquittance lay to discharge it; nor that of *Astyages* of his daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, forasmuch as the cause is not in ourselves, this place denieth dispute.

#### SECT. IV.

*That Daniel's misliking Nabuchodonosor's condemning of the magicians doth not justify all their practices.*

**B**UT it may be objected, that if such divinations as the heathens commonly used were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange revelations: how came it to pass that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the magicians of *Chaldea*, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people <sup>i</sup> God himself commanded to be slain. To this divers answers may be given. First, It seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldeans*, because they acknowledged that the dream of the king, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any art, either natural or diabolical: *For there is no other (said the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh*: and herein they confessed the power of the ever-living God.

Secondly, It may be conjectured, and that with good reason, that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawful arts, but were merely magicians and naturalists: and therefore when the king commanded to kill all, *Daniel* persuaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawful, it may be gathered by *Daniel's* instructions: For himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the inchanters; of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi* or *Wise men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawful arts (tho' not unlawful according to the law of that state) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded human power to pierce the king's thought, which the devil himself could not know. So then in *Daniel's* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the magicians, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

<sup>a</sup> Bunt. in Chron. <sup>b</sup> Psal. 147. 4. <sup>c</sup> Jer. 8. 7. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 12. 17. <sup>e</sup> Job 33. 17. <sup>f</sup> G. Parisien. de leg. 2. 4. <sup>g</sup> Codex de magic. & mathemat. leg. & si accepta. <sup>h</sup> Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda. <sup>i</sup> Deut. 13. and 18. Levit. 20.



## SECT. V.

*The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.*

Notwithstanding this mixture every where of good with evil, of falshood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: the good, the truth, the purity in every kind may well be embraced: as in the ancient worshipping of God by sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the elders, that therefore forbore to offer sacrifice to the God of all power, because the devil in the image of *Baal, Astaroth, Chemoth, Jupiter, Apollo*, and the like, was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of astrology terrify *Abraham* (if we may believe the most ancient and religious<sup>a</sup> historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehorte wise and learned men in these days from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the stars and other lights of heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The sympathetical and antipathetical working of herbs, plants, stones, minerals, with their other utmost virtues sometimes taught by the devil, and applied by his ministers to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrify the honest and learned physician or magician from the using of them to the help and comfort of mankind: neither can the illusions whereby the devil betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observation of dreams; so far as with a good faith and a religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, The<sup>b</sup> prohibition to mark flying of fowls (as signs of good or evil success) hath no reference at all to the crying of crows against rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For if we confound arts with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemn all honest trades and interchange among men (for there are that deceive in all professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornful and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we should shew ourselves *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce*; Unthankful we should shew ourselves toward those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.

Indeed not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the mathematicks also and professors thereof; tho' those that are excellently learned judge of it in this sort. *In speculo mathematico verum illud, quod in omnifabili queritur, relucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate*; In the glass of the mathematicks, that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obscure image, but in a near and manifest representation.

## SECT. VI.

*Of the divers kinds of unlawful magick.*

It is true that there are many arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of magick, and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy* or *Goe-tia*; and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the devil himself gives answer instead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that

the immortal souls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soul: and therefore the soul is not to be found in the graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of raising up devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These men are so distracted, as to believe that by terrible words they make the devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot keep out a mouse) they therein, as they suppose, insconce themselves against that great monster. Doubtless they forgot that the devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness; no, not by the fearful word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in God's seat; that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour Christ, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the devil out of hell, and terrify him with a phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the bodies and souls of those which raise them up; as his majesty in his book aforementioned hath excellently taught, *That the devil's obedience is only secundum quid, scilicet, ex pacto; respective, that is, upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant devils, which inhabit *Jamblicus's* imagination; but sure I am, the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, do no way need any such enforcement.

Or it may be that these conjurers deal altogether with *Cardan's* mortal devils, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphyrus*, who taught that these kind of devils lived not above a thousand years: which *Plutarch*, in his treatise *De oraculorum defectu*, confirmeth, making example of the great god *Pan*. For were it true, that the devils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they always fear those words or threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the<sup>c</sup> familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the air, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by *St. Peter's* prayers (of which *St. Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same prank at other times upon his own accord the devil play'd with *Theodotus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortal fall that he had. The like success had *Budas*, a principal pillar of the *Manichean* heresy, as *Socrates* in his ecclesiastical history witnesseth: and for a manifest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the devil leaves all witches and forcerers at the gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Pegasus*, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: *For to those that received not the truth, saith St. Paul, God shall send them strong illusions.* Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) his majesty, in the 2d book and the 4th chapter of the *Demonology*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include spirits in glasses and crystals: of whom *Cusanus*: *Facti sunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere: quia spiritus non clauditur corpore*; They are foolish inchanters which will

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. ex Artapan. & Polyhist. <sup>b</sup> Deut. 18. 10. <sup>c</sup> Cusan. Comp. Theolog. c. 1. <sup>d</sup> Sunt in mundo genus quoddam potentatum valde divinum, indiscretum & inconsideratum; & quod neque verum a falso, neque possibile discernit ab impossibili. L. Vives in cap. 11. l. 10. <sup>e</sup> Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 10. <sup>f</sup> Cusan. exer. l. 2. <sup>g</sup> Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 16. <sup>h</sup> Lib. 1. c. 21. <sup>i</sup> 2d Hell. 2. <sup>k</sup> Exercit. l. 2.



shut up their spirits within their nails or in a glass; for a spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

There is also another art besides the aforementioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or white magick; a pretended conference with good spirits or angels, whom by sacrifice and invocation they draw out of heaven, and communicate withal. But the administering spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator: so seeing they are most free spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the devil have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of heaven by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministry of infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances and abstract natures, either by sacrifice, vow, or enforcement, are men of evil faith, and in the power of Satan. For good spirits or angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are devils which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked divinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the air, called *Matæotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and, indeed, the worst of all other is fascination or witchcraft: the practisers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloody, than the devil himself. And these accursed creatures having sold their souls to the devil, work two ways; either by the devil immediately, or by the art of poisoning. The difference between necromancers and witches, his majesty hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command, the other obey the devil.

There is another kind of petty witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of beasts and birds, of which <sup>a</sup> *Pythagoras* was accused, because an eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the art of falconry, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet's* dove, which he had used to feed with wheat out of his ear: which dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet's* shoulder, and thrust his bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomet* persuading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the enchanters in the world: for whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any beast as he did his horse.

For the drawing of serpents out of their dens, or killing them in their holes by enchantments (which the *Marfians*, a people of *Italy*, practised. <sup>b</sup> *Colubros dirumpit Marfia cantu*, Inchanting *Marfia* makes the snakes to burst.) That it hath been used, it appears *Psalms* lviii. 6. tho' I doubt not, but that many impostures may be in this kind; and even by natural causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womans hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other magick or enchantment, than to draw out a mouse with a piece of toasted cheese.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of divers ways by which the devil seemeth to work his wonders.*

**B**UT to the end that we may not doat with the *Manichæes*, who make two powers of Gods:

that we do not give to the devil any other dominion than he hath (not to speak of his ability, when he is the minister of God's vengeance, as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil angels) he otherwise worketh but three ways: the first is, by moving the cogitations and affections of men: the second, by the exquisite knowledge of nature: and the third, by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first a natural impotency: the second, their own reason dissuading them from daring over much, or indeed (and that which is the only certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, <sup>c</sup> *Tenens eos ligatos* (saith the same author) *velut immanissimas belluas*. *St. Augustine* was of opinion, that the frogs which *Pharaoh's* forcerers produced were not natural, but that the devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For as *Vairus* observeth, those frogs of the enchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof saith *St. Augustine*, *Nec sane demones naturas creant, sed quæ a Deo creatæ sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt*; The devils create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not: of which in the 83d question he giveth the reason, *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet*; that is, The devil fills with certain clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.

And as *Tertullian* in his book *de anima* rightly conceiveth, if the devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazle those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the devil entreth in, beginning with the fancy, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soul: for the <sup>d</sup> fancy is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

*Aquinas* on the contrary held that those frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the art, but (according to *Thomas*) *per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*. By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and *St. Augustine* in another case like unto this, to wit, of the turning of *Diomedes's* companions into birds, *per activa cum passivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: tho' I am not persuaded that *St. Augustine* believed that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis*, a man very learned, also confirmeth. For speaking of natural magick, he useth these words. <sup>e</sup> *De hujusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutoriis, quæ ipsa semina naturæ confortant & acunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia demonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in hiis docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in hiis glorificant*; In such works, saith he, the sudden generation of frogs, and lice, and worms, and some other creatures is: in all which nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the seeds of nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they

<sup>a</sup> *Lucil. in Satyr.* <sup>b</sup> *Gul. Paris. de universo, p. 2. c. 70.* <sup>c</sup> *Maxima vis est phantasie ad errores.*



so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the work of nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the powers of devils. But they who are learned in these arts marvel not at such working, but glorify the Creator. Now by these two ways, the devils do most frequently work, to wit, by knowing the uttermost of nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unfearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he caused sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also natural? or may it be objected that he foretellet things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion? it is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? in elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the prophets: and he foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and observed the success of every council: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction: <sup>a</sup> he that is prince of the air, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabit the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes, guess rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like causes conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by riddles, as,

*Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim.*

If *Cræsus* over *Halys* go,  
Great kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own kingdom, or of his enemies. And thus far we grant the devil may proceed in predictions, which otherwise belong to God only; as it is in *Isaiab*, *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: shew us at all times and certainly what is to come.* <sup>b</sup> *Solius enim divine intelligentiæ ac sapientiæ est occulta nosse & revelare*; It is only proper to God's understanding and wisdom to know and reveal hidden things.

#### SECT. VIII.

*That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the devil: and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.*

**T**O conclude, it may be objected that the devil hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel* raised by the witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed that some of the devil's acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. <sup>c</sup> *Justin Martyr* was sometimes of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed: and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from which authorities those men

borrow strength which so believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion: and so did *St. Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: for in his questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to think that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animæ piorum a corpore separate, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum vero ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur corpora reviviscant*; The souls of the godly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death.

And (besides <sup>d</sup> *St. Augustine*) *Justin Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the souls of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all. *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyris*) *quum a corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris Bonitati divine commendari*; We must believe when the souls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodness as into the hands of a most dear father. If then they be in heaven, the power of the devil cannot stretch so high: it in hell, *ab inferno nulla est redemptio*, from hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death; *Unum* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne æterno; alterum in regno æterno*; The one in eternal fire; the other in God's eternal kingdom. And tho' it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the Gloss upon the same text finds it ridiculous. <sup>e</sup> *Credunt & male, quia sunt phantasmata* (saith the Gloss;) They believe, and they believe amiss, because they be but phantasms, or apparitions. For whereas any such voice hath been heard, saying, I am the soul of such a one; *hec oratio a fraude atque deceptione diabolica est*; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the devil, saith *Chrysostom*. Likewise of the same saith *Tertullian*. *Ab sit ut animam cujuslibet sancti, nedum prophetæ, a demonio credamus extractam*; God forbid that we should think that the soul of any holy man, much less of a prophet, should be drawn up again by a devil.

It is true that the scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; so do they the wooden images *Cherubims*: and false brazen gods are called gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26th of *Ecclesiasticus* (a book not numbered among the canonical scriptures) as *St. Augustine* himself in his treatise, if it be his, *de cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth; yet *Siracides* following the literal sense and phrase of the scriptures, proveth nothing at all: for tho' the devil would willingly persuade, that the souls (yea even of just men) were in his power, yet so far is it from the promises of the scriptures, and from God's just and merciful nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as *St. Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that book before cited) might rightly term it a detestable opinion to think. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him either by dreams, by *Urim*, or by his prophets: it were sottish to conceive, that he would permit the devil, or a wicked witch to raise a prophet from the dead in *Saul's* respect: it being also <sup>f</sup> contrary to his own divine law to ask counsel of the dead; as in *Deuteronomy* 18, and elsewhere. Therefore it was the devil, and not

<sup>a</sup> Ephes. 2. 2. & 6. 12. Diabolus magnum habet rerum usum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima, c. 26, 27, &c. <sup>b</sup> Guil. Parisiensis de legib. ca. 24. <sup>c</sup> Just. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Ortho. quest. 52. Ambr. in Luc. 1. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simpl. 1. 2. p. 3. De Civitate Dei, l. 13. c. 8. <sup>d</sup> Aug. de verb. Apost. 18. Just. Mart. ad Orthodox. q. 75. Hilar. psal. 2. in fine. Tert. de Anima in fin. Athan. q. 13. Chrysost. hom. 19. in Evang. Matth. <sup>e</sup> 20. q. 5. Episcopi. <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings 17. 22. 2 Kings 4. 34. Nullus enim magus aut daemon mortuum vere unquam excitavit. Wier. de fascino.



the soul of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those devils which *St. Augustine* calleth *ludificatores animantium sibi subjectorum*, mockers of their own vassals, casting before their eyes a semblance of human bodies, and framing sounds to their ears like the voices of men, do also persuade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselves both possess, and have power over the souls of men: *Eludit diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith *L. Vives*; The devil beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine. These then are the bounds of the devil's power, whom if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For when he is not the instrument of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassal: *poteſt ad malum invitare, non poteſt trahere*, saith *St. Augustine*, he can allure, but he cannot inforce to evil. Such as think otherwise may go into the number remembered by *Lucretius*.

*Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis  
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.*

We fear by light, as children in the dark.

## CHAP. XII.

*Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and  
of his wife Semiramis: and of other of  
her acts.*

### SECT. I.

*Of the magnificent building of Nineveh by Ninus:  
and of Babylon by Semiramis.*

**B**UT to come back to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Nineveh*: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the city it self, it is agreed by all prophane writers, and confirmed by the scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass <sup>a</sup> 440 *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth as three chariots might pass on the rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500 towers which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and a strength no less admirable for the nature of those times.

But this city (built in the plains of *Affyria*, and on the banks of *Tigris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus*'s time; and (as ancient historians report, and more lately *Naclerus*) had the name of *Campſor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

For these works of *Babylon* and *Nineveh* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Affyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. <sup>b</sup> *Ninus* finished *Nineveh*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*: wherein she sought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed in the first age when princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build towns and villages for the use of themselves and their people without either walls or towers; and how they might discharge the earth of woods, briars, bushments, and waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that

age, when ambition was in strong youth: and purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

### SECT. II.

*Of the end of Ninus: and beginning of Semiramis's reign.*

**T**HIS she did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had mastered *Bactria*, and subjected unto his empire all those regions between it and the *Mediterranean* sea and *Helleſpont* (*Asia* the less excepted) and finished the work of *Nineveh*, he left the world in the year thereof 2019 after he had reigned 52 years. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the absolute sovereign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenens*, and others, speak of five days. In which time (moved either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slain. But this seemeth rather a scandal cast on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her after his death the sole rule of the *Affyrian* empire: of which *Ninus* was said to be the first monarch, because he changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldea* to *Nineveh* in *Affyria*. <sup>c</sup> *Justin* reports that *Semiramis* (the better to invest herself, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented herself to the people in the person of her son *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the king of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her son *Ninias* had such a stature at his father's death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the empire from him 42 years after by any such subtilty (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his mother's prosperous government and undertakings.

### SECT. III.

*Of Semiramis's parentage, and education, and metamorphosis of her mother.*

**S**OME writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of base parentage, calling her after the name of her country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her city wherein she was born, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*, of *Ascalon*, the ancient city and metropolis of the *Philistines*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta*, a *Courtizan* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautiful. Others say that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was sometime a recluse, and had profess'd a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a temple dedicated seated on the bank of a lake adjoining to *Ascalon*; and afterwards falling in love with a goodly young man, she was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme punishment) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hid-

<sup>a</sup> Justin l. 1. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. l. on. 1. <sup>b</sup> Herod. l. 1. Justin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2, & 3. <sup>c</sup> Alian l. 7. ex Dione.



den among the high reeds which grew on the banks of the lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild beasts) the same was fed by certain birds, which used to feed upon or near those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoining to this lake had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of vow; notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her temple into the lake adjoining, and (as the poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and human shape. It is thought, that from this *Derceta* the invention of that idol of the *Philistines* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a man's face, and a fish's body: into whose temple when the ark of God was brought, the idol fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so *St. Jerome* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* writ it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a fish, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being fundred from the body.

For my self I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistines* was an idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this city being maritime (as all those of the *Philistines* were, and so were the best of *Phenicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

## S E C T. IV.

*Of her expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.*

**B**UT for her pedigree I leave it to the *Affyrian* heralds: and for her vicious life I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this lady, then there never lived any prince or princess more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon*, and elsewhere, and for the wars she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprise of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus*, report that she never returned: and that of all her most powerful army there survived but only 20 persons: the rest being either drowned in the river of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or slain by the sword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred: so were those that returned less than could have escaped of such an army, as consisted of four millions and upwards. For these numbers which she levied by her lieutenant *Dercetæus* (saith <sup>a</sup> *Suidas*) did consist of footmen three millions; of horsemen one million; of chariots armed with hooks on each side one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon camels as many; of camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw hides for all uses three hundred thousand; of gallies with brazen heads three thousands, by which she might transport over *Indus* at once three hundred thousand soldiers: which gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beast but

fed upon grass) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himself hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, and afterwards: whose army (tho' the same was far inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to overload the belief of any reasonable man. For all authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an army of 1700000 and gathered together (therein to pass the *Hellepont*) three thousand gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the several provinces whence those gallies were taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soever the army of *Semiramis* consisted: the same being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates* upon the banks of *Indus*, *canticum cantavit extremum*, she sang her last song; and (as antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a dove (the bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gave a dove in their ensigns.

## S E C T. V.

*Of the temple of Belus built by Semiramis: and of the pyramids of Egypt.*

**A**MONG all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (besides the wall of the city of *Babylon*) was the temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this city, invironed with a wall carried four square of great height and beauty, having on each square certain brazen gates curiously engraven. In the *Core* of the square she raised a tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a basis of a less circuit) she set a second tower; and so eight in all, one above another: upon the top whereof the *Chaldeans* priests made the observation of the stars, because this tower overtopped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruins of this tower, have many travellers been deceived; who suppose that they have seen a part of *Nimrod's* tower, when it was but the foundation of this temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every year (saith *Herodotus*.) This temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorn with the spoils of *Jerusalem*, and of the temple of *Solomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* redelivered. This temple *Xerxes* evened with the soil; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired by the persuasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any such work. the *Egyptians* (saith <sup>b</sup> *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the same superstition of the stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the *Pyramids* by *Memphis*, which were *conspiciæ undique navigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these pyramids <sup>c</sup> *Bellonius*, a careful observer of rarities (who being in *Egypt* mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommite, & tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez.* The best archer standing on the top of one of these pyramids, and shooting an arrow from thence into the air as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

<sup>a</sup> Suid. f. 845. lit. S.<sup>b</sup> Procl. in *Timæo*, l. 1.<sup>c</sup> Bell. l. 2.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
WORLD:

INTREATING of the  
*Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM, to the De-  
struction of the Temple of SOLOMON.*

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The SECOND BOOK.

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CHAP. I.

*Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham : And of the use of this  
Question, for the ordering of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.*

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SECT. I.

*Of some of the successors of Semiramis : with a brief transition to the question, about  
the time of the birth of Abraham.*



AFTER the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* succeeded her in the empire, on whom *Berosus Annianus* bestows the conquest of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaster* ; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Orosius*, and all other approved writers.

For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of war at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealousy he every year changed his provincial governours, and built colleges for the *Chaldean* priests, his astronomers : nor by *Arius* his successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras* ; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias's* time : nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arius*,

but that he added sumptuosity, invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the war : I will for this present pass them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose ways are warrantable (till we meet these *Assyrians* again in this story) by whom, and by whose issues we shall best give date to the kings of *Babylon* : *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes* or *Balanus*. For otherwise, if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the scriptures set us down without error, by the reigns of the *Assyrian* princes, we shall but patch up the story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the scriptures do not help us (as *Plus. in Theseo*) *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis historiam non constare* : No marvel if then in things very ancient, history want assurance.

The



The better therefore to find out, in what age of the world; and how long these *Assyrian* kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abraham's* birth, and in what year the same happened after the flood. Now since all agree, that the forty-third year of *Ninus* was the birth year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the scriptures, in what year after the flood the birth of *Abraham* happened, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling between those chronologers, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the most part make 292 or 293 years; others 352 years between *Abraham's* birth and the flood; a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

*Archilochus de temporibus* (as we find him in *Annius*) makes but 250 years from the flood to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was born in the forty-third year of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius* and *St. Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of *Abraham's* birth was in the year after the flood 293, or, as the most part of all chronologers gather, the year 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never-resolved question, and labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give reason for my own opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, tho' the fewer in number: with whom I rather chuse to endure the wounds of those darts, which envy casteth at novelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easy ways of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

#### SECT. II.

*A proposal of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292 after the flood, and not in the year 352.*

THOSE which seek to prove this account of 292 years, between the general flood and *Abraham's* birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the scripture. *So Terah lived 70 years, and begat Abraham, Nabor, and Haran*: 2dly, Upon the opinion of *Josephus*, *St. Augustine*, *Beda*, *Isidore*, and many of the ancient *Hebrews* before them: authorities (while they are slightly look'd over) seeming of great weight.

From the place of scripture last remembred, the latter chronologers gather these arguments. First, Out of the words as they lie; that *Terah* at 70 years begat *Abraham*, *Nabor* and *Haran*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest son of *Terah*, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly, It was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the blessing; and not of *Nabor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this chapter was to set down the genealogy of Christ, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nabor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, That if *Abraham* were not the eldest son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more assuredly in the 130th year of *Terah's* age, than in the year 131, 132, &c. *Moses* having no-where set down precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year in which his father died.

Fourthly, It is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130 years, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100 years.

#### SECT. III.

*The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and that, after his father's death.*

TO answer all which objections it is very easy, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of my own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of *Abraham's* journey into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his travels, that serveth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*: the latter after his father's death, the former presently upon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his father's death at *Haran*: a conjecture drawn from a place in the epistle to the *Hebrews*; where it is written, *"By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed God, to go into a place, which he should afterwards receive for an inheritance: and he went out not knowing whither he went."* This supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition it self.

Surely that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of *St. Stephen*: *"And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell, that was out of Haran into Canaan."* Against which place, so direct and plain, what force hath any man's fancy or supposition, persuading that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*; one before *Terah's* death, and another after, no such thing being found in the scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledg'd can pick any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* passed into *Canaan*, and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But that he performed the commandment of God after his father's death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the scriptures themselves are true. For after his father was dead, saith the martyr *Stephen*, *God brought him into this land.* And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abraham's* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Jews* his adversaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself and the gospel of Christ. Indeed we shall find small reason to make us think that *Abraham* passed and repassed those ways, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he



had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in God's promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a region of strong and stubborn nations: a nation of valiant and resolved idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to fly into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no son to inherit the promise. And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, Let us consider the ways themselves, which *Abraham* had to pass over, the length whereof was 300 *English* miles: and thro' countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great river of *Euphrates*, to travel thro' the dangerous and barren deserts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easy walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300 miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For if he travelled it twice, then was his journey in all 1800 miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy, the manner of *Abraham's* departing from *Haran* hath more proof, that he had not *Animus revertendi*, not any thought of looking backward, than any man's bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him: <sup>a</sup> *Then Abraham took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they possess'd, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife and kinsmen, and their goods; it is not probable, that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a country as that was: or if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and press'd with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a mere stranger both in religion and nation.

What the cause might be of *Abraham's* return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his father's death: so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his father's death, or some time after, being then by their account 135 years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within four or five years after that time his greatest, or (as may seem) his only care? Did not he bind with a very solemn oath his principal servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a wife for *Isaac* his son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly design any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had been there in person

so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgment, in chusing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other desirable qualities, to be link'd in marriage with his only son, who was then 35 years old, before which age most of the patriarchs after the flood had begotten children, rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any in that country. But let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his business when he was there, or that somewhat happened which no man can devise. What might be the reason, that <sup>c</sup> *Abraham's* man, in doing his master's errand, was fain to lay open the whole story of his master's prosperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a son in her old age? If *Abraham* himself, a more certain author, had so lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how averse he was from permitting his son to be carried thither, even tho' a wife of his own kindred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. <sup>d</sup> *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a wife of his own lineage; not without God's special approbation, by whose <sup>e</sup> blessing he prospered in that journey: yet he lived there as a servant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himself away from thence by flight. For altho' it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's wife*, contains much matter. Let us but consider *Mesopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt* out of which the whole nation of the *Israelites* was delivered: we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the *Hebrews*. When <sup>f</sup> *Hezekiah* was visited with an honourable embassy from *Babel*, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Isaiab*, made him to know, that the counsel of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they sat down and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that <sup>g</sup> *Sesac* and *Neco* kings of *Egypt* brought calamity upon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt*, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomy* xvii. 16. that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their king might not cause the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that he never did return, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination: and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can persuade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficient, that St. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 12. 5.    <sup>b</sup> Gen. 24.    <sup>c</sup> Gen. 24. 35, 36, &c.  
<sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 11. 25. and 2 Kings 23. 29.  
<sup>e</sup> No. 8

<sup>f</sup> Gen. 24. 6, 8.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. 28.

<sup>h</sup> 2 Kings 20.

<sup>i</sup> Ps. 1.



And for the rest, when they shew any one scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are precisely set down in the scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea*, to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his father's death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Hai*: thence into *Egypt*: from *Egypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of cattle were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the second time he removed to *Mamre*, near *Hebron*: and thence having pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea*, under *Abimilech*: and after near unto it at *Bersabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his son *Isaac* on the mountain *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one story, either divine or human. Now if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* in his *Cabala* hath feigned, it should in reason be therewithal believed, that he would in those his first travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, family, goods and cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, pass'd thro' the north part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the plain of *Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel* and *Hai*: and so from nation to nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Genesis* xi. *He went forth, going and journeying towards the south*, and always unsettled. By occasion of which wandering to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*.<sup>b</sup> Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the country, we may note, that ere he came to *Bethel* and *Hai*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this land*, shewing it him as unto a stranger therein, and as a land to him unknown. For *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himself, believed in the word of the living God: neither sending before, nor coming first to discover it; but being arrived he received a second promise from God, that he would give those countries unto him and his seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, What should move any man to think, that *Moses* would have omitted any such double journey of *Abraham's*, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? As when he moved from *Sichem*, and seated between *Hai* and *Bethel*, the distance being but twenty miles: and when he moved thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but twenty-four miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and sat down at *Gerar*, being less than six miles; no, *Moses* pass'd over all the times of the first age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting up all between the creation and the flood in six chapters; which age lasted 1656 years: but he bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* fourteen chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175 years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham's* travels, or other actions: or that he would set down those small removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and coming would have mini-

stred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abraham's* story.

## S E C T. IV.

*The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that Terah should beget Abraham in his 130th year.*

NOW touching the objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130th year, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to have a son at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast, and mistaken; *Abraham* having respect only to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many years. For when the angel said unto *Abraham* in his tent door at *Mamre*; *Lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, &c.*

So then, in that it is said *it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sons after *Sarah's* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockshan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Ishback* and *Shuab*: and the eldest of these was born 37 years after *Isaac*: and the youngest 40 years after. What strangeness then, that *Terah* being 130 years old should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of *Abraham* at 100 years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145, and *Isaac* was born in the year 2109, and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145, there remaineth 36; and therefore if *Abraham* begat five sons 36 years after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137 years old; it is not strange, that his father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Boaz*, *Qbed* and *Jesse*, who lived so many years and ages after *Abraham*, begat sons at 100 years, or near it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130, and *Abraham* others at the same age, and seven years after.

## S E C T. V.

*The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abraham's age from the scripture, tho' we make not Abraham the eldest son: and that there was great cause, why in the story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.*

IT followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings *Abraham's* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70 years old. For *Abraham's* age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham's* age, unless we make him the eldest son, is false. For it is plain in the scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205, which was the year of his death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, that *St. Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham's* departure followed the death of his father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205; so as the 75th year of *Abraham* was the 205th year of *Terah*.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 12. 6. <sup>b</sup> Mont. in Caleb. <sup>c</sup> Origen. homil. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 34. Cajetan & Peter. in Gen. which



## SECT. VI.

*That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. xi. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest : together with divers reasons proving that Abraham was not the eldest son of Terah.*

which known, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect unto *Nachor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* only, with whom God established the covenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that *Moses*, for many great and necessary causes, had respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the succession of God's Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nachor* and *Haran*, were they idolators or otherwise. For *Nachor* was the father of *Bethuel* and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca* the mother of *Israel* : and *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcab* : and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob* : *Milcab* also the wife of *Nachor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacob's* great grandmother : and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a son at 90 years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, tho' it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both *Nachor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran* ; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grandchild of *Nachor* ; and *Jacob* *Leah* and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grandchild also of *Nachor* ; it was not superfluous in *Moses* to give light of these men's times and ages. And tho' sometimes they worshipped strange Gods, as it is *Joshua* xxiv. 2. yet I see no cause to think, that they still continued idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural country, and city of *Ur* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldea* ; but *Lot*, his son, followed *Abraham* in *Canaan* ; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nachor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gave his sons daughters to *Isaac* and *Jacob*, his own kinsmen ; he himself having also married in his own family ; not thinking it pleasing unto God to mix themselves with strangers and idolaters. And that these men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had seen the servant of *Abraham* standing at the well beside *Charran*, he invited him to his father's house in this manner ; <sup>a</sup> *Come in thou blessed of Jehovah*, &c. And when this servant of *Abraham's* demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said ; <sup>b</sup> *This thing is proceeded of Jehovah* ; meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so ; wherein he acknowledged God's providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written ; *Take, go, that she may be thy master's son's wife, even as Jehovah hath said*. This their often using of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now altho' it be the opinion of *St. Chrysostom*, and some later writers, as *Cajetan Oleaster*, *Muscus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an idolater, because he retained certain idols or household gods, which *Rachel* stole from him ; yet that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham*, and of *Nachor*, and he called *Abraham's* servant, blessed of *Jehovah*, as aforesaid. So as for my self, I dare not avow, that these men were out of the church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

TO the main objection, which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove, that *Abraham* was the eldest son of *Terah*, and born in the 70th year of *Terah's* life : grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the scripture, <sup>c</sup> *And Terah lived 70 years, and begat Abraham, Nachor and Haran* : To this I say, that altho' *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born son of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appear that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first sons in nature and time : for *Seth* was not the first-born of *Adam*, nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*, nor *Jacob* of *Isaac*, nor *Judah* and *Joseph* of *Jacob*, nor *David* the eldest son of *Jesse*, nor *Solomon* of *David*, as is formerly remembred.

But it is written of *Noah* ; *Noah was five hundred years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham and Japhet* : shewing that at the 500th year of his age he began to get the first of those three sons. For according to *St. Augustine*, speaking generally, <sup>d</sup> *Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio future dignitatis : in qua excelluit Abraham* ; The order of natiuity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity : in which *Abraham* was preferred. And therefore as in the order of the sons of *Noah*, so is it here ; where it is said, *That Terah lived 70 years and begat Abraham, Nachor and Haran* : For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget sons, himself being begotten by his father *Nachor* at 29, as others his ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to *Noah* ; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130, *Enosh* *Kenan* at 90, *Kenan* *Mahalaleel* at 70, *Mahalaleel* *Jared* at 60, *Noah* was yet 500 years old when he began to beget the first of his three sons as aforesaid. And *St. Augustine* in the place before-cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terah's* sons, than otherwise : tho' for his excellency he was worthily named first. His own words are these : *Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus Abraham : sed merito excellentie, qua in scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus*. It might be, saith he, that *Abraham* was begotten later ; but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in scripture he is much commended. So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing who was first or last born : either in those issues of *Noah* or in these of *Terah* : neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing : for *Moses* nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in God's favour. *Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio divina, que comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare*. Piety, saith he, or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it piety and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to *Shem* among the children of *Noah*, and to *Abraham* among those of *Thare*.

For the rest it is manifest, that <sup>e</sup> *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75th year of his age. And it was in

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 24. 31.<sup>b</sup> Gen. 24. 50.<sup>c</sup> Gen. 11. 26.<sup>d</sup> Aug. quest. super Gen. 25.<sup>e</sup> Gen. 12. 4.



*Canaan* that <sup>a</sup> *Hagar* bare him *Ismael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86 years. It was at *Gerar* (the south border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had consumed 100 years. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* rose out, when he <sup>b</sup> rescued *Lot* and overthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83 years: and it is as manifest that he parted from *Haran* after his father *Terah* was dead. But if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70 years old, then must *Abraham* have been 135 years when he first set his foot in *Canaan*: seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted, and so 70 added to 135, made 205, the true age of *Terah*, which is contrary to all those places of scripture before remembered. For he entred at 75, he rescued *Lot* at 83, he had *Ismael* at 86, he had *Isaac* at 100, proved by the former places.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldest son of *Terah*, and born in the 70th year of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Isaac* had been 35 years old, and *Ismael* 49, both which must then have been born in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: unless we should either deny credit to *St. Stephen*, who saith that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his father's death; or else give credit to the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his father's death: because the *Greek* word *μετά* may be translated by the *Latin* *sub*, as well as by *post*: which tho' elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about *Terah's* death, which were 60 years before. Wherefore, supposing *Abraham* to have been born in the 70th year of *Terah*, we must give those times and places of birth to *Abraham's* children, which no authority will warrant; for *Abraham* had no children in *Ur* of *Chaldea*, nor in *Haran*: nor in 10 years after his arrival into *Canaan*. For the year of *Terah's* death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the year of the world 2083: and the year of *Ismael's* birth was the world's year 2094, which maketh 10 years difference. And that *Isaac* was born in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the mountain *Moriab* therein, 39 miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three angels first of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of *Abraham's* sons were born in *Mesopotamia*: nor while *Terah* lived: nor in less than 10 years after *Terah's* death: and then consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest son of *Terah*, nor born in the 70th year of *Terah's* age.

Thirdly, Whereas <sup>c</sup> *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75, if *Terah* had begotten him at 70, then had *Terah* lived but 145, for 70 and 75 make 145, which must also have been the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* lived 205 years; and therefore was not *Abraham* born in the 70th year of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifest, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldest brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iscah* wanted but 10 years of *Abraham's* age: *Isaac* being born when *Abraham* was 100, and *Sarah* 90 years old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* must have begotten *Sarah* at 9 years old: for granting that *Haran* was born but one year after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within 10 years as old as *Abraham*, then of necessity must *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but 9 years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iscah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signi-

fication; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word *Iscah* or *Isbica* inserted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? for to speak of any thing superfluous it is not used in God's books: and if *Iscah* had not belonged to the story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembered.

Now if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nabor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*, and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Iscah* in this place, were she not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of *Lot* disproveth the eldership of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83 years: and if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were father to *Lot*, *Sarah* and *Milcab*, *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran's* daughters, and *Nabor* the other, *Sarah* also being within 10 years as old as *Abraham*: it may appear to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first and before his father left *Ur* in *Chaldea*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abraham's* eldership, upon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10 years younger than *Abraham* himself. *Lyra's* words are these; *Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipso Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imo nec octo, &c.* and afterwards, *Et ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: Et quia ponendus erat caput stirpis Et generationis sequentis: Et quia primo facta est ei repromissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c.* If therefore (saith *Lyra*) *Haran* was younger than *Abraham* himself, it followeth, that he was not 10 years old when he begat *Sarah*; and therefore it seemeth better to be said, that *Abraham* was the last born of the three sons of *Thare*, nevertheless he is named first for his dignity, both because he was to be ordained head of the stock and generation following, and because the promise of *Christ* was first made unto him, as before it is said of *Sem*.

#### SECT. VII.

*A conclusion of this dispute, noting the authors on both sides: with an admonition that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more improbable.*

IT therefore agreeth with the scriptures, with nature, time, and reason, that *Haran* was the eldest son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was born in the 130th year of *Terah's* life, and not in the 70th year. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after <sup>a</sup> *Terah* died, according to *St. Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when he was <sup>e</sup> 75 years old, these two numbers added make 205 years, the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my self, I have no other end herein, than to manifest the truth of the world's story: I reverence the judgments of the fathers; but I know they were mistaken in particulars. *St. Augustine* was doubtful, and could not determine this controversy. For whatsoever is borrowed from him out of his 16th book *de Civitate Dei*, c. 15. the same may be answered out of himself in his 25th

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 16. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Acts 7. 4. & Gen. 14.

Gen. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Acts 7. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. 12. 4.



question upon *Gen.* But *St. Augustine* herein followed *Josephus*, and *Isidore*: and *Beda* followed *St. Augustine*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Josephus* sought to make *Abraham* the first-born: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Josephus*, together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorify the *Jewish* nation) make *Abraham* a king, intitling *Sarah* by the name of queen *Sarah*: and said that *Abraham* was followed with 318 captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharaoh* invading him with a great army, took from him his wife *Sarah*. Such fables argue that *Josephus* is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292 years from the flood to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such chronologers, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgment in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in setting down the succession of the *Persian* kings, under whom they lived, whose history was not so far remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakes in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwise, of the more ancient *Theodoret*, and some following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moor*, with divers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130th year of his father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in religion) divers of the same religion, and those nevertheless good authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitraeus*, *Functius* and others, are very averse herein, especially *Josephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calvisius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an arch-heretick in chronology, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise *Augustinus Torniellus* a priest of the congregation of *St. Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whose arguments are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered: not adding *Beroaldus*, nor any protestant writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to hereticks. For my self, I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this large account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers have approved it; but for the truth it self. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the best approved historians, divine and prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories and foretold actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our selves; which of those two accounts give the best reputation to the story of the scriptures; teaching the world's new plantation, and the continuance of God's church: either that of *Josephus*, and those which follow him, who make but 292 years, or thereabouts, between the flood and birth

of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352 years between the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first-born of *Thare*, in the 70th year of his life: the other a younger son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130 years. And if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfy our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it above 1072 years between the flood and *Abraham's* birth: than to take away any part of those 352 years given. For if we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abraham's* time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we shall find that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deeply between *Abraham* and the flood: because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole story might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the scripture supreme, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withal this precept of *St. Augustine*, that wherefore ever any one place in the scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood. For in *Abraham's* time, all the then-known parts of the world were peopled: all regions and countries had their kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent cities: and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering countries: yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as *India*: and those not built with sticks, but of hewn stones, and defended with walls, and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those mensapish brains, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities and monsters in the story of the world and mankind.

## S E C T. VIII.

*A computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the story of Abraham.*

**I**N this sort therefore for the reasons before alledged, I conclude, that from the general flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352 years were consumed: and taking the *Assyrian* history with us, the same number of years were spent from the flood to the 43d year of *Ninus*: in which 43d year of *Ninus* *Abraham* was born: which happened in the year of the world 2009.

Now of this time of 352 years, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that staid in the east, to wit, 30 years to *Cbus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which tho' the scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34, *Peleg* Regn at 30, *Regu Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Cbus* begat *Tiavila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth *Gen. x.* which *St. Augustine* approveth. Giving then 30 years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and 5 years to

\* An. mundi 2008. dil. 352. natu. Abraham. Euseb. August. de Civitate Dei, l. 16. c. 17.    † Aug. de Civitate Dei.



the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, may be gathered that 65 years were consumed ere *Nimrod* himself was born: and that *Raama* had that age ere any of his sons were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for <sup>a</sup>*Peleg*, the 4th. from *Noah*, as *Raama* was, begat *Regu* in the same year of his life.

Let us then allow 60 years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel*: for sure we are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65 and 60 make 125: the rest of the time of 131 (in which year they arrived in *Shinar*, whereof there were 6 years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the east: because they were pestered with women, children and cattle: and, as some ancient writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept always the mountains sides, for fear of a second flood. Now if we take this number of 131 out of 352, there remains 221, of which number <sup>b</sup>*Berosus* bestoweth 65 on *Belus*, and 42 on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* born: both which *St. Augustine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221, there remaineth 114 years of the 352, from the flood to *Abraham's* birth: which number of 114, necessity bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

And if it be objected that this time given to *Nimrod*, is over-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but 179 years: whereof he reigned 112: whereas *Sale*, who was the son of *Arphaxad* the son of *Sem*, lived 403 years: and of the same age of the world was *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, the son of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was born,

*Ninus* reigned 9 years: which added to 43, make 52.

*Ninus* dieth and leaveth *Semiramis* his successor.

*Semiramis* governed the empire of *Babylonia* and *Affyria* 42 years, and died in the 52d year <sup>c</sup>complete of *Abraham's* life.

*Ninias* or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38 years, in the 2d year of whose reign *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85 years old, he rescued his nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprise *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38 years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23 years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75th year of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seem to have been this *Ninias* the son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23d year, as aforesaid, being the 75th year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85th year of *Abraham*, and the 33d year of his own reign: after which he reigned 5 years: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Affyrian* kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set them down, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the story of *Abraham*, it is most certain: unless we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses's* computation, which were impiety: or account the whole history of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction: which were to condemn all ancient historians for fablers.

#### SECT. IX.

That *Amraphel*, one of the four kings whom *Abraham* overthrew, Gen. xiv. may probably be thought to have been *Ninias* the son of *Ninus*.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes king of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85th year of *Abraham's* life, that is, in the 33d year of the reign of *Ninias Zameis* the king of the *Affyrians*, the son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time king of *Babylonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it self as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*: who invaded *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and overthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was king of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the successor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85th year of *Abraham's* life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest monarch: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, tho' *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the 1st verse of the xivth chapter of *Genesis*. For the kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis* or of the five cities, were the vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written: <sup>d</sup>*Twelve years were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13th year they rebelled, and in the 14th year came Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principal in this enterprise, who was then king of *Elam*, which is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being seated over *Tigris*, and to the east of *Amraphel's* country: and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the west of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it self, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* been so great a prince as prophane historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But tho' *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four kings (as it is manifest that he was: for these little kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrha*, &c. were his vassals, and not *Amraphel's*) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent empire of *Affyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a downright fall at the time of this war: tho' not long before it commanded all the kingdoms between *India* and the *Phenician* sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

#### SECT. X.

Of *Arioch* another of the four kings: and that *Ellas*, whereof he is said to have been king, lies between *Cœlesyria* and *Arabia Petraea*.

NOW the two other kings joined with *Amraphel*, and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Ellassar*, the other of the nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila* and *Jerome* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont*: which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is only to defend the *Latin* translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellepont* far distant, and out of the way to send any armies into *Arabia Petraea*, or into *Idumæa*. which countries these four kings chiefly invaded.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 11. 13. <sup>b</sup> An. a salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cepit regnum Babylonicum sub nostro Saturno patre Jovis Beli qui imperavit annis 65. <sup>c</sup> *Berosus*. <sup>d</sup> *Of the world* 2017. *Of the flood* 760. 2059. mundi, 403. a dil. 2083. 427. 2093.

437. <sup>e</sup> Gen. 14. 4



besides that, it is certain, that the *Affyrians* (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in *Asia* the less. For at such time as the *Affyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent into *Asia* the less as commanders: but used all the art they had to invite <sup>a</sup> *Cræsus* to their assistance: persuading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other kings of those parts, than the success of the *Medes* against the *Affyrians*. But examine the enterprise what it was. <sup>b</sup> *These kings* (saith the text) *made war with Bera, king of Sodom, Birsba king of Gomorrha, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemebar king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela which is Zoar.* All which five kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Joshua* found in the land long after: namely, lords of cities and small territories adjoining; of which *Canaan* had 33 all slain or hanged by *Joshua*. Neither can the other countries, which in the text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in kings from *Pontus* or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakness in the kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And tho' it be alledged for an example, that divers kings far off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cesar*: yet these same examples, without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these petty kings, or of the other countries: but the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cesar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other princes no less doubtful than fearful: but the whole country by these four kings mastered in their passage, was afterwards given to the half tribe of *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*: a narrow valley of ground lying between *Jordan* and the mountains of *Seir*: inclosed by the river of *Arnon* on the south-side, and by *Libanus* on the north, consisting of the two small provinces of *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and the region of the *Moabites*: a conquest far unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the *Affyrian* empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great kings of that part of the world, without the assistance of any of the kings of *Hellepont*, or any other part of *Asia* the less. But as the *Fulgar* and *Aquila* convert *Ellassar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a king of the *Scythians*, a king indeed, as far fetched to join with the *Affyrians* in this war, as the world had any at that time. The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellassar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the mountains whereof the ark did rest, so do they in this place retain the *Hebrew* word *Ellassar*, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himself remembreth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellepont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the *Latin* translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Grecian* cosmographer, findeth the city of *Ellas* in the border of *Cælesyria*. And *St. Jerome* calleth *Elias* the city of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now altho' the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cælesyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly joined with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same family, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrews* written *Arioch*: and afterwards again *Aretas*: as in the <sup>c</sup> *Maccabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of <sup>d</sup> *St. Paul*,

who was sought to be betray'd by the lieutenants of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were princes for the most confederate and depending upon the *Affyrian* empire. It is true, that we find in *Daniel* ii. that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*; one *Arioch* was general of his army, and the principal commander under him, who was a king of kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the son of that *Arioch*, confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions far removed from the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded under *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Judith*; by the name of *King of the Elymeans*, who are a nation of *Persians* bordering *Affyria*, according to *Stephanus*; tho' *Pliny* sets it between the sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian* kings; or other of that house (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta* or *Aretas*) had the government of that *Persian* province called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosor's* time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of, may with more reason be taken for the king of *Arabia*, the son of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose sons held league as their fathers did, being the next bordering prince of all on that side towards the west to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*: and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own house, and blood: which <sup>e</sup> *D. Siculus* also confirmeth.

## SECT. XI.

Of Tidal another of the four kings.

THE fourth king by *Abraham* overthrown was *Tidal*, king of the nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mix'd people: *Calvin* of runnagates without habitation: *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilea* was inhabited by divers nations, which were a mix'd people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*. <sup>f</sup> *Nam tales sunt qui Galileam habitant*; Such are the inhabitants of *Galilee*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called king of these nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilea* was not peopled at this time as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the <sup>g</sup> *Canaanite* was then in the land, howsoever they might be afterwards mix'd; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adjoining to *Phenicia*, and *Palestina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanca*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcedice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these do also join themselves to *Mesopotamia* on the north, and to *Arabia* on the east. And that these nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

## SECT. XII.

That Chedorlaomer the chief of the four kings was not of Affyria, but of Persia: and that the Affyrian empire at this time was much impaired.

LASTly, whereas it is conceived that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Affyrian* emperor, and that *Amraphel* was but a satrape, viceroy, or provincial governor of *Babylonia*, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Affur*, and *Shinar*, to call the *Affyrian* a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldea*, *Shi-*

<sup>a</sup> Xenophon    <sup>b</sup> Gen. 14.    <sup>c</sup> 2 Macc. 5. 2.    <sup>d</sup> 2 Cor. 11. 32.    <sup>e</sup> Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1.    <sup>f</sup> Strab. l. 16. fol. 523.    <sup>g</sup> Gen. 12. 6. nar,



*nar, Babylonia* or *Affyria*: but never by *Elam*; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedarlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *regale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* kings wore on their heads.

Neither do I believe that the *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion, and my reasons are these: First, Example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last: *Alexander* became lord of all *Asia* on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what itself had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual: for his empire died at once with himself: all whose chief commanders became kings after him. *Tamerlane* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storm-like and terrible success: but to prevalent fury God hath adjoined a short life: and whatsoever things nature herself worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

*Ninus* being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, insolent and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her paramour, enlarged the *Babylonian* empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her son having changed nature and condition with his mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other; so those kings adjoining (whose subjection and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a success. For in *Regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit*; This king shined little (saith *Naclerus* of *Ninias*) in the *Babylonian* kingdom. And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men having been never before galled with the yoke of foreign dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery; no long descent having as yet invested the *Affyrian* with a right, nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate son of a tyrannous and hated father, could very ill hold so many great princes and nations his vassals, with a power less mastering, and a mind less industrious than his father and mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign 42 years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to man's estate, witnessed thereby to the world, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These considerations being joined to the story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* king of *Shinar* was rather an inferior to the king of *Persia*, than either his superior or equal, make it seem probable, that the empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, That at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan* a passage of 700 miles, or little less, with

women, children, and carriages: the countries thro' which he wandered were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23d year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23 years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For *Semiramis's* army of four millions, with herself, utterly consumed in *India*, and all her arms and engines of war at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest souls, and weakest hearted creatures of the world, to repurchase their former liberty.

Secondly, It is affirmed by the best and ancientest historians, that *Arius* the son of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, and again subjected them: which needed not if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus's* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balanus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said, that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, id est, *Victor & triumphator*, a conquerour and triumpher, which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those countries freed themselves from the *Babylonian* subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the conquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feigned: but if we grant this re-conquest, then is it true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Affyrian* empire was torn asunder, according to that which hath been gathered out of *Moses*, as before remembered.

#### SECT. XIII.

*That it is not improbable that the four kings had no dominion in the countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their colonies planted themselves: and so retained the names of the countries whence they came: which if it be so, we need not say that Amraphel was Ninias, nor trouble ourselves with many other difficulties.*

THE consent of all writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these four kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and those fellows were lords of those regions, whereunto they are or seem intitled: doth almost inforce us to think, that the history must be so understood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often elsewhere in the scriptures, the names of countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Jerome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions: then may we otherwise conceive of this history, removing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had been a strange conjecture to think that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian*, against the *Sodomite*; as far as from *Pontus*, where it very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should have been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were king of *Persia* alone, should pass thro' so great a part of the world, as the countries of *Affyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia* and *Canaan*, to subdue those five towns, whose very names how they should



come to his ear, being disjoined by so many great nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly conjecture. And if all the countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea the kingdom of *Elaffar*, and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*? and when he should have sought the establishment of his new-gotten empire, by rooting out the posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) than to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other kings, against five petty towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great city of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alledged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his re-conquest of these five cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that small province, to rebel against so powerful a monarch? Or if it were so, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them: was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible army approached, still to entertain hope of evasion: yea, to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the nations between *Euphrates*, yea between themselves and the river of *Indus*? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should find no great wisdom, if he knowing the weakness of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any lieutenant, with small forces, he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little country was not sufficient to countervail one month's charges of so huge an army. How small then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wasting of that valley, wherein he left the cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the country, altho' he had broken their army in the field? Now the scriptures do not make any fearful matter of this invasion, tho' supposed to be so great: but compose the two armies as equally match'd, saying they were four kings against five; yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find in *Genesis* xiv. 17. that *Abraham* slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no history makes mention: neither will the reign of *Ninas*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon; neither would histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that these four kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title, lords and commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a colony, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troop of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakness of the country which lay about them to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in

the infancy of *Greece*, or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almost as many kings as several armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoveries, passages and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceive, that it was neither unusual for the leaders of colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and break them again, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the slothful quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Assyria*; whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accustomed, in the reign of *Semiramis*, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded; whilst others more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole stream of writers upon this place make this conjecture disagreeable to the text, to the authority whereof all human reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selves to the former conjecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: and that the power of his ancestors being by his sloth decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not satisfy, we may say that *Amraphel* was an under-king or *satrape* of *Shinar*, under *Ninias*; who may be supposed to have had his imperial seat in his father's city *Nineveh*: and to have preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the city of his mother, whom he hated as an usurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any man's salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might err: then can I think that the opinion, that these four kings were leaders of colonies, sent out of the countries named in the text, and not kings of the countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the scripture. And hereto add that *Chedorlaomer* seems rather called a *Persian* king, than king of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a man of action, or being a worthy man's son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these captains or petty kings. These and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or, if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the reader's pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he shall find any that shall seem better than these. But of what countries or people soever these four were kings, this expedition is the only publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his story, and of his sons, and of his nephews *Esau* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand upon things generally known to all christians, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, we pass them here in silence. And because in this story of *Abraham* and his posterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears that even in the time of *Abraham* it was a settled and flourishing kingdom, it will not be amiss in the next place to speak somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.



## C H A P. II.

*Of the kings of Egypt from the first peopling of it after the flood, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.*

## S E C T. I.

*A brief of the names and times of the first kings of Egypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.*

**S** OON after the confusion at *Babel*, as it seems, *Cham*, with many of his issue and followers (having doubtless known the fertility of *Egypt* before the flood) came thither and took possession of the country: in which they built many cities, and began the kingdom one hundred and ninety one years after the deluge. The ancient governors of this kingdom till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewn in the table following.

<i>An. Mundi.</i>	<i>An. Dil.</i>	
1847	191	<i>Cham.</i>
2008	352	<i>Osiris.</i>
2269	613	<i>Typhon, } Hercules. }</i>
2276	620	<i>Orus.</i>
2391	735	<i>Sesostris the Great.</i>
2424	768	<i>Sesostris the Blind.</i>
2438	782	<i>Busiris or Orus the second.</i>
2476	820	<i>Acenchere or Thermutis or Meris.</i>
2488	832	<i>Rathoris or Athoris.</i>
2497	841	<i>Chencres drowned in the Red sea.</i>

The table, and especially the chronology, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity manifest and resistless truth cannot be found. For *St. Augustine*, a man of exceeding great judgment, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the books of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* kings; which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* story, was the ambition of the priests: who, to magnify their antiquities, filled the records, which were in their hands, with many leafings: and recounted unto strangers the names of many kings that never reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent works and royal buildings in *Egypt*, such as are never found but in states that have greatly flourished, witness that their princes were of marvellous greatness: and that the reports of the priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* history, was the too much credulity of some good authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were enforced them upon us, by their authority. A third and general cause of more than *Egyptian* darkness in all ancient histories, is the edition of many authors by *John Annus*, of whom (if to the confitures of sundry very learned I may add mine) I think thus: that *Annus* having seen some fragments of those writers, and added unto them what he would,

may be credited, as an avoucher of true histories, where approved writers confirm him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass that the account of authors, either in the chronology or genealogy of the *Egyptian* kings, runs three altogether different ways. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: many late writers follow the edition of *Annus's* authors: the profane histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

## S E C T. II.

*That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Cham's reign in Egypt began in the year after the flood 191.*

**T**O reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient kings, about whom is most controversy, the best mean is by help of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties*, besides the authority of approved authors, hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16th *Dynasty* is joined by general consent with the 43d year of *Ninus*, in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve, which were called the greater gods: so that all the years of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynasty* endured fourteen years; the fourteenth, twenty-six; the fifteenth, thirty-seven. These three last are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161 years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dynasties* was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annus* in such wise limits out their time; so I cannot reject the account upon this only reason, that *Annus* hath it so; considering that both hitherto it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty*, in the year of *Abraham's* birth, as afore-said: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161 years, which according to our account were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 352 years, which were between the flood and *Abraham's* birth, shew that the beginning of the first dynasty, which was the beginning of *Cham's* reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into *Shinar*, arrived at *Babel*, Anno a diluvio 131. In building the tower were consumed forty years, as *Glycas* recordeth; whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their wives, children, cattle, and substance, thro' all *Syria* then desolate, and full of bogs, forests and briars (which the deluge and want of culture in one hundred and seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow 20 years: and these sums being added together, to wit one hundred thirty-one years after the flood, before they arrived at *Babel*, 40 years for their stay there, and 20 for *Cham's* passage into *Egypt* and settling there, make up the sum of one hundred and ninety one years: at which time we said that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynasty*. And to this sum of 191 years, if we add the 161 years of the 15 first *Dynasties*,



*nafties*, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the year of *Abraham's* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto, omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole sum of their several times above 161 years: let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* have been peopled as soon as *Babel* after the flood: or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinks) must have been before the flood. That the arrival at *Babel* was many years before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the flood, enough hath been said to prove: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the flood, the number of the long-liv'd generations between *Adam* and the flood, which was less than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynasties*, then may this have been as well after the flood, as before: considering that the sons of *Noah* did not in every country erect such form of policy, as had been used in the same ere the deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or inforcethem to.

## S E C T. III.

*That these Dynasties were not divers families of kings, but rather successions of regents, oft-times many under one king.*

THE short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decay'd antiquities, it is more easy to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, that it was the manner of the *Egyptian* kings, to put the government of the country into the hands of some trusty counsellor, only reserving the sovereignty to themselves, as the old kings of *France* were wont to the masters of the palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief visier. This is confirmed first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Osiris* or *Mizraim*; and must therefore have been successions, not of kings, but rather of counsellors and regents. Secondly, by custom of such princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the scriptures: of whom *Abimilech* the *Philistine*, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol*, captain of his host; tho' in taking *Abraham's* wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of *Abimilech* the son of *Gideon*, it was said: *Is not he the son of Jerubbal? and Zebulis his officer?* also *Ishbosheth* the son of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the captain of the host. Yea, *David* himself hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not punish him, in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite* living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the scriptures: therefore likely both for his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of government upon others; and upon jealousy, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Joseph*; *Only in the king's throne will I be above thee: behold I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.* *William*, archbishop of *Tyre*, who flourished about

the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like or very same form of government by viceroys, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, having there been in use (as he believed) ever since the time of *Joseph*. He plainly shews, that the foldans of *Egypt* were not lords of the country, however they have been so deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the duty of subjects unto the *Caliph*: who residing in a most magnificent palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not only of civil government, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authority royal into the foldan's hands. He that shall read in *William of Tyre*, the state of the caliph, or *Mulene Elhadeck*, with the form of his court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a lieutenant, as great in authority as *Joseph* was, tho' far inferiour in wisdom.

To think that many names of such regents or lieutenants as *Joseph* was, have crept into the list of the *Egyptian* kings, were no strange imagination, For *Joseph's* brethren called him, *The man that is lord of the land, and the lord of the country*: besides, it is not unlikely that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* priests would as easily report him a king to posterity, as ignorant men and strangers deem him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance; and royal managing of the state had pass'd, whilst that the king himself intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joseph's* brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of priests do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say; *Diodorus*, that *Sesostris* was the 19th king after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332d after *Menas*: which could not have been if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, that the *Dynasties* were not so many races of kings, but successions of regents, appointed by the kings of so many sundry lineages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoever means a *Dynasty* or regency continued: whether in one family, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the king's gift, and free choice, that gave the office. But the crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election: which (beside consent of authors) the scriptures also prove. For whereas *Joseph* bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the crown had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh's* children thereby either have been intralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successour: or enjoying their father's land, tho' not his estate, have been more mighty than the king: as landlords of all *Egypt*, and the king himself their tenant. Likewise we find in *Exod.* xii. that *God smote the first-born of Pharaoh, that was to sit on his throne*: and in *Isaiah* it is said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the son of the ancient king.*

## S E C T. IV.

*Of Cham, and his son Mizraim, or Osiris.*

THAT the succession of kings began, and continued in such wise as the table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to shew. *Egypt* is called in the scripture, *the land of Ham*. That this name is not given to it because the posterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I think it is no-where found, that the countries of *Cush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as



*Egypt*, were called the land of *Ham*. Further it is found in <sup>a</sup> *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* calleth himself the eldest son of *Cham*, saying; *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior*: also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum*: which must needs be understood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Egyptius* was *Cham*: as it was said, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewise the temple of *Hammon* not far from *Egypt* doth testify, that *Ham* resided in those parts: and St. *Jerome* in *Quæstionibus Hebraicis*, saith, that the *Egyptians* themselves did in his days call their country *Ham*: as in four several places in the *Psalms* this country is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this country of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*: *ut puto* (saith he) *a Chamō Noes filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Ægyptum usque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua Kam vocari*: That *Egypt* unto this day in the tongue of the *Egyptians* is called *Kam*. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reign, the same reasons may suffice to be alledged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the 15 first *Dynasties*: neither is it strange that the reign of *Cham*, should last so long as 161 years: considering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arphachshad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But strange it had been, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 19 years, and with *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Sesostris*. *Reineccius*, in *histor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who saith he was the son of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of near affinity and found in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*, was lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authority in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language *Mezre*. Neither do I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no-where precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Annius's Berosus* to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynasty* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of *Eusebius*, who avoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynasty*, I can well believe: assenting so far to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named only, according to the several seats of the kings.

#### SECT. V.

*Of the time when Osiris's reign ended: and that Jacob came into Egypt in the time of Orus the son of Osiris.*

THE death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The only conjecture that I know, is made thus. *Lehabim* the son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Libyus*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his father's death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41st year of *Baleus* king of *Affyria*: before which year he had made many great wars in *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Libya*, and *Spain*: and having ended his *Egyptian* wars, left the kingdom to *Orus*. Thus far *Berosus*, or authors follow-

ing *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the gods (as they were stiled) held the kingdom of *Isis*, <sup>b</sup> *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all histories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon infers, that six years may be allowed to the wars, which *Hercules* made in so many countries, after the *Egyptian* wars were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* have been the 34th of *Baleus*: when himself had reigned 297 years. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater scholar than soldier. For surely in those days when commerce was not such as now, but all navigation made by coasting, a far longer time would have been required to the subduing of so many countries. An allowance of more time, tho' it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtless) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had been the 34th of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* have come into *Egypt* but seven years before the death of *Osiris*: and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*. A thing not easily believed. For it was the same king who advanced *Joseph*, bad him send for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his father's funeral: as may easily be gathered out of the book of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Osiris*, cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7th year of *Israel's* coming into *Egypt*: we must needs cut off 23 years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectured his reign to have continued: namely, seven which he should have lived after *Jacob's* coming into *Egypt*: nine in which *Joseph* had there flourished, ere his father's coming: and other seven in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Joseph's* advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Libyus's* wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is said to have indured 10 years: after which proportion we may well give not only six years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23 more to so many wars in so many and so far distant countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13 years, which passed between the time of *Joseph's* being sold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement: considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, and whose daughter he may seem to have married, continued all that while chief steward unto *Pharaoh*: a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had happened the whilst in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous usurpation of *Typhon* must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should confidently say, that *Putiphar*, for his faithfulness to *Orus*, the son of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reign made his chief steward: at which time buying *Joseph*, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Joseph's* hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesome days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and say, that when the saying of *Joseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his servants: then *Putiphar* priest of *On*, being chief officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Joseph*, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment: whereupon he gave him his daughter to wife: and being old resigned his office of chief steward unto him: who afterwards in regard of *Putiphar*, did favour the priests, when he bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appear to some a tale

<sup>a</sup> Diol. Sic. l. 1. <sup>b</sup> Diol. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Isis & Osir.



not unlike to the frierly book of *Asenath*, *Putiphar's* daughter: but unto such as consider that God works usually by means: and that *Putiphar* was the steward of that king, under whom *Jacob* died: it would seem a matter not improbable; had it an author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the wars of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he should have spent 42 years after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which the length of his *Italian* wars considered; and his former enterprises and atchievements proportioned to them; doth not make against us; but for us: or if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the undisputable truth of scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless I freely grant that all these proofs are no other, than such as may be gathered out of authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy text.

SECT. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, and the two Sesostris, successively reigning after Misraim: and of divers errors about the former Sesostris.

Concerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proof, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alledging no witness, but as it were saying *Teste meipso*: yet herein we may think him to speak probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soon undertake his father's revenge, and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other wars, in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Aventinus*, a follower of *Berosus*, hath it so, I will also believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seven years were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* 7 years after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set down his reasons, which, in a matter so probable, I think he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90 years of the 18th *Dynasty* to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seems that the reign of *Orus* lasted 115 years. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122 years by our account: who (according to *Bernaldus*, and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130th year of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the flood to the birth of *Abraham*

	352
From that time to the	{ vocation of <i>Abraham</i> 75
	{ departure out of <i>Egypt</i> 430
	total—857

which sum divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there do remain (as is aforesaid) only 122 years from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed unto *Sesostris* or *Sesonchosis*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiastes Apollonii*; not without good probability. For this great king or conqueror, is by many histories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Asia*: to have built a fleet of ships on the *Red* sea; and so to have entred into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle-earth seas, to have passed into *Europe*, and subdued many nations.

This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Justin* erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris*: for *Justin* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the father-in-law of *Solomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gerar*, and gave it to his daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy history of the bible) after which time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* sought passage thro' the land of *Israel*, when he made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of king *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them was the great king *Sesostris*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into *Judea*, with a great army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unless it be sufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himself placeth *Sesostris* next to *Orus*; following the *Scholiastes Apollonii*. But further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For as *Justin* witnesseth, *Sesostris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made war on people far removed, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came up purposely against *Jerusalem*. *Sesostris*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000 horse: *Sesac* had 60000: *Sesostris* had 8020 chariots, *Sesac* but 1200. *Sesostris* made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign, whom he had favoured even against *Solomon*: therefore *Sesostris* must needs have reigned whilst *Israel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: because those historians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Osiris* did succeed those 15 gods, namely, the 12 greater and 3 lesser: himself also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as also *Minæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: tho' mistaken by some as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*: the *Hebrew* word *Meni* signifying an arithmetician: which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Osiris*: who was a great conqueror, philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good laws, and teaching profitable arts. In prowess and great undertakings *Sesostris* was no whit inferiour to *Osiris*. For he sought victory not for gain, but for honour only: and being well contented, that many nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great treason, the house, in which he was, being by his own brother purposely fired: which nevertheless he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty-three years: after which time he chose rather to die than to live: because he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Sesostris* left a son, whose name was *Pheron* or *Pherones*; who afterwards took the name of *Sesostris*: but was nothing like to his father in glory: for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the river *Nilus* with a javelin: which tale *Diodorus* having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying, that perhaps he took the disease naturally from his father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed;



sed: yet forasmuch as *Orus* the second (otherwise *Busiris*) who succeeded him, began 14 years after that this *Sesostris* had been king, it must needs be that this reigned 14 years at least. That *Busiris* began not until these 14 years at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Busiris*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, plainly shews, being almost generally agreed upon, to have been 75 years. That none came between *Sesostris* the second, and *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, it stands only upon probabilities: which are these. After *Sesostris* had reigned somewhat, he fell blind: after certain years he recovered his sight, as is said: which may have been true, but is more like to have been a fable: surely the manner of his recovery, as it is set down, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking upon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had only known her own husband, he got his sight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindness, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14 years: so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very short. His works, are largely set down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*: a part of which may seem to have been the finishing of that which his father had begun, about the channels and sluices of *Nilus*: whom I think he rather frightened (as his father had done) with spades and shovels, than with darts and javelins: and by his diligent oversight of that work, was like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his people's love: whom his father had very busily employ'd in excessive labour about it.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of Busiris the first oppressor of the Israelites: and of his successor queen Thermutis that took up Moses out of the water.*

AND herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Busiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the son of *Solomon*. For that *Busiris* himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared, by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: if therefore he were employ'd by the great *Sesostris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the king by industry: and afterwards with the people by incensing them against their new king: as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one prince's hands, they will not at another's: unless he have either an equal spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Egyptians*, to the *Israelites*: he surely did that which to his own people was very plausible, who (as appears in *Exodus* i.) were nothing slack in fulfilling the king's cruelty. Now that *Orus* the 2d, or *Busiris*, was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the edict of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted 10 months: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers, who also think that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* i. that the king, who knew not *Joseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busiris* was of a new family, *Reinecius* doth shew: who also thinks him author of the bloody edict. Nevertheless true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reign 5 years after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth

it is most manifest, that the law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted 87 years, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the regents or viceroys in *Egypt* was: and how great confidence the kings did put in them: seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh* for bread, *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, Go to *Joseph*: what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger born, lately fetch'd out of prison, a king well able to have governed himself, would give such trust, and sovereign authority: it is not unlikely that a blind prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many have done) resign his kingdom to him, tho' his reign was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did usurp the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title: or whether *Busiris* were only regent, whilst the king liv'd, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himself: it might well be said that *Pharaoh's* daughter took up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind king *Sesostris* the 2d oppress'd *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seem that the wicked tyrant shewed his evil nature even when he first arose, I think it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, using at first the power of a king, and shortly after the title. Thus of the 122 years which passed between the beginning of *Sesostris's* reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47 being spent: the 75 which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the 2d, and his children. *Busiris* himself reigned 30 years, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many judicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who took *Moses* out of the water, is said, by all that I have read, to have reigned 12 years: her name was *Thermutis Phareis*, or *Muthis*, according to *Cedrenus*: *Eusebius* calls her *Acencris*: and out of *Artabanus's* history, *Menus*: *Josephus* calls her both *Acenchere* and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario* saith, that she was honoured afterwards of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Amenoph*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken: for the scriptures call her not *Pharaoh's* son's daughter, but *Pharaoh's* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is placed next before *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, by *Eusebius*, and others: but whether he were a king, or only a regent, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient historians name the son of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the niece or grandchild, than the daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesostris*, and the disreputation of his son. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the 2d marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was she both daughter, grandchild, and wife unto *Pharaoh*: and surviving him, queen of the land, twelve years. But if she were daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whose conjecture I will



will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

SECT. VIII.

Of the two brethren of queen Thermutis: and what king it was, under whom Moses was born: and who it was that perished in the Red sea.

SHE had two brethren: the one was Rathoris, or Athoris, who succeeded her; the other Telegonus, who is only named by Eusebius: but his lineage and off-spring described by Reineccius. Rathoris, after his sister's death, reigned nine years; after whom Chencres, thought to be his son, reigned ten, and then perished in the Red sea. During the reign of Chencres, Eusebius saith, that Telegonus begat Epaphus upon Io: of which history elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of Chencres (whom some call Acencheres: but all or most do stile  $\Theta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\chi\omicron$  a fighter against God) Acherres reigned eight years: and then Cherres fifteen. This descent seems from father to son. In the eleventh year of Cherres it is said by Eusebius, that Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt built Memphis. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely, viz. That Egypt was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her king and army in the Red sea: else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom; or his posterity, seems to have taken all from Cherres the grandchild of Chencres. For whereas Armais is said to have reigned four years after Cherres, and Armesis one after Armais, these two kings are by Eusebius and others accounted as one, and his reign said to have been five years. His name is called Armeus, otherwise Danaus; and his pedigree thus described by Reineccius in *Historia Julia*.

Telegonus.

Epaphus.

Libya, who had

Agenor, Belus and Busiris.

Egyptus or Rameffes, who gave name to the country, having expelled his brother Danaus, reigned, and begat Lynceus, married to Hypermnestra.

Danaus or Armeus, expelled by his brother Egyptus, after he had reigned five years, became king of Argos in Greece: was father to Hypermnestra.

How it might come to pass that the nephews sons of Epaphus should have occupied the kingdom after Cherres, it is hard to say: considering that Epaphus himself is reported by Eusebius to have been born in the time of Chencres. But so far as much as the history of Epaphus's birth, is diversly related by Eusebius, it may suffice, that Belus the father of Danaus and Egyptus, otherwise called Armeus and Rameffes, was equally distant from Busiris or Orus the second, with Cherres the grandchild of Chencres. And that the posterity of Telegonus did marry very young, it appears by the history of these two brethren, Danaus and Egyptus: of whom the former had 50 daughters, the latter 50 sons: perhaps, or rather questionable, by divers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: howsoever it were, the general consent of writers is, that Armeus or Danaus did succeed Cherres: and, according to Eusebius and

good authors approving him, reigned five years: Rameffes followed, who reigned sixty-eight years. This Rameffes or Egyptus is that Armoesmiamum or Armesesmiamus, under whom, in the opinion of Mercator, and of Bunting that follows Mercator, Moses was born; and the cruel edict made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of Mercator's opinion. For whereas the Lord said to Moses, Go, return to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: Exod. iv. 19. Mercator hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same king under whom Moses was born, and under whom he slew the Egyptian at the 40th year of his age; and fled into the wilderness, and there abode for fear: all which circumstances could agree with none but this Rameffes who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true paradox, than a common error, he placeth one Alisfragmuthosis (whose name is found in the list of Egyptian kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an age 112 or 113 years more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the catalogue of his successors from Tbemosis (whom Eusebius calls Amasis) downwards with no other variation of the length of each man's reign, than is the difference between Manetho and Eusebius, he finds Moses born under Armesesmiamum, and Israel delivered in the days of his son Amenophis. The very name of Alisfragmuthosis seems to him with little alteration to sound like Pharatates, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a king, or a wise man, about the time of Isaac. For, saith he, from Alisfragmuthosis to Phragmuthosis, Pharmuthosis or Pharatates, the change is not great. Mercator was a man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the world is bound for his many notable works; yet my assent herein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that Chencres was the king who was drowned in the Red sea. Secondly, The place, Exod. iv. all are dead, &c. may better be understood of Busiris and all his children, than of one king alone. Thirdly, St. Cyril, in his first book against Julian the apostate, saith, that Dardanus built Dardania, when Moses was 120 years old; Rameffes, which was this Armesesmiamum, being then king of Egypt. After Rameffes, Amenophis reigned nineteen years, who is thought by Mercator, and peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be the king that perished in the Red sea: of which our opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to refer the kings ensuing to their own times (which a chronological table shall lay open) and here to speak of that great deliverance of Israel out of Egypt: which, for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly overpass.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

SECT. I.

Of the time of Moses's birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.

TRUE it is that the history it self is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of Moses's birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great works of the Highest, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that argument.



*Lud. Vivès*, in his annotations upon *St. Augustine*, citeth very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyry* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: but if he did mean the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all stories divine and human; while that *Semiramis* lived, she commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, in *rerum natura*.

A second opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemy* a priest of the *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was born while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Ameſis* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his Greek history, the first book: that *Moses* was born while *Apis* the third king ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who, tho' he cites some authorities that *Moses* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himself of opinion, that *Moses* was far more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, He setteth down the testimony of *Numenius* the philosopher, who took *Musæus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Musæus*, by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that *Eupolemus* in his first book *De bono*, *Moses vir Deo conjunctissimus* is called *Musæus Judæorum*. *Eusebius*, in his chronology, finds that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moses's* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the grammarian will have to be *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lyſimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gave the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seems most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Iphorius*, governed *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criafus* the *Argives*; that then (*Sesoſtris* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was born. For if we believe *St. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops's* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit Moses ex Egypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium regis*: *Moses*, saith he, led the people of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops's* time, king of the *Athenians*. In this sort therefore, is the time of *Moses's* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proved. *St. Augustine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was born, : *Saphrus* governing *Aſſyria*: and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops's* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his successor *Mamelus* thirty years; *Sparetus* after him forty years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the empire forty-one: So as *Moses* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criafus*, *Argos* (for these three kings lived at once at his birth, saith *St. Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Aſſyrian Saphrus*: for take one year remaining of twenty (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the forty years of *Sparetus*, these make seventy-one, with which there were wasted three years of *Cecrops's* fifty years; then take nine years out of the reign of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus's* successor, those nine years added to seventy-one make

eighty, at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*: and add these nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops's* fifty: and so it falleth right with *St. Augustine's* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops's* time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time, in which the *Hebrews* were oppress'd in *Egypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of *Moses*, and fifty-four years, or rather more, after *Joseph*; between whose death and the birth of *Moses* there were consumed sixty-four years: some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For as it is written in *Exodus* i. *They set task-masters over them, to keep them under with burdens; and they built the cities, Pithom and Ramases, &c. And by cruelty they caused the children of Israel to serve; and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in clay and brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which, laid upon them by a mastering power and a strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: even from fifty-four years, or not much more after the death of *Joseph*, who left the world when it had lasted 2370 years, to the eightieth year of *Moses*, and until he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the world's age 2514 towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account 2513. And because those things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal places therein named, in this discourse.

## SECT. II.

Of divers cities and places in *Egypt*, mentioned in this story, or elsewhere in the scripture.

**T**HIS city which the *Hebrews* call *Zoan*, was built seven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Jeremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Josephus*, *Protaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thani*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoineth to the land of *Gosen*, and is the same wherein *Jeremy* the prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* idolatry.

*Zoan* or *Taphnes* was in *Moses's* time the metropolis of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same city where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read astronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharates* king of *Egypt*. *Alexander Polyhistor* out of *Eupolemus*, hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* priests, and not the king, both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the *Vulgar* edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*; *Pagninus*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *English*, call it *On*; and *Ptolemy*, *Onium*. There are two cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the south; the other some what lower on the easter-most branch of *Nilus*, falling into the sea at *Polusium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the south of the river *Trajan*, was the same which *Vatablus* and our *English* call *Aci*. Of the latter it is, that the scriptures take certain knowledge: the same which *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy War*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Babalbeth*; and *Simoon Scithi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphar* priest, or prince, whose daughter *Joseph*

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 3. c. 3. <sup>b</sup> Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de Civit. Dei. <sup>c</sup> Numb. 33. *Ezekiel* 30. *Jer.* 2. 43. 44. 46. *Joseph.* l. 1. c. 9. *Tyr. de Bel. fac.* l. 19. c. 23. <sup>d</sup> Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. *Gen.* 12. 15. *Iſa.* 10. 11. married



married. In the territory adjoining *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this city, *Onias*, the high priest of the *Jews*; built a temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Jerusalem* (*Ptolmy Philopater* then governing in *Egypt*) which stood in the time of *Vespasian*, 333 years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Josephus* falsely reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of *Isaiah* c. 19. *In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti*; In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the midst of the land of *Egypt*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occasion for the erecting of this temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, There it was, that our Saviour Christ *Jesus* remained, while *Josepb* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which, saith *Brochard*, the fountain is still found, called *Jesus-well*, whose streams do afterward water the gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the city of *Noph*, remembered by *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*; the same which *Hosea* the prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it took from a mountain adjoining so called; which mountain *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great city which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalensis*, *Mizraim*.

*Pelusium*, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*, is not the same with *Damietta*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin III*. *Pelusium* was called *Belbeis*: *Belbeis*, saith *Tyrius*, *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium*; *Belbeis*, that in times past was called *Pelusium*.

The city of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diospolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Jerome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

*Bubastus* (for so *Jerome* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the same which the *Hebrews* call *Pibeseth*.

To make the story the more perceivable, I have added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited, with those cities and places so often remembered in the scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethshemes*, *Balsephon*, *Succoth* and the rest; together with *Moses's* passage thro' the desarts of *Arabia* the stony. For all story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure, so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the reader; neither doth any thing serve to retain what we read in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man *Arias Montanus*; who, in his preface to the story of the *Holy Land*, hath these words: *Si enim absque locorum observatione res gestæ narrentur, aut sine topographiæ cognitione historiæ legantur, adeo confusa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit*; If narration, saith he, be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places wherein they were done, or if histories be read without topographical knowledge, all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall there-

by understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

### SECT. III.

*Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt: and of Moses's preservation, and education.*

**B**UT to return to the story it self. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slavery which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: insomuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the devil resolved to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them; *Quæ præerant*, saith *Comestor*, *multitudini obstetricum*; who had command given them over all midwives; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his edict. For to have called all the midwives of *Egypt* together, had been a strange parliament. Now whether these two before named, were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diversly disputed. *St. Augustine* calls them *Hebrews*, because it is written *Exodus* i. 16. *The king of Egypt commanded the midwives of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Josephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Pererius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witness both the wickedness of the *Egyptians*, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding these women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice which every king oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have employed or sent away at his pleasure, *Josephus* giveth another cause of his rage against them; namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be born a child, who growing to man's estate, should become a plague and terror to his whole nation. To prevent which (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the laws of heaven and of nature) he stretched out his bloody and merciless hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention *Herod* long after practis'd, when fearing the spiritual kingdom of Christ, as if it should have been temporal, he caused all the male children at that time born to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kind of foreknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by these his own words, in *Exodus* v. 10. *Come, let us work wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to pass, that if there be war, they join themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the land.* But we see, and time hath told it us, from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when, forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether

<sup>a</sup> Isa. 19. 13. <sup>b</sup> Ezek. 34. <sup>c</sup> Hosea 9. 6. <sup>d</sup> Lib. 2. <sup>e</sup> G. Tyr. l. 20. c. 17. lib. 2. c. 5. <sup>f</sup> Ezek. 30. 15. 16. <sup>g</sup> Ezek. 31. 12. <sup>h</sup> Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 5. <sup>i</sup> Abul. & Perer. in Exod. <sup>j</sup> Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 5.



darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great prophet and minister of God's marvelous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an ark of reeds, a sucking and powerful infant. And this princess having beheld the child's form and beauty, tho' but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not only preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equal care to the son of a king nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child *Moses*, as it were *extractus* or *ereptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water; or after *Josephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expressing water, and *bis-es*, as much as to say, that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. <sup>a</sup>*Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised, before he was put into the ark of reeds, and that *Amram* his father, had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of *Pharaoh's* daughter; and by men of the most understanding taught and instructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præfēctis ei sapientibus Egyptiorum magistris, à quibus erudiretur*, saith *Basil*; Unto whom she gave princely education, appointing over him wise masters of the *Egyptians* for his instructors. Thereby (saith *Josephus* and <sup>b</sup>*Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which also the *Martyr Stephen* in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth. And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *Sixtus Senensis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moses* and the reign of *Joshua*.

#### SECT. IV.

Of *Moses's* flying out of *Egypt*; and the opinions of certain ancient historians of his war in *Ethiopia*; and of his marriage there: *Philo's* judgment of his pastoral life: and that of *Pererius* of the books of *Genesis* and *Job*.

**W**HEN *Moses* was grown to man's estate, *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years war that he made against the *Ethiopians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterwards by *Cambyfes* called *Meroe*; and how he recovered that city by the favour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *Ethiopia*, whom he took to wife. So hath *Comeflor* a pretty tale of *Moses*. How after the end of that war, *Tharbis* resisting his return into *Egypt*, *Moses*, most skillful in *Astronomy*, caused two images to be engraven in two precious stones: whereof the one increased memory, the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings, whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reserving the other of memory for himself: which ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, she began to neglect the love she bare her husband: and so *Moses* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leaving these fancies to the authors of them: it is true, that about the 40<sup>th</sup> year of *Moses's* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrews*, moved by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which act, finding a disposition in some of his own nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled

into *Arabia Petrea*, the next bordering country to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting the daughters of *Raguel* the *Midianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a country nearest *Egypt*, fittest to return from; necessary to be known, because interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judea*, thro' which he was to lead the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion, which God presented, best served. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous deserts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a king's son, or an adopted child of great *Pharaoh's* daughter, but as a meek and humble shepherd, sitting at a mountain foot; a keeper and commander of those poor beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, near *Madian*, he consumed 40 years. And tho' (as *Philo* in the story of *Moses's* life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary desert he enjoy'd himself: and being separated from the press of the world, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the same author also judging, that his pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the principality, which he afterwards obtained. *Est enim* (saith *Philo*) *ars pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia & bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero præfectura mansueti pecoris habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoque reges cognominantur pastores populorum, non contumeliæ sed honoris gratia*; The art of keeping sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a kingdom, namely, the rule over men, the most gentle flock: even as warlike natures do beforehand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to train themselves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattle, hath a kind of resemblance unto a kingly rule over subjects; therefore, kings are styled shepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the book of *Job*, as *Pererius* supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius's* opinion, that *Moses*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the books of *Genesis*; altho' I cannot deny the reason of *Pererius's* conjecture, that by the example of *Job's* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrews*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the land of rest, and plenty promised.

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to persuade *Pharaoh*, that he was

<sup>a</sup> Strom. l. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Phil. de vita Moyf.

<sup>c</sup> Perer. in Exod. 3.



the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first 14 chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when <sup>a</sup>*Moses* desired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent; he received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to be understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it self, but the eternal: which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long, as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. <sup>b</sup>*Una est Dei & sola natura, quæ vere est: id enim quod subsistit non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cetera quæ creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursus non esse, quod non fuit*; It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himself, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, altho' they seem to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not been, may again want being. And with this, in respect of the divine nature, the saying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax*; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitful: in comparison of whom, saith *Isaiah* xl. 17. *All nations are as nothing, less than nothing, and mere vanity.*

Of the ten plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were stricken, the first was by changing the rivers into blood: God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of *Revel.* xvi. 5. may be fitly applied. *And I heard the angel of the waters say, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast: and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the blood of thy saints and prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink.*

The rest of the plagues by frogs, lice, flies, or stinging wasps; by the death of their cattle; by leprous scabs; by hail and fire; by grasshoppers; by darkness; after which *Pharaoh* forbade *Moses* his presence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving king no longer than the pain and peril lasted, till such time as his own first-born, and the first-born of all his nation perished. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God perforce) stood upon no condition: whereas before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women and children, reserving their bestial; but he was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the silver, gold and jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being past) he suddenly repented him, as his pursuit after them proved. For when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moses* received) slain a lamb, without spot or blemish, for the passover (a sacrament of the most clean and unspotted Saviour) and with the blood thereof coloured the post and lintern of the doors; the angel of God in the dead of the night smote every first-born of

*Egypt*, from the son of the king, to that of the beggar and slave: the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Egyptians*, saith <sup>c</sup>*Epiphanius*, did in after-times imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Israelites* used after the passover; ascribing an exceeding virtue to the red colour: and therefore they did not only mark their sheep and cattle, but their trees bearing fruit, to preserve them from lightning and other harms.

## S E C T. V.

*Of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites: and of their passage towards the Red sea, so far as Succoth.*

NOW, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardened by God) he bethought him as well of the honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many calamities and plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoils of his people, and in despight of himself. And having before this time great companies of soldiers in readiness, he consulted with himself, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was thro' the country of the *Philistines*. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike nation, and in all probability of his allies, he suspected that *Moses* meant to find some other out-let, to wit, thro' the desert of *Etham*; and there, because the country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of women, children, and cattle, he thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to escape him that way. In the mean while having gathered together all the chariots of <sup>d</sup>*Egypt*, and 600 of his own, and captains over them; he determined to set upon them in the plains of *Gosen*, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those chariots, armed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the mower's scythe. Which kind of fight in chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* used against the *Romans*, while they made the war for the conquest of this land. Of this army of *Pharaoh*, <sup>e</sup>*Josephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000 horse, and 20000 foot; which were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assail the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an army to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, he doubted two things; either that the *Hebrews* might join themselves to his enemies within the land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withal, enforced him at this time to give an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Josephus* partial in this affair, yet by the words of the text *Exod.* xiv. 7. it appeareth, that he gathered all the chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haste. For *Moses* made but three days march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heels; and yet the last day he went on sixteen miles: which, in so hot a country, and to drive their cattle and sheep with them, pestered with a world of women and children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerful enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew, that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for help, but using the un-

<sup>a</sup> *Exod.* 3. 13, 14, 15.<sup>b</sup> Hieron. ad Dam.<sup>c</sup> Epiphani. lib. 1. cont. Hæres.<sup>d</sup> *Exod.* 14. 7.<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Ant. 1. 2. c. 6.

derstanding



derstanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed, becoming a wise man, and a valiant and skilful conductor; as by all his actions and counsels from this day to his death well appeared.

When *Moses* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned *Israel* of the passover, he appointed a general assembly or rendezvous of all the *Hebrews* at *Ramases*, in the territory of *Gosen*, a city standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the country the dispersed *Hebrews*; and gave commandment, that every family should bring with them such store as they had of dough and paste, not staying to make it into bread; knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of *Pharaoh's* horsemen and chariots, of which kind of defence *Moses* was utterly unprovided (tho', as it is written, the *Israelites* went up armed) he marched from *Ramases* eastward towards the desarts of *Etham*, and encamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the 15th day of the month *Abib*. Which month from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first month of the year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other month, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their forefathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politick year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, midst or ending of the year; that distinction of the sacred, and the politick year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every month, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that *Moses* himself in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust: but that any rule of framing their kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* year: with the difference between them and other nations, in ordering the account of time.

#### SECT. VI.

*Of the solary and lunary years: and how they are reconciled: with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of intercalation.*

The *Hebrew* months are thus named.

The first month, <i>Nisan</i> , or <i>Abib</i> .	1. <i>March</i> .
The second, <i>Iar</i> , or <i>Tiar</i> , <i>Zio</i> , or <i>Zin</i> .	2. <i>April</i> .
The third, <i>Sivan</i> , or <i>Sinan</i> , or <i>Siban</i> .	3. <i>May</i> .
The fourth, <i>Tamuz</i> .	4. <i>June</i> .
The fifth, <i>Ab</i> .	5. <i>July</i> .
The sixth, <i>Ebul</i> .	6. <i>August</i> .
The seventh, <i>Tysri</i> , or <i>Ethavin</i> or <i>Ethanim</i> .	7. <i>September</i> .
The eighth, <i>Marchesuan</i> , or <i>Mechasuan</i> , or <i>Bul</i> , or with <i>Josephus</i> , <i>Marfonane</i> .	8. <i>October</i> .
The ninth, <i>Chislen</i> or <i>Casten</i> .	9. <i>November</i> .
The tenth, <i>Tebeth</i> , or <i>Thobeth</i> .	10. <i>December</i> .
The eleventh, <i>Sebeth</i> or <i>Sabaeth</i> .	11. <i>January</i> .
The twelfth, <i>Adar</i> , and <i>Ve Adar</i> .	12. <i>February</i> .

*VE Adar* was an intercalary month, added, some years, unto the other twelve, to make the solar and lunary year agree; which (besides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the months of summer into the winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, because of the divine precept. For God appointed especial feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a month of the year, and withal on a set day, both of the moon and of the month; as, the feast of the first-fruits, the new moons, and the like: which could not have been so kept, if either the day of the moon had fallen in some other part of the month, or the month it self been found far distant from his place in the season of the year.

Other nations, the better to observe their solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more days, as the error committed in foregoing years required. The error grew at first by not knowing what number of days made up a compleat year. For tho' by the continual course of the sun, causing summer and winter duly to succeed each other, it is plain enough even to the most savage of all people, when a year hath passed over them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter tally, makes this long measure of whole years insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men observed the monthly conspicuous resolution of the moon, by which they divided the year into 12 parts, subdividing the month into 29 days and nights, and those again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the moon, containing less time by 11 days or thereabouts, than the yearly course of the sun, thro' the zodiac, in the space of 16 years, every month was found in the quite contrary part of the year to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to add some days to the year, making it to consist of 12 months, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courses of the sun and moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the sun determine his yearly revolution by any set number of whole days; neither did the moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be observed by him, that would seek to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certain rule. Here lay much wisdom and deep art, which could not soon be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at random, the *Athenians* held the year to contain 360 days, wherein most of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That 360 days filled up the *Grecian* year (besides many collateral proofs) it is manifest by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the statues, erected in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (saith he) 360, whilst as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account neither did any certain age of the moon begin or end their months; neither could their months continue many years, in their own places: but must needs be shifted by little and little, from winter to summer, and from summer to winter, as the days forgotten to be inserted into the almanack

<sup>a</sup> The territory of *Gosen* was afterwards called *Ramases*, after *Exod.* 13. <sup>c</sup> *Exod.* 23. 16. and c. 34. 22 <sup>d</sup> *Ant.* c. 4.

the name of this city, as appeareth in *Gen.* 47. and *Numb.* 33 <sup>e</sup> *Deut.* 16. <sup>f</sup> 30. and 29. <sup>g</sup> *Plin.* l. 34. c. 6.



by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses; should occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, because the solemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full moon, and withal on the fifteenth day of the month *Hecatombeon* (which answereth in a manner to our *June*), they were careful to take order, that this month might ever begin with the new moon; which they effected by adding some two days to the last month of every year: those games being held once in four years. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter even; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the second of the month *Bædromian*; agreeing nearly with our *August*, sometimes not to omit it, or, which is all one, to insert another for it in their fourth lunny year, accounting by the moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their month of *June* would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not sought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other's *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth year one whole month, which they called the second *Posideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one month of 29 days, another of 30, and so successively thro' the whole year. Thus with much labour they kept their year as near as they could, unto the high way of the planets; but these marks which they observed, were found at length to be deceitful guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth year's intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11 hours and 18 minutes at the least, or some ways in 34 hours and 10 minutes, or 36 and 41 minutes; which differences would in few ages have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth year's intercalation, devised a *Cycle* of 19 years, where the moon having 235 times run out her circuit, met with the sun in the same place, and on the same day of the year, as in the 19th year before past she had done. This invention of *Meton* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number; which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been used; for by the intercalation of seven months in the 19 years, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error, which in one year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those *Cycles*; the new moons anticipating in one *Cycle*, seven hours, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* devised a new *Cycle* containing four of *Meton's*, that is to say, 76 years; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a noble *Astrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus's* periods, each of them finding some error in the former observations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the kalendar was that which *Julius Cesar* made, who, by advice of the best *Mathematicians* then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in use with us, containing 365 days and six hours, which hours, in four years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24th of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* year by pope *Gregory XIII.* *Anno Domini* 1582, is not as yet entertained by general consent; it was indeed but as a note added unto the work of *Cesar*; yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed,

that the sun, which at the time of the *Nicene* council, *Anno Dom.* 324, entered the equinoctial on the 21st day of *March*, was in the year 1582, ten days sooner found in that time, pope *Gregory* struck out of the kalendar ten days, following the fourth of *October*, so that instead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moveable feasts depending on the sun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene* council they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the council of *Trent* ordained, that from thenceforward in every hundredth year, the leap-day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundredth; because the sun doth not in his yearly course take up full six hours above the 365 days, but faileth so many minutes, as in 400 years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of 19 years, which the *Hebrews* used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in summing up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the moon, confounding one moon with another. For with them it fell out so, that always the kalends or first day of the month was at the new moon, and because that day was festival, they were very careful as well to observe the short year after the moon, passing thro' all the 12 signs in one month, as that longer of the sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First therefore, they gave to *Nisan* their first month, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30 days; to *Iar* their second month 29 days; and so successively 30 to one, 29 to another. Hereby it came to pass, that every two months of theirs contained somewhat evenly two revolutions of the moon, allowing 29 days 12 hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or epact days, which made up seven months in 19 years; to six of which seven were commonly given 30 days; to one of them 29 days, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the several days of each month) contained 354 days, which fail of the year; wherein the sun finisheth his course, 11 whole days, with some fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle* of 19 years were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that *Cycle*, both the sun and moon were found on the same day of the year, month and week, yea commonly on the same hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it 19 years before.

Divers have diversly set down the form of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their intercalations. <sup>a</sup> *Sigonius* tells us, that every second year they did add a month of 22 days; every fourth year a month of 23, in the regard of 11 days and a half wanting in 12 moons to fulfil a year of the sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the moon doth never finish her course in 22 or 23 days: and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the months in the years following, which could not have begun as they ought, with the new moon. <sup>b</sup> *Genebrard* saith, that every third year, or second year, as need required, they did intercalate one month, adding it at the year's end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) methinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenness until the very last of the 19 years. For (to

<sup>a</sup> Sig. de rep. Hebr. l. 3. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Geneb. Chron. l. 2.



omit such as err grossly) some there are who say, that after three years, when besides the days spent in 36 courses of the moon, 33 days are left remaining, that is, 11 days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a month of 30 days; keeping three days as it were in plussage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth year; at which time, besides the intercalary month, remained six days, namely, three surmounting that month, and the epact of three years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the 18th year; at which time they have 18 days in hand: all which with the epact of the 19th year, make up a month of 29 days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle* makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18th year every month were removed from his own place by the distance of 48 days, that is, half a quarter of the year and more; which inconvenience by such a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore I prefer the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the months, by setting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8th year. For the six days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the 3d and 6th years, added unto the 22 days, arising out of the epacts of the 7th and 8th years, do fitly serve to make up a month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the years ensuing vary the less from the proper season of every month. This may suffice to be spoken of the *Hebrew* months and years, by which they guided their accounts.

#### SECT. VIII.

*Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red sea: and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.*

FROM *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the desert of *Etham*, to recover the mountain foot, by the edge of that wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of horsemen and armed chariots, that followed him, he kept himself from being compassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the south; the distance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects; the first two natural; the third divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moses* took, persuaded himself, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of above a million, if not two millions of souls (for as it is written *Exodus* the 12th, *Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*\*) could not possibly pass over those desert and high mountains with so great multitudes of women, children, and cattel, but that at the very entrance of that fastness he should have overtaken them, and destroy'd the greatest numbers of them. For these his own words, *They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in*, do shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses* by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses*, by offer-

ing to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the east side of the land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the overbearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, *Moses's* confidence in the all-powerful God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000 men, to cast the success upon his own understanding, wise conduct, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the valley of *Pibacheroth*, 16 miles distant; and sat down between two ledges of mountains adjoining to the *Red sea*; to wit, the mountains of *Etham* on the north, and *Baalzephon* towards the south: the same which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a temple dedicated to *Baal*. And as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as *Dominus speculæ sive custodiæ*, Lord of the watch tower. For the *Egyptians* believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their lords and masters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. *Ægyptii Diis fecundi*; the *Egyptians* were fruitful in gods, saith *St. Jerome*. But *Moses*, who incamped at the foot of this mountain with a million of souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this lord of the watch tower asleep, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm land *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Casotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judea*, as the other by *Etham*; from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and took the way by the valley of *Pibacheroth*, between the mountains, which made a straight entrance towards the sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his horsemen and chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but got sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and wash of the sea: insomuch as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh's* sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behoved them most to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moses's* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, *which*, saith the book of *Wisdom*, is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despair in God's former promises, and to be forgetful of their own strength and multitudes.

#### SECT. VIII.

*Of their passage over the Red sea: and of the Red sea it self.*

BUT *Moses*, who feared nothing but God himself, persuaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath never abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; using this comfortable and resolved speech: *Fear not, &c. for the Egyptians, whom you have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you.* After which *Moses* called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commanded to go on, in these words: *Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the dis-*

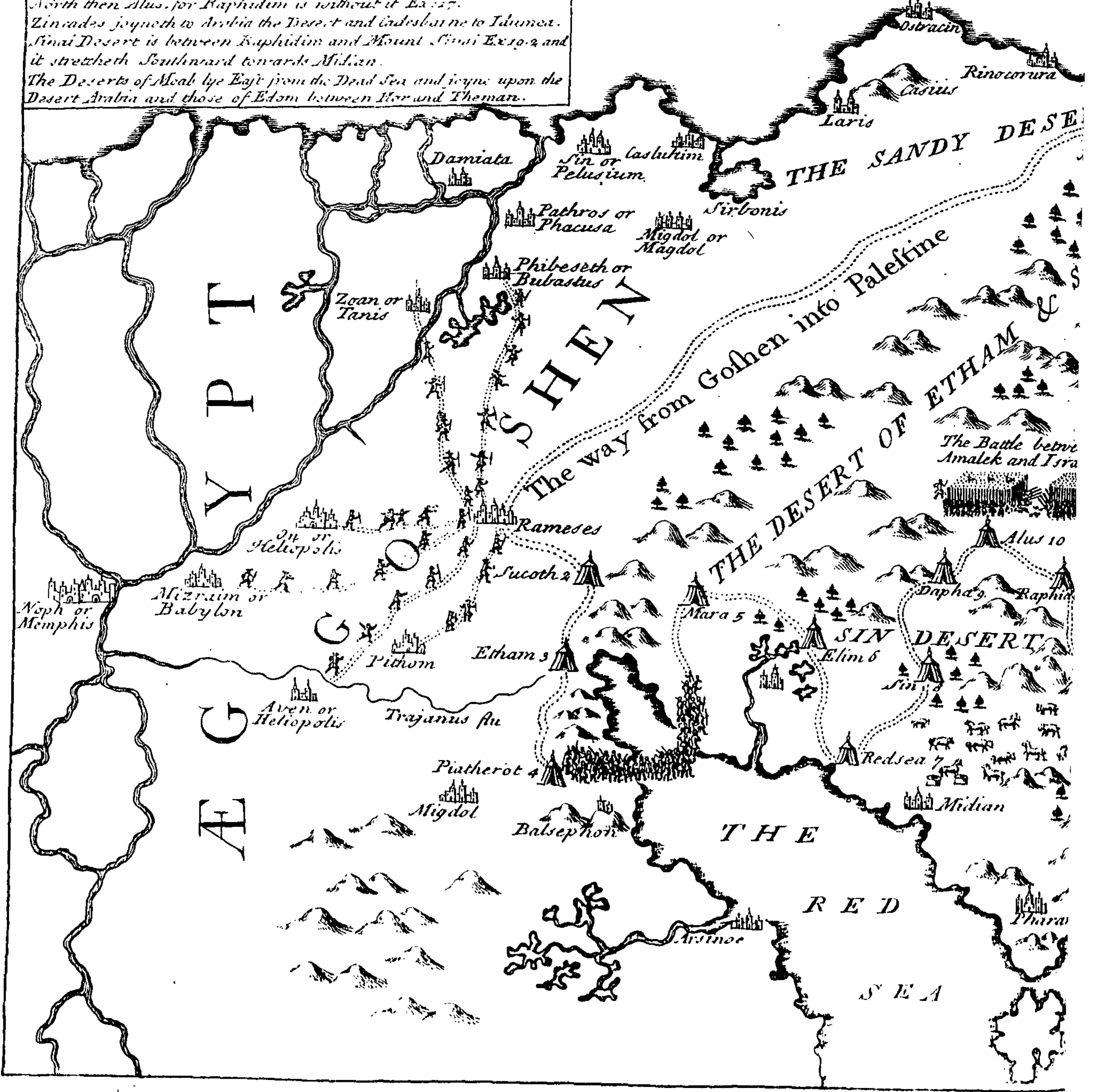
\* It is probable that all those Egyptians and others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledge of the true God, followed Moses at his departure. b *Climax* rather so called in respect of a passage up and down, than that it is any proper name. c *Exod.* 13. 17. d *Wild.* 17. 11. e *Exod.* 14. 13, 14. f *Exod.* 14. 16.



*Sin. Ezek 30.15. Vatablus. Iunius. Hierom writes Pelusium & Septuag. Sais  
 Casluhim. Gen. 10.14. Ptolomy writes Casius of whom & Palestines or Philistines  
 Pathros. Ezek. 30.14. Gen. 10.14. Ptolomy writes Phacusa  
 Phibeseth. Ez. 30.17. & Sept. & Vulgar & Iun. write Bubastus. Tat & English Phibeseth  
 Zoan. Ez. 30.14. & Tat. Iun. Eng. write it the Vul. Taphnis the Septuag. Tanis  
 On. Ge. 41.45. & Tat. Iun. Eng. write it if Vul. & Sep. Heliopolis. Plin. & Mela Sais  
 Babylon the Hebrews Tudalensis & Postellus Mesraim. Oppidum  
 Noph. Ez. 30.16. & Tat. Pagm Iun. & Eng. write it if Sep. Chad. Par. & Hier. Memphis  
 Aven. Ez. 30.17. & Tat. Pag. & Eng. write the Sep. Vul. & Iunius Heliopolis  
 Rameses. Ex. 12.37. Gen. 47. Goshen the Hebrews and Chald. Par.  
 Migdol. Ex. 14.1. Jeremi. 46.14. speaketh of Migdol near Pelusium  
 Damietta not the same with Pelusium. G. Tyre bel. Sac. l. 20. c. 17  
 Pithom. Exod. 1.11. which Herodotus calls Putamos  
 Elim. Ex. 15.27. & 6 Mansion. W. of Tyre in his 11 Book of the  
 holy narr. c. 20 found the ruins of a City there which was still  
 called Heli & inhabited in his time in the year 200 after Christ  
 Etham & Sur one & the same Etham. Num. 33.8. Sur. Ex. 15.2  
 Pharan. so called in Prot. time who finds a City of y name near the Red Sea.  
 Sin Zincades & Cadesbarne distinct places. Par. Num. 13.14. 27.  
 Sin is between Elim and Sinai. Ex. 15.1. Sin stretcheth no farther  
 North then Alus. for Raphidim is without it. Ex. 17.  
 Zincades joyneth to Arabia the Desert and Cadesbarne to Idumea.  
 Sinai Desert is between Raphidim and Mount Sinai. Ex. 19.2 and  
 it stretcheth Southward towards Midian.  
 The Deserts of Moab lye East from the Dead Sea and joyn upon the  
 Desert Arabia and those of Edom between Her and Theman.*

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children of Israel that they go forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the sea; and divide it, and let the children of Israel go on dry ground through the midst of the sea. Moses obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night finding the sands uncovered, pass'd on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent ere he entered the ford, which it pleased God by a forcible eastern wind, and by Moses's rod, to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which Moses trod on. Therefore as it is written, *The angel of God which went before the host of Israel, removed, and went behind them: also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind them*; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his angel, to interpose his defence between the *Hebrews* and their enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmful speed. But in the morning watch Moses seized the other bank of *Arabia* side: and Pharaoh (as the dawn of day began to illighten the obscure air) finding a beginning of the seas return, hasted himself towards his own coast: *But Moses stretched forth his hand, and the sea returned to his force*; that is, the sea moved by the power of God, ran back towards the land with irresistible fury and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole army of Pharaoh, so as not one escaped. For it is written, *that God took off their chariot-wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the *Egyptians* being stricken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had pass'd on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawn out: the sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lyranus upon *Exodus* xiv. and others, following the opinions or old traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after Moses had by the power of God divided the *Red sea*, and that the children of *Israel* were fearful to enter it, *Aminadab*, prince or leader of the tribe of *Juda*, first made the adventure, and that therefore was that tribe ever after honoured above the rest, according to the prophecy of *Jacob*, *Gen.* xlix. 8. *Thy fathers sons shall bow down unto thee*. But *Jerome* upon the 11th of *Hosea* condemns this opinion. And tho' it be true, that *Juda* had the first place in all their marches in the desert, and, as we now call it, led the vanguard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red sea*) yet that Moses himself was the conductor of *Israel* at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the lxxviii *Psalms*, *Thou didst lead thy people like sheep by the hand of Moses and Aaron*.

The *Hebrews* have also another fancy, that the *Red sea* was divided into 12 parts, and that every tribe pass'd over in a path apart, because it is written in the cxxxvth *Psalms*, according the *Vulgar*, *Divisit mare rubrum in divisiones*; He divided the *Red sea* in divisions. Also that the bottom of the sea became as a green field or pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiaphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not 12 pillars nor 12 armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written *Psalms* lxxvii. 16. *Thy way is in the sea; not thy ways*; and in the last of the book of *Wisdom*, ver. 7. *In the Red sea there was a way*.

Now this sea, through which Moses pass'd, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called *Chencres*, perished in the 16th year of his reign, is commonly

known by the name of the *Red sea*; tho' the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other waters. But as *Philostratus* in his 3d book noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a blueish colour, as other seas are. It entrencheth at a narrow strait between *Arabia* the happy and *Ethiopia*; or the land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the cape, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Possodium*, to the other land of *Ethiopia*, hath not above six leagues in breadth: and the same also filled every where with islands, but afterwards it extendeth it self 58 leagues from coast to coast: and it runneth up between *Arabia* the happy, and *Arabia Petraea*, on one side, and *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the uttermost end and indraught of that sea: where the *Turk* now keepeth his fleet of gallies. The cosmographers commonly give it the name of the *Arabian gulf*: but the north part towards *Sues*, and where Moses pass'd, is called *Heropolites* of the city *Hero*, sometime *Troy*: and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambisu*, by which name it was known; faith he, before it was called *Hero*, many years. The *Arabians* call this sea towards the north, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: king *Juba Læniticum*: others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the port and city *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elatb*: *Ptolemy* *Elana*: *Pliny* *Læna*: *Josephus* *Ilana*, and *Marius Niger Aila*: there is also *Ilalah* in *Affyria*, to which *Salmanassar* carried the *Israelites* captive, *2 Kings* viii. 11. which *Ilalah* in *Affyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elaa*: and in the 1st of *Chron.* the 5th *Ala*. But as for this *Red sea*, or the parts thereof, thus diversly named, the *Moors* and *Arabians* (vassals to the *Turks*) know it by no other appellation, than the gulf of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomet's* town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the sea *Erythræum*: of a king called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and because *Erythros* in the *Greek* signifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the son of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it took the name of the *Red sea*, as *Quin. Curtius* conjectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that sea in the year 1544, performed by *Stephen Gama*, viceroy of the east *India*, for the king of *Portugal*, that this sea was so called from a reflection of redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many islands, and part of the continent bordering it. For I find by the report of *Castro*, a principal commander under *Gama* (which discourse I gave Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* to publish) that there is an island called *Dalagua*, sometimes *Leques*, containing in length 25 leagues, and 12 in breadth, the earth, sands, and cliffs of which island, being of a reddish colour, serve for a foil to the waters about it; and make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24 degrees of septentrional latitude, to 27 (which make in length of coast 180 miles, lying as it doth northerly and southerly) all the cliffs and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the sun-beams, give a kind of reddish luster to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the great store of coral grows, which is carried into most parts of *Europe*, and elsewhere. There are also on the islands of this sea many red trees, faith *Strabo*, and those growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadows of these stones, sands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first took

<sup>a</sup> Joshua 24. 7. <sup>b</sup> Exod. 14. 27. <sup>c</sup> Plin. l. 6. c. 29. <sup>d</sup> 3 Kings 9. <sup>e</sup> Jos. Ant. 8. c. 2. <sup>f</sup> Arian, de gest. Alex. mag. l. 8. Strab. l. 6.



the name of the *Red* sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Johannes Barros*, in his second decade, eighth book, and first chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the ancient cosmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which washeth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16 or 17 leagues together, along northward towards *Sues*, some three leagues or nine *English* miles over, and from this port of *Toro*, to *Sues*, and the end of this sea, it is in length about 28 leagues, of which the first 26 have 9 miles breadth as aforesaid, and afterwards the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the sea, and straiten it so fast, as for 6 miles together it is not above 3 miles over; from thence upward the land on *Egypt* side, falleth away, and makes a kind of bay or cove for some 10 miles together, after which the land grows upon the sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at 4 miles breadth, or thereabouts, in which tract it was that *Moses* pass'd it over, tho' others would have it to be over against *Elana* or *Toro*; but without judgment: for from *Ramases* to *Pibacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30 miles interjacent, or 35 miles at most, which *Moses* pass'd over in three days: and between the land of *Egypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is above 80 miles. For *Ramases* to which city *Moses* came (being the metropolis of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his last leave, standeth in 30 degrees 5 minutes of septentrional latitude: and *Migdol*, or the valley of *Pibacheroth*, at the foot of the mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in 29 and a half, which made a difference of 35 *English* miles: the way lying in effect north and south.

#### SECT. IX.

*That the passage through the Red sea was miraculous, and not at a low ebb.*

THE *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other heathen writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrews*, have objected that *Moses* pass'd over the *Red* sea at a low ebb, upon a great spring-tide, and that *Pharaoh* conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the flood, and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the scriptures, which makes it plain, that the waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an easterly wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that believe not therein persuadeth nothing) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to *Moses*, and the children of *Israel*, than ordinary and casual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his army have perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoever there is any ebbing of the sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the land: and run downward towards the ocean: leaving all that part towards the land as far as the sea can ebb, or fall off, to be dry land. Now *Moses* entering the sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) must have left all that end of the *Red* sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water, 10 or 12 miles farther into the sea than *Sues*, and between it and where *Moses* pass'd; who en-

ter'd the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the sleeve or strait, had been by the ebb of a spring-tide discovered, when *Pharaoh* found the flood increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might have gone on his return before the tide, on his right hand: and so taken ground at the end of that sea, at *Sues* itself, or elsewhere. But the scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, That the sea did not fall away from the land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moses* pass'd on between two seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, *Pharaoh* by any return of waters could not have perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great army's destruction, prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the scriptures, that *God caused the sea to run back by a strong east-wind*, do rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebb more than ordinary: for that sea doth not lie east and west, but, in effect, north and south. And it must have been a west and north-west wind, that must have driven those waters away thro' their proper channels, and to the south-east into the sea. But the east-wind blew athwart the sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell back towards the south and main body thereof: the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the north: which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was check'd by that sea, which used in all times before to ebb away, the flood press'd him and overwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Josephus* avoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent judgment generally, but also so great a captain, as he overthrew the *Ethiopians* in many battles, being employed by *Pharaoh*, and won divers cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grossness, and distraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardness of a mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and press'd him, as well when it flowed as when it ebb'd, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaoh's* approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safety: and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God: *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the sea, and divide it*: which proves that there was not at the time of *Pharaoh's* approach any ebb at all; but that God did disperse and cut thro' the weight of waters, by a strong east-wind, whereby the sands discovered themselves between the sea on the left hand towards *Sues*, from whence the waters moved not, and the sea which was towards the south on the right hand, *So that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left hand*, *Exod. xiv. 22.* that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the *Egyptians* could only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood upright as walls do, as some of the schoolmen have fancied. For had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any such buildings in the sea, they would soon have quitted the chace and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all nations in the observations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and



and refluxes of the sea, in his own country, on his own coast, and in his own most traded and frequented ports and havens, and wherein his people having had so many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, thro' ignorance, nor by any foreknown or natural accident, but by God's powerful hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking thro' no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the flood, before they could recover their own coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the flood which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that sea, and not have been cast ashore on that coast of *Arabia* where *Moses* landed, to wit, upon the sea-bank over-against *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* side: where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the *Red* sea, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them: which flood doth not any-where cross the channel, and run athwart it, as it must have done from *Egypt* side to *Arabia*, to have cast the *Egyptians* bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that sea: and to which their carcases should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the lives of the fathers affirmeth, that those of the *Egyptians* which stay'd in the country, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did ever after honour those beasts, birds, plants, or other creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pharaoh's* destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden made a god of that plant or root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. *Orosius*, in his first book and tenth chapter against the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived some 400 years after Christ, the prints of *Pharaoh's* chariot wheels were to be seen at a low water on the *Egyptian* sands: and tho' they were some time defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

#### CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the *Israelites* from the *Red* sea, to the place where the law was given them: with a discourse of laws.

#### SECT. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching chronology: with a continuance of the story, until the *Amalekites* met with the *Israelites*.

**B**UT to go on with the story of *Israel*, in this sort I collect the times. \* *Moses* was born in the year of the world 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Affyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycionia*, or *Peloponnesus*; *Criafus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Deucalion*, *Thessaly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived 40 years, in the year of the world 2474, and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the year 2514, in the last month of that year. On the 14th day of the first

*Hebrew* month *Abib*, or the 15th of that month, beginning the day (as they) at sun-setting, in the year of the world 2514, was the celebration of the passover; and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the <sup>b</sup> first-born slain thro' *Egypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The <sup>c</sup> 15th day of the first month of the *Hebrews* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the world 2514, *Moses* with the children of *Israel* removed from the general assembly at *Ramases*, and marched to *Succoth*.

And departing thence they made their third station at <sup>d</sup> *Etham*: and journeying from *Etham* they incamped in the valley of *Pibacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the mountain <sup>e</sup> *Baalzephon*; and in the same night after midnight, they passed the *Red* sea: *Pharaoh* and his army perishing in their return, about the first dawn of the day. *Moses* having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of *Israel*; and making no stay on that coast, entred the deserts of *Arabia Petrea*, called *Sur*, but finding no water in that passage, he incamped at <sup>f</sup> *Marab*, in the desert of *Etham*, which in *Exodus* xv. 22. is also called *Sur*, twenty-five miles from the sea: where the children of *Israel*, press'd with extreme thirst, murmured against <sup>g</sup> *Moses* a second time; first at *Pharaoh's* approach in *Pibacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moses* taking the branches of a tree, growing near a lake of bitter water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who upon the tree of the cross changed the bitterness of everlasting death, into the sweetness of eternal life. *Pliny* remembers these bitter fountains in his sixth book and 29th chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Sesostris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly *Ptolemy* the second, began to cut an artificial river, thereby by boats and small shipping to trade and navigate the *Red* sea, from the great cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marab* he removed to <sup>h</sup> *Elim*, the sixth mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelve fountains of sweet water, and seventy palm-trees, he rested divers days.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a town or city in *Moses's* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the scarcity of waters in that region was such, as *Helim*, which had twelve fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William* archbishop of *Tyre*, in his history of the holy war, found at *Helim* the ruins of a great and ancient city. And at such time as *Baldwin* the first pass'd that way into *Egypt*, <sup>i</sup> *Ingressus*, saith he, *Helim*, *Civitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum pervenisset, loci illius incolæ, regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientem in mare vicinum se contulerunt*; Entering *Helim* a very ancient city, well known sometime to the people of *Israel*; whither when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the king's approach, took boat, and shifted themselves into the sea, lying near them. From *Elim* he returned again towards the south, and sat down by the banks of the *Red* sea: the seventh mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalek*, who prepared to resist his passage thro' that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses*, who had not as yet trained those of the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear arms: nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountering with the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every-where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to un-

\* Acts 7. Joshua 14. <sup>b</sup> Exod. 12. <sup>c</sup> Numb. 33. <sup>d</sup> Exod. 13. Numb. 33. <sup>e</sup> Exod. 14. <sup>f</sup> Numb. 33. <sup>g</sup> Exod. 15. <sup>h</sup> Exod. 15. Numb. 33. <sup>i</sup> Will. Tyr. l. 11. c. 19.



dertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy: he therefore made stay at this mansion, until the fifteenth of the second month called *Zim*, or *Ijar*; and made the eighth mansion in the desert of <sup>a</sup> *Zin*; where the children of *Israel* mutinied against *Moses* the third time, having want of food. In the sixteenth chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red* sea, but in the collection of every several encamping; in the thirty-third of *Numbers* it is set down.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of quails, as all the country about their incamping was covered with them. The morning following it also rained manna, being the sixteenth of their month, which served them instead of bread. For <sup>b</sup> now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And tho' they had great numbers of cattle and sheep among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselves with many of those: but reserved them both for the milk to relieve the children withal, and for bread to store themselves when they came to the land promised.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two removes of twenty miles; the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* six miles. Here being again press'd with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casual and sometimes necessary want, and to undergo the hazards and travels which every manly mind seeketh after, for the love of God and their own freedoms. But <sup>c</sup> *Moses*, with the same rod which he divided the sea withal, in the sight of the elders of *Israel*, brought waters out of the rock, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

#### SECT. II.

*Of the Amalekites, Midianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battle with the Amalekites, and Jethro's coming: who being a Kenite, was priest of Midian.*

AND while *Moses* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites*, who had knowledge of his approach, and guessed that he meant to lead the children of *Israel* thro' their country (which being barren of it self, would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattle) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at *Raphidim*; where the want of water, and all other things needful for the life of man inebled them. On the other side *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to <sup>d</sup> *Joshua*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalek*. Between whom and *Israel*, the victory remained doubtful, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrews* and *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses's* prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men, that valiant and warlike nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprize. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or never be brought again to hazard themselves.

After this victory *Jethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses's* wife, and his two sons, which either *Jethro* forbore to conduct, or *Moses* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalek*

the better assured himself of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written *Exodus* xviii. 1. *When Jethro the priest of Midian, Moses's father-in-law, heard all that God had done for Moses, &c. of which the last deed; to wit, the overthrow of Amalek, gave Jethro courage and assurance, he then repaired to his son-in-law Moses, at Sinai; where, amongst other things, he advised Moses to appoint judges, and other officers, over Israel; being himself unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of people full of discontentment and private controversy.*

This *Jethro*, altho' he dwelt amongst the *Midianites*, yet he was by nation a *Kenite*, as in *Judges* iv. 11, 17. it is manifest; where it is written, *Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the son of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his tents until the plain of Zaanaïm, which is by Kedesh*. Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, <sup>e</sup> *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest he should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of *Sin Kadesh*, and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the plains, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*; <sup>f</sup> *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the rock*. And that <sup>g</sup> *Saul* spared this nation, he giveth for cause; that they shewed mercy to all the children of *Israel*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were a nation of the *Midianites*, and the *Midianites* were of the issues of <sup>h</sup> *Midian*, one of the six sons which *Abraham* begat on *Keturah*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Keturah*, of whom they descended by the mother, who as it seemeth kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Midian*, and married the daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them idolaters) have made *Jethro's* daughter the mother of his children. And altho' the *Kenites* are named amongst those nations, which God promised, that the seed of *Abraham* should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himself: but by some other nation bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in *Genesis* xv. 19. these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Hittites* and *Perezites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites* and *Jebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites* descended from <sup>i</sup> *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, <sup>k</sup> *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaïm*, which is by *Kedesh* or *Kadesh*. Again, *Moses* nameth that nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham's* other sons were born: which he did (referring my self to better judgment) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the <sup>l</sup> *Midianites*, parted by *Moses* into five tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens; as those of *Midian* by the river *Zared* afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Midianites* near the banks of the *Red* sea, where *Moses* married his wife *Ziporah*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalek*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these

<sup>a</sup> *Exod.* 16. <sup>b</sup> *Exod.* 16. <sup>c</sup> *Exod.* 17. <sup>d</sup> *Exod.* 17. <sup>e</sup> *1 Sam.* 15. 16. <sup>f</sup> *Numb.* 24. 21. <sup>g</sup> *1 Sam.* 15. 16. <sup>h</sup> *Gen.* 25. 4. <sup>i</sup> *Gen.* 25. 4. <sup>j</sup> *Judg.* 4. 11. <sup>k</sup> *Judg.* 4. 11. <sup>l</sup> *Gen.* 25. 4.



*Midianites* with the *Kenites* assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the desarts. But the *Midianites* in *Moab*, and to the north of the metropolis of *Arabia*, called *Petrea*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoining to the *Red* sea were not touched.

And tho' it may be doubted, whether those of *Midian*, of whom *Jethro* was priest, and the other cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000 *Israelites*, as far back as the *Red* sea, from the plains of *Moab*, to have destroy'd that *Midian*, where his wife's kindred inhabited: seeing himself coming with 600000 able men, was encountred by *Amalek* in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable desarts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandred 40 years.

That *Jethro* or *Jothor*, *Raguel* or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*; and our *English*, *Revel*; *Exod.* ii. 18. calls him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* iii. 1. iv. 18. xviii. 1. and vi. 9, 10, 12. and in *Numbers* x. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

### SECT. III.

*Of the time when the law was given: with divers commendations of the invention of laws.*

THE rest of the months of this year 2515, were spent in the desert of *Sinai*, near the mountain of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the 12th mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct mountains: *Jerome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many scriptures. For in *Exod.* iii. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.* xxiv. 16. it is written *Sinai*. In *Psalms* cvi. 19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.* xix. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called *Galatians* iv. 24. and again, *Deut.* iv. 10, 15. and *Deut.* v. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the 1st of *Kings* viii. 6. and the 2d of *Chron.* v. 10. and in *Malachy* iv. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* xlviii. 7. they are named as one. Which beards<sup>t</sup> (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) the rebuke of the Lord in *Sinai*, and in *Horeb* the judgment of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disjoined at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*: who in the year 1588, pass'd out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monfieur de Fumet* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very fair spring of water into the valley adjoining: where he found two monasteries of christian *Marronites*, containing some 100 religious persons of divers nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same author) give entertainment to all strangers, which pass that way.

Now, that there was some such torrent of water near *Sinai* in *Moses*'s time, it is very probable: First, because he incamped thereabout almost a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, because it is written *Exod.* xxxii. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden calf to powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the law by the angel of God was given to *Moses*, where he staid a whole year, wanting some 10 or 12 days: for he removed not till the 20th day of the 2d month of the 2d year; and he arrived about the 45th day after the egression: the law being given the 50th day.

At this mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the xxixth chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers* to the xth chapter. Whereof (because there is no story nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the law, and the kinds and use thereof: whereby, if the reader find the story any way disjoined, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation; building, nor continuance of any common-wealth, without the rule, level, and square of laws: so it pleased God to give thereby unto *Moses* the powerfulest mean (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the north-star is the most fixed director of the sea-man to his desired port: so is the law of God the guide and conductor of all in general, to the haven of eternal life: the law of nature, from God's eternal law deduced; the rule of all his creatures: the law human, depending on both these, the guard of kings, magistrates, and virtuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of every estate in the world, by which they live and move: the law, to wit, a just law, being resembled to an heart without affection, to an eye without lust, and to a mind without passion; a treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have.

This benefit the ancients, tho' barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those, which were taken for the first makers of laws, were honoured as gods, or as the sons of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posterity for men of no less virtue, and no less liberally beneficial to their countries, than the greatest and most prosperous conquerors that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their laws from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedemonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romans* sometimes from their first kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their senators, from their lawyers, and from the people themselves: others from the prince, nobility, and people; as in *England*, *France*, and in other christian monarchies and estates.

### SECT. IV.

*Of the name and meaning of the words, law and right.*

THE word *lex*, or *law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversly, and in an indifferent sense used. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of grammar, and other arts, are called laws. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of superiours to inferiours: for the commandments of tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees do also usurp that title, according to the general acceptation of the word law: of which *Isaiah*, <sup>b</sup> *Wo unto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things*. Likewise, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call laws, tho' evil and insufficient. <sup>c</sup> *Mala lex est, quæ tumultuarie posita est*; It is an ill law that is made tumultuously. So as all ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of laws.

<sup>a</sup> Pet. Bel. l. 2. c. 62. <sup>b</sup> *Isaiah* 10. <sup>c</sup> *Ethic.* l. 4. c. 1.



The word law is also taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it self, as to their pattern and platform. And thus the law of the flesh, which the divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be understood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which sense as <sup>a</sup> elsewhere, this moral habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: so in St. Paul to the *Romans* it is called a law. *But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometimes called <sup>b</sup> laws, so far as they agree with the reason of the law eternal; as the law of a lion, to be fierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among merchants and other tradesmen, do often put on the name of laws. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, prescribing a necessary mean, for the good of a common-wealth, or civil community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quam leges*, rather compulsions than laws: And whatsoever is not just, St. *Augustine* doth not allow for laws, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec cura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*; the unjust constitutions of men, which are neither to be termed or thought laws. For saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia justa sunt factiva, & conservativa felicitatis*; Just laws are the workers and preservers of happiness: because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam*, to a quiet life, according to *Cicero*: yea, *to life everlasting*, according to the scriptures. For the end of the law, saith <sup>d</sup> *Plato*, is God and his worship: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus*. *Lex*, or the law, is so called by the *Latins*, *a legendo*, or *a ligando*, of reading or binding: *Leges quia lætæ & ad populum lætæ*, saith *Varro*; for after laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other etymology, *a ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a law: whence in the scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*; They have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the second *Psalms*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus a nobis funes ipsorum*; Let us break their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from us.

The covenant it is called, because of the conditional promises of God: and because of God's people's voluntary submission of themselves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the epistle to the *Hebrews*, use the word *διαθήκη*, a testament or last will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the testator; for without the death of the testator, the testament is of no force: as *Heb. ix. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est*.

The *Hebrews* call the law *Thorah* of teaching,

because every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the law is the power of God: justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est*; The reign of the law is the reign of God.

Law in general is thus defined by the philosophers: *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda*; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun: or *Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum regina*; Law is the queen or princess of things both human and divine. But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index sui & curvi*, the demonstration of it self and of the crooked: so is the law, the judge and measure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* calls the law a directive rule to goodness of operation: and tho' law as touching the substance and essence, consist in understanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*, yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *jus* is also diversly taken, as sometimes for the matter of the law, and for common right: sometimes for the law it self: as *jus civile*, or *jus gentium*. <sup>e</sup> *Isidore* distinguisheth the two general words *jus* and *fas*: whereof *jus*, saith he, hath reference to men, *fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, jus lex humana*. To go over another man's field, is permitted, by God's law, not by man's; and therefore in a thing out of controversy, *Virgil* used both these words: as *Fas & jura sinunt*, God and men permit.

The word *jus* or right, is derived or taken from the old substantive noun *jussus*, a bidding or commandment: or perhaps from the *Greek* *zeus*, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latin* genitive case *Jovis*; because as the scripture speaks, <sup>h</sup> *the judgment is God's*. For it is certain, that *jus-jurandum* came from *jovis-jurandum* (for so we find it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which sense the scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) so also we may say, that *jus* came of *Jovis*, *quia Jovis est*: because as God is the author, and pattern, and maintainer of right, so also in his <sup>i</sup> *vicegerents* the *magistrates*, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *jus* the just are denominated, *justus a jure*, and *justitia a justo*; the right gives name to the righteous: and justice takes her name from the just.

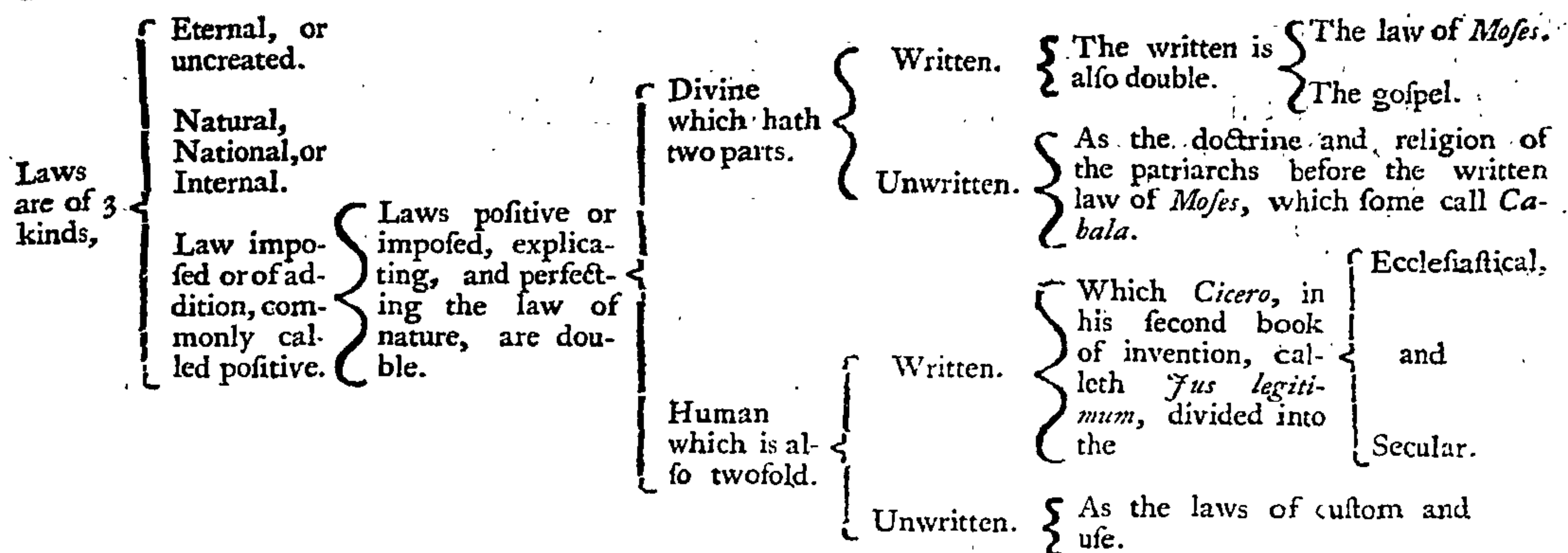
#### SECT. V.

*Of the definition of laws, and of the law eternal.*

**B**UT because laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I mean those sorts of laws, from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of human laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 6. 5. & 8. 2. <sup>b</sup> So *Virgil*, continuo has leges æternæque fœdera certis imposuit natura locis; *quod etiam ita est to be noted, that he joins leges and fœdera together: as in the scripture the law is oftentimes called the covenant.* <sup>c</sup> *Arist.* *Ethic.* 5. 1. <sup>d</sup> *Plato* in *Dial.* 1. de *Leg.* <sup>e</sup> *Jer.* 5. 5. <sup>f</sup> *Psal.* 2. <sup>g</sup> *Isid.* *Etym.* <sup>h</sup> *Deut.* 1. 17. *2 Chron.* 19. 6. <sup>i</sup> *Exod.* 22. 11. *1 Kings* 2. 43.





The law eternal is thus defined by *Thomas* :  
*a Lex eterna est eternus divinae sapientiae conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecognitarum*; The eternal law is the eternal concept of God's wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himself. Or  
*b Lex eterna est summa atque aeterna ratio divinae sapientiae : quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; It is the high and eternal reason of divine sapience : as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity according to their several natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: that as the same divine understanding directs all these to their proper ends ; so it is called providence: but as it imposeth a necessity according to the natures of all things which it directs, so is it called a law.

Of this eternal law *Cicero* took knowledge, when, in his book of laws, he wrote in this manner : *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a delicto avocans : quae non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est : sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina : quomobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis*; That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not (saith he) then begin to be a law when it was written : but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and a fit princeps to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternal law (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same ; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it diverse and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent; another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal law all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God: from this law all laws are derived, as from the rule universal: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

<sup>c</sup> The eternal, and the divine law, differ only in consideration; the eternal directing more largely, as well every creature to their proper and natural ends, as it doth man to his supernatural: but the divine law to a supernatural end only: the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal, as it were a stream from this fountain.

The law human or temporal is also thence drawn, in that it hath the form of right reason: from which it it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked

imposition, and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternal law all things are subjected, as well angels and men, as all other creatures, or things created ; whether necessary or contingent, natural or moral, and human. For the law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director : as,  
<sup>d</sup> *Praise him all ye his angels : praise him sun and moon, all bright stars : heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass : praise ye the Lord from the earth ye dragons and all depths : fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy winds, which execute his word : mountains and hills : fruitful trees and all cedars : beasts, and all cattel, &c.* Now as the reasonable creatures are by this eternal law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other natural things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct: things without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavy to fall downward : things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatsoever is apposed. This kind of working the *Aristotelians* ascribe to common nature: others to fate ; a difference used in terms only ; it being no other than God's general providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia* : so are all things which appear in themselves thence derived: there-under subjected: thence-from by his eternal law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The *Schoolmen* are very curious and ample in the consideration of these laws: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thencefrom, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetite, to conduct them : so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to St. *Augustine*, *Lex aeterna est, quae iustum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima*; The law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, It is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? but the resolution is, that it changeth not ; for which St. *Augustine* useth a sufficient argument in his first book of *Free-Will*, the sixth chapter. For the law of *Moses*, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until the time of the *Pedagogy* of God's people, or introduction to Christ should be expired ; which

<sup>a</sup> P. 2 q. 2 art. 1. <sup>b</sup> Th. q. 36. art. 1. <sup>c</sup> Tho. & Aug. <sup>d</sup> Psal. 148. <sup>e</sup> L. 1. de lib. arb. c. 6.



time of expiration some think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the cross he said, *Consummatum est*. But I rather think these words of our Saviour to have no other signification, than that now the prophecy of their giving him vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so St. John expounds it, when he saith, ver. 28. *That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, Ut consummaretur scriptura*, That the scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, *I thirst*: tho' I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of so much of the judicial, as appertaineth peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the law of the new testament and gospel of Christ. For the immutable law of God, tho' prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it self; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the Wisdom of Solomon, *And being one she can do all things, and remaining in herself reneweth all*.

## SECT. VI.

## Of the law of nature.

OF the law of nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the schoolmen: only as it is considered in man, it is called, The impression of divine light, and a participation of the eternal law in the reasonable creature; *Lex naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura*. Ulpian defines the natural law to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures; *Jus naturale est quod natura omnia animalia docuit*: and he afterwards addeth, *Jus istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quae terra marique nascuntur, avium quoque commune est*; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the land and sea produceth. But this definition is not general, but of the natural law in things of life.

The law of nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, enlightning our formal reason; so is it more than sense in beasts; and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to fly from the enemies of their lives: seeing that bulls and horses appear unto the sense more fearful and terrible, than the least kind of dogs: and yet the hare and deer feed by the one, and fly from the other, yea, tho' by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their dams. Neither is it sense which hath taught other beasts to provide for winter, birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the birds of India to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang over rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere, to save their eggs and young ones from the monkeys, and other beasts, whose weight such a twig will not bear: and which would fear to fall into the water. The instances of this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that law, which the infinite and unsearchable wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them,

and for every nature created. In man this law is double, corrupt and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made it self subject, and a vassal to passions, and affections brutal: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of law. For it was not by the law of nature incorrupt, which St. Augustine calleth the law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the Germans did anciently allow of theft, and that other nations were by law constrained to become idolaters; that by the laws of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to use one another's wife, and to the women to choose them others besides their husbands, to beget them with child: which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawful to bury with them the best beloved wives: as also they have many other customs remembered by G. *Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these laws some men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithless among the faithless: to provide for our selves by another man's destruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws, either out of St. Augustine or *Aquinas* (the one calling it the impression of divine light; the other, the dictate or sentence of public reason) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of justice and uprightness: and not to offer or perform any thing towards others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed towards our selves. For such is the law of nature to the mind, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to David sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end; which is eternal life: tho' of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. For when the *Gentiles* (saith St. Paul) which have not the law, do by nature those things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themselves. Now, to love God by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation; *In arce altissima rationis quies habitat*. Therefore, the *Gentiles* (saith St. Paul) which shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for a witness of those effects: and they reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisy) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it

<sup>a</sup> John 19. 30. <sup>b</sup> Paul. 60. 21. <sup>c</sup> Aug. in Epit. ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. 11. c. 49. <sup>d</sup> Ulp. de Justitia & Jure, l. 1. tit. 1. <sup>e</sup> Supra, §. 1. ex loco ad Rom. 7. 23. <sup>f</sup> Theod. 1. 9. de cur. ndis affect. Gregor. <sup>g</sup> Acolla <sup>h</sup> Nemo jure naturae cum al-  
terius detrimento locupletari fieri debet. <sup>i</sup> Psal. 4. <sup>k</sup> Rom. 2. 14. <sup>l</sup> Rom. 2. 15.



helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the world's eye, seeing from him who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some garlands we may gather in this may-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arescit*; Those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are gathering them. That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearful witnesses of our secretest evils, did that reverend philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum*; Commit nothing foul or dishonest, faith he, neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart, but above all men reverence thine own conscience. And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their own form; as fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable mind is the form of man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper form presenteth unto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of virtue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable, as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The earth performeth her office, according to the law of God in nature; for it bringeth forth the bud of the herb which seedeth seed, &c. and the beast which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for signs and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the law of their natures and forms; the whole world would then perish, and all return to the first *Chaos*, darkness and confusion.

By this natural law, or law of human reason, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedness, and offence, in the murder of *Abel*: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal law, before the law written: *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. iv.* *If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, sin lieth at thy door.*

The schoolmen are large also in this question of the natural law, the same being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antoninus*, and *Valentia*. But it is not to my purpose to write a volume of this subject.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of reason taken properly*, and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reason: they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and evil eschewed;) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more universal propositions. Again, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfy hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death;) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of natural law. The first is to be that which

we are; in which is comprehended the desire both to live, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the father after his death lives in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable laws of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*; so he doth desire good and shun evil. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to desire their own good. And so is good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Basil* upon the xlvth *Psalme* approveth: *Recte quidem bonum definiunt, quod omnia expetunt*; Rightly have some men defined good or goodness, to be that which all things desire.

The second kind of appetite is of those things which appertain to us, as we have sense. Whence, by the law of nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For as sense itself is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meet, even by the law of nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carry us to the destruction, either of our life or being. And altho' (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that nature hath given divers laws unto them: in which sense the civilians define natural right, or *jus naturale*, to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures; yet the schoolmen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a law, but only a *jus*, or right, which is the matter and aim of every law. For so they distinguish it, where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *jus naturale* is that, which nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place, faith *Valentia*, *jus* is not to be taken for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where *Ulpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *jus nature*, the other *jus gentium*: the divines understand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason, both in beasts and men; and restrain the law of nations to a kind of human right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to man, as he is a living creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our neighbour, as for our selves; and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our religion.

Now altho' there are many other branches and divisions of this law of nature answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, Because all is contained in that general natural precept, that good is to be followed and ill avoided: and thirdly, Because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man, because he is endued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth: *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit*;

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Job 28.

<sup>c</sup> Tho. q. 94. Art. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Ethic. 1. 1 c. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Basil



When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass, which was written by *St. Paul*, when the commandment came, sin revived. Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which break the same, are said by *St. Paul*, *“To be delivered over unto a reprobate sense (or mind) to do those things which are not convenient : and again, that their consciences bear witness and their thoughts accuse them.* For tho’ this law of nature stretch not to every particular ; as to command fasting and the like, yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore, said *Damascene*, *“Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est ;* Men, saith he, are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature : and *St. Augustine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est ;* Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are born lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit : by taking from the evil, and giving to the good : and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves : according to the rules of justice and equity.

And tho’ the law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law she suffereth to be broken : as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the universal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable : who according to *“St. Paul*, *abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.*

#### SECT. VII.

##### *Of the written law of God.*

**A**FTER the eternal and natural, the law positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds ; divine and human. Again, the divine positive law is double ; the old and new : the old was given unto *Moses* in mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 2513 whole years, and in the 67th day of this year, when as *Ascatades* or *Ascades* governed the *Affyrians* ; *Merathus*, the *Sycionians* ; *Triopus*, the *Argives* ; *Cecrops*, *Attica*, and *Acheres*, *Egypt* : to wit, after the promise to *Abraham* 430 years. And this, it seems, was the first written law which the world received. For the very word *Nomos* signifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Grecians* ; no not in *Homer’s* time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80 years at least : and *Troy* it self was cast down 335 years after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This law it pleased God to engrave in stone, that it might remain a lasting book of his express’d will in the Church ; and that the priests and people might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ* : and that so these children of *Israel*, tho’ bred among an idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse : the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their lives long, the elders of families might easily without any written law instruct their own children : and yet as they encreased, so doubtless

they had, besides the law of nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good and evil ; nor condemn every sin in particular : nor sufficiently terrify the consciences of offenders : nor so expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural law ; in these respects it was necessary, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men : which before they might, but would not read in their own consciences. The schoolmen, and the fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessity why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David* ; *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting souls : the testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to children.* For the human law, saith *St. Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment ; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit : but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore by *David* it is called undefiled.

Secondly, It serveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will : and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our souls*, added by *David* : wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the cabalists. *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur ;* The actions of men, say they, would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the mind.

Thirdly, It leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversity of opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among sundry nations, we cannot be assured of ; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without error : and therefore also said *David* ; *That the testimony of the law of God is faithful : giving wisdom to children.*

#### SECT. VIII.

##### *Of the unwritten law of God, given to the patriarchs by tradition.*

**N**OW, that in all this long tract of time, between the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appear. For the patriarchs of the first age received many precepts from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos* : from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular commandments afterwards written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition ; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterwards called *Cabala*, or *Receptio* ; Precepts received from the mouth of their priests and elders : to which the *Jews* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their priests, and unlawful to be uttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any ; as being indeed the divine law revealed to the patriarchs, and from them delivered to the posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the begin-

<sup>a</sup> Rom. 1. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Rom. 2. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 2. Fid. orthod. c. 30

<sup>d</sup> 2 Tim. 2. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 1.



ning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding they were sufficiently known. For finding the reason of his own name *Adam* or *Adamah*, earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his children and nephews, which afterwards his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain: and *Enosh* signifieth man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted: all men thence after being commanded to cohabit with their wives, rather than with their father and mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it self, is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the general flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold I will destroy them<sup>a</sup> from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished: God's mercy and justice interposing between the untaught and revenge.

This commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried up from the earth. *Who-so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reverencing our parents, was observed among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the father's curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from heaven. The sin of adultery and ravishment, was before the law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge, taken for *Dina's* forcing: and by the judgment which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken: for she is a man's wife.* To these we may add the ordinance of sacrifice, of distinction of clean beasts, of circumcision, of the brother to raise up seed to his brother, that lest a widow childless, and divers other constitutions, partly moral, and partly ceremonial, which being delivered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine law imposed*, of which the law of *Moses* containeth that which is called the *Old Testament*, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in stone, but also in substance, to have been given in precept to the patriarchs. For as *St. Paul* witnesseth of himself, *I knew not sin, but by the law:* so the law ever naturally preceded, and went before offences, tho' written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten law; the angels intuitively; men by reason; beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

SECT. IX.

*Of the moral, judicial, and ceremonial law, with a note prefixed, How the scripture speaketh not always in one sense, when it nameth the law of Moses.*

NOW as the word [*law*] in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain: so this law, called the *law of Moses* in particular, is taken by *St. Paul* diversly; as sometimes for all the *Old Testament*, as, *Now we know whatsoever the law saith, it saith to them which are under the law.*

When it is opposed, or differenced from the prophets and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five books of *Moses*. For so *St. Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must be fulfilled which are written of me in the law, in the prophets, and in the psalms.*

When it is opposed to the gospel, then it is taken for the law moral, ceremonial, and judicial; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law.*

When it is opposed to grace, it signifieth the declaration of God's wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum jus*: as, *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.*

When it is opposed to the truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signs are taken for the things signified; as the sacrifice for Christ, and the like: then it signifieth but shadows and figures; as *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

Lastly, When it is opposed to the time of Christ's coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the *Jews* commonweal; as, *Before faith came, we were kept under the law, &c.* or the law of the order and institution of the *Aaronical priesthood*; as, *All the prophets, and the law, or the priests, prophesied unto John.* And if the priesthood be changed, the law also, to wit, of the priesthood, must needs be changed.

The word [*law*] is sometimes also taken by the figure *Metonymia*, for interest, authority, and empire, or for constraining force; as, *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sin and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.*

But the *written law of Moses*, or the law of the *Old Testament*, of which we now speak, is thus defined: The law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding holiness and justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the law, and threatening death to those which break the law in the least. For, according to *St. James*, *Who-soever keepeth the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition of the schoolmen, in which both the old and new law are comprehended, is thus given, *Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apte pervenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humane vite finis*; The divine law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last end of man's life.

<sup>a</sup> The common reading is cum terra: but God did not destroy the earth, and why may not this preposition in this place have the same force which it hath, according to Junius, Gen. 4. 1. Item 44. 4. and Deut. 34. 1. Especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, vs. 7. Delebo hominem de supericie terræ. <sup>b</sup> Gen. 9. 6. <sup>c</sup> Gen. 9. 25. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 34. 25. <sup>e</sup> Gen. 38. 24. <sup>f</sup> Rom. 3. 19. <sup>g</sup> Luke 24. 44. <sup>h</sup> Rom. 3. 28. <sup>i</sup> Rom. 6. 4. <sup>k</sup> Gal. 3. 18. <sup>l</sup> John 1. 17. <sup>m</sup> Gal. 3. 23. <sup>n</sup> Luke 10. 6. <sup>o</sup> Heb. 7. 12. and 10. 1. <sup>p</sup> Rom. 8. 2. and 7. 23. <sup>q</sup> James 2. 10.



The law of *Moses* hath three parts : moral, ceremonial, and judicial. The moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular ; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done ; as *do this, for I am the Lord* ; whereas the law of nature commands it but in general. Again, the moral law entreateth of virtue and goodness ; the ceremonial of divine service, and of holiness (for external worship, and the order of hallowing ourselves unto God, is called ceremony ;) and the judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the commonwealth of the *Jews*, and prescribeth orders for justice and equity. And therefore was it said of *St. Paul, Rom. vii. 12. The commandment is just, holy and good* : just, or justice, being referred to the judicial ; holy or holiness, to the ceremonial ; good, or honest, to the moral. The judicial part is touching the government of the commonwealth of the *Jews*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things, of which it speaketh, to wit, sacrifice, holy things, sacraments, and observances. To sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruits of the earth ; to holy things the tabernacle, temple, vessels, altars, and the like ; to sacraments, circumcision, the passover and such like. For the observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the blood and fat of beasts : or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mixt garments of linen and woollen ; as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and improper commixtions, as, *Thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an ox and an ass*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty even to beasts, birds and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some refer these precepts ; *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor beat down the first buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring ox*, and the like, to the ceremonial law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of Christ. For the moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away : saving in the ability of justifying or condemning ; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God, and to use charity one towards another ; which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done : which power of directing by special rules and precepts of life it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both testaments to be observed ; tho' principally for the fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The ceremonial also liveth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body itself is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth direction to the Church for some ceremonies and types of holy signification, which are still expedient ; tho' in a far fewer number than before Christ's coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, The judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end and the natural and universal equity thereof.

But the moral faileth in the point of justification,

the ceremonial, as touching the use and external observation (because Christ himself is come, of whom the ceremonies were signs and shadows) and the judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* commonweal and policy.

#### S E C T. X.

*A proposal of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.*

**A**S for that which remaineth in the general consideration of the divine written law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the law.
2. The majesty of the law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
7. The end and use of the law.
8. The sense and understanding of the law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the law is sufficiently proved by *St. Paul* in these words, *Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment is holy, and just, and good* : which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the moral, ceremonial, and judicial.

2. The majesty of the law-giver is approved in all his creatures : who, as he hath given all things their lives, and beings, so he only gave the law, who could only give the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of mankind : but he gave it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministry of angels, as it is said. *\*And the law was ordained by angels, in the hand of a Mediator* : and in the *Acts*, *He gave the law by the ordinance of angels*.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving this law, is in three respects. First, In that they were prepared : Secondly, In that they were a nation apart and dissevered : Thirdly, In that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other nations were idolaters. A nation apart and severed they were, because of God's choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God unto *Abraham*, and his seed : not unto his seeds, as to *Esau* and *Jacob*, but to his seed, as to *Jacob*, or *Israel* singularly, of whom Christ. *<sup>b</sup>Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made : he saith not to the seeds, as speaking of many, but to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ*.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by *St. Augustine* : that it was about the middle time, between the law of nature and grace : the law of nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses* : the law written in the commandments, received by *Moses* in the world's year 2514, continued to the baptism of *John* ; from which time began the law of grace, which shall continue to the world's end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of, our justification : but not by itself sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in moral precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sins forgiven, who taketh

<sup>a</sup> Gal. 3. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Gal. 3. 6



away the sins of the world: and therefore St. *Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law <sup>a</sup> *beggarly and weak*; beggarly, as containing no grace, weak; as not able to forgive and justify. The <sup>b</sup> blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of an heifer could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of Christ's blood, which doth cleanse the inward soul. <sup>c</sup> *For if the law could justify, then Christ died in vain.*

SECT. XI.

*Of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new testament.*

THE old and new testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the old by works, the new by grace: but in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree: which is, man's happiness and salvation.

The old testament, or law, or letter, or the witness of God's will, was called the old, because it preceded the new testament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witness. Yet the new of more excellency, in that it doth more lively express, and openly and directly delineate the ways of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: <sup>d</sup> *In that he saith the new testament, he hath abrogated the old.* For the old law, tho' greatly extolled by the prophets, and delivered with wonderful miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the new was given in a promise of an everlasting kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalypse*, a testament and gospel for ever during.

The old testament is called a law, because the first and chief part is the law of *Moses*, of which the prophets and *Psalms* are commentaries, explicating that law.

The new testament is called the gospel, because the first and chief part thereof is the glad tidings of our redemption: the other books, as the epistles or letters of the apostles, and the acts or story of the apostles, are plentiful interpreters thereof: the word *Euangelion* signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homér* used it) the reward given to the messenger, bringing joyful news. It is also sometimes taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by *Xenophon*. In the scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Isaiab* lii. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained to signify that most joyful message of salvation, as in *Luke* ii. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the history of <sup>e</sup> *Christ*: and so we understand the four gospels.

Lastly, For the preaching and divulging the doctrine of Christ, as *1 Cor.* ix. 14. and *2 Cor.* viii. 18.

The agreement of both testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in volumes) is by *Danteus* comprised in these four.

In their author.

In the substance of the covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in righteousness and justification.

In the author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one church, so was there one covenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at Christ, so doth the new law teach Christ: the old proposing him as to come, the new as al-

ready come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation of our souls: which, according to St. *Peter*, is the end of our faith. For altho' it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the law an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with milk and hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the fathers of those spiritual blessings by Christ; for by the earthly he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the fathers, notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Jerusalem*: According to this place of *Heb.* xi. 13. *All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them: confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also St. *Augustine*; <sup>f</sup> *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena æterna promitti*; Few (saith he) do understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternal are promised. And St. *Jerome*, <sup>g</sup> *Noluit Deus pascere Judeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Judei somniant*; God would not feed the Jews as beasts with corporal gifts and riches, as themselves dream. And this may be gathered out of God's own words, *Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum*; I am thy God, and I will be your God; for the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise; but in respect of the future: to wit, the safety of their souls. For as God created both body and soul, so hath he of his goodness not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

The agreement between the old and new testament in substance, infers also the agreement in foundation. For Christ is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the apostles and prophets: in whom all the promises of God in the old and new, are assured: the fathers having eaten the same spiritual food, which we eat in our sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, serveth in subordination to the gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and salvation: to which the law serving as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and salvation) may be said to agree with the gospel in the effects. For otherwise, if we sever the law from subordination to the gospel, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousness by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the gospel healeth: the law terrifieth, the gospel allureth: *Moses* accuseth, Christ defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, Christ pardoneth: the old restraineth the hand, the new the mind. <sup>h</sup> *Data est lex quæ non sanaret* (saith St. *Augustine*) *sed quæ ægrogantes probaret*; The law was given not to help, but to discover sickness: and St. *Chrysostom*, *Data est lex, ut se homo inveniret; non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quæreretur*; The law was given that man might find and know his own imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen; but that he might then seek out the physician. For Christ came to save the world, which the law had condemned. And as <sup>i</sup> *Moses* was but a servant, and Christ a son, so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the *worthiest person*, saith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

<sup>a</sup> Gal. 4. <sup>b</sup> Heb. 9. <sup>c</sup> Gal. 2. <sup>d</sup> Heb. 8. 13. <sup>e</sup> Acts 1. <sup>f</sup> Lib. de Civitate Dei. 18. 15. <sup>g</sup> In Sophon. 3. 9. <sup>h</sup> Homil. ad Rom. <sup>i</sup> Heb. 7.



## SECT. XII.

*Of the rest of the points proposed.*

THE seventh consideration is of the end and use of the law: which is to bring us to Christ: for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. <sup>a</sup> *Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the law, is to render us inexcusable before God: who knowing so perfect a law, do not keep it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or half obedience: but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and men.

The third and chief end of the law is, as hath been said, to send us to Christ, and his Grace, being in our selves condemned and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearful tempest, threatening eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to design, and preserve, the place of the church and true people of God; and to hold them in one discipline and awe, till the coming of Christ: after whom the church was to be dispersed over the whole world.

These be the ends of the moral law. The end and use of the ceremonial law, is to confirm the truth of Christ, and the new testament. The use of the judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we must conform our selves.

The sense and understanding of the law is double, literal and spiritual: by the literal, we are taught the worship and service of God: by the spiritual, the figures and mystical fore-speakings of Christ.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the law, the same had being until the passion of Christ: before which time, and while Christ taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered upon the altar of the cross, then the Jewish sacrifices and ceremonies, which were types and figures of Christ (Christ being the body of those shadows) ceased to bind the consciences any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by Christ and in him finished. In token whereof the veil of the temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremonial veils and shadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the commandments was hereby abolished, or weakened at all: otherwise than that it had not power to condemn according to the Jewish doctrine, as aforesaid. For the observing of the law was by Christ himself severely commanded: our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein David so much rejoiced, as he preferred the observation of the law, before all that the world could yield. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus divitiis*; I have been delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches: and again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver*. *This is the love of God* (saith St. John i. 5.) *that we keep his commandment*. And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himself in Deuteronomy witnesseth, *This commandment* (saith he) *which I command thee this day is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldest say who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it us?*

*&c. but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart for to do it.* Behold (saith Moses) *I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his ordinances, and his laws, that thou mayst live, &c.* Neither is it said in vain in St. Matthew ix. 17. *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*; If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments: and in St. John xii. 50. *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita eterna est*; I know that his commandment is life everlasting. And if this be the charity of God, or of men towards God, as St. John hath taught, to wit, that we keep his commandments: certainly he is but a liar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his will, with all his power. And tho' I confess it is not in man's ability, without the special grace of God, to fulfil the law (Christ only as man excepted) yet if we rightly consider the merciful care which God had of his people in those his commandments, we shall find in our selves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them, from the chains of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) proposeth to it self. *For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous*, 1 John iii. 12. and if we examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easy persuasions, we steal away from our own power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

## SECT. XIII.

*Of the several commandments of the Decalogue: and that the difficulty is not in respect of the commandments, but by our default.*

FOR by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing every reasonable man may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities: and that it is of necessity that by this Almighty unity, all things have been caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath also provided for every of them, <sup>d</sup> *which giveth to beast their food, &c.* there is no doubt but that they would also serve and love him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of idolatry, and worship of images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true: *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt*; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their virtue: until (saith Laërtius) the devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himself thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blind, deaf, and dumb, and dead stocks, more worthless than the most worthless of those, that having life and reason, implore their help, which have neither: yea, of more vile prize and baser, than the basest of beasts, who have sense and esti-

mation?

<sup>a</sup> Levit. 24. 5. <sup>b</sup> Gen. 49. 10. *The scepter shall not depart from Juda, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shilo come*. <sup>c</sup> Deut. 32. 11, 12, 13 & 14. <sup>d</sup> Rom. 10. 6, 7, 8. <sup>e</sup> Psal. 147. 9. <sup>f</sup> Gloss. in verb. Calum.



mation? for what do we thereby (saith the *Wisdom of Solomon*) <sup>a</sup> *but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, assistance in our journies of him that cannot go, and success in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the idolater, or the block, to which he prayeth, be more senseless, *David* maketh a doubt. <sup>b</sup> *For* (saith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.*

The breach of the third commandment is neither persuaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, unless the hate of good men, and God's curse, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, so can it satisfy no one appetite, except everlasting sorrow, and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custom hath the devil brought up among men, without all subtlety of argument, or cunning persuasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornful advantage over us. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, theft gives satisfaction to need, adultery to lust, oppression to covetousness: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreverent abuse of God's name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, so the most savage nations of the world do not use it.

The fourth commandment, to keep the sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in *Exod. xxiii. 12.* *And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy maid, and the stranger may be refreshed.*

The first of the second table to honour our parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it self hath taught us towards them, who after God gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cherished us in our weak and helpless infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore in the temporal and judicial ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not murder, that is, thou shalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our own laws, and in effect the law of all nations, have made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo;* It is the affection and will that makes the work such as it is. And certainly whosoever cannot forbear to commit murder, hath neither the grace of God, nor any use of his own will.

The third of the second table, commands us from adultery. Now, if the preservation of virginity have been possible, for thousands of men and women, who in all ages have mastered their fleshly desires, and have returned chaste to the grave: it cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and injury, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the laws of God, and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the desire of beauty and form hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill: did not himself give suck to this infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second table, is, that we

shall not steal. And if that kind of violent robbery had been used in *Moses's* time, which many ruffians practise now-a-days in *England*, and, to the dishonour of our nation, more in *England* than in any region of the world among Christians, out of doubt he would have censured them by death, and not by restitution, tho' quadruple. For I speak not of the poor and miserable souls, whom hunger and extreme necessity inforceth, but of those detested thieves, who, to maintain themselves lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the merchant, artificer, and labouring-man, or break by violence into other men's houses, and spend in bravery, drunkenness, and upon harlots, in one day, what other men sometimes have laboured for all their lives; impoverishing whole families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this commandment might easily be observed, it would soon appear, if princes would resolve but for a few years to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that encourageth these hell-hounds. And if every man presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or commonwealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth commandment of this second table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminal, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our frail affections: and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vain thoughts. For altho' it be not easy to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder their growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seek for grace. How the word coveting reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *est effrenatus habendi appetitus;* An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of having: And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by any our natural frailty, or unadvised error; but, as I suppose, the word concupiscence is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for some urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort: which is, *Aetus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione quæ est principium proprium ætæ boni aut vitiosi;* Such passions or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not: as they say, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus;* As long as we give no assent unto them, it is thought by some that they hurt us not: and that then only they hurt when we suffer them to bear sway. But these men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what have been forbidden in the other: for in every commandment, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evil, tho' it break not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this commandment and the rest, the di-

<sup>a</sup> *Wisd. 13. 19.* <sup>b</sup> *Psal. 35. 18.* <sup>c</sup> *Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradisum.*



## S E C T. XIV.

inction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so even the moral philosopher can tell us, that the continent man hath evil desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side, the incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The evil desires, when they are accompanied with assent, are in every commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore if we will have any thing proper to this commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For tho' he that bridleth his evil desires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them: yet such a man, even according to the heathen philosopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous man. For *Aristotle* himself makes *continentia*, not to be virtue, but only a degree unto it: confessing, that tho' the continent man do well in bridling his evil affections; yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the continent man the having of these evil desires, tho' he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a virtuous man: so we, that the having of them is a sin. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of divinity to give the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil desires of the continent man, that is, of him that bridleth them, must needs be sin: seeing such desires, tho' bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his commandments, we witness our love towards himself: we may not safely give liberty to our vanities, by casting back upon God (who is justice it self) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandments impossible for us to keep. For, as he is accursed (saith *St. Jerome*) that avows that the law is in all things possible to be observed: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse*; Accursed is he that saith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not thro' our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the law: so is our weakness also in the scriptures laid before us; and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, *David* witnesseth; <sup>a</sup> *Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight no flesh that liveth shall be justified.* And in *1 Kings* viii. 46. *There is no man that sinneth not*: and again, <sup>b</sup> *Who can say I have made my heart clean?* But seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every man's conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can; yea, or no: for when a king gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the subject neglecting the same, seek to satisfy his sovereign with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a prince will take himself to be derided therein.

*If there were not any religion nor judgment to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.*

AND if we consider advisedly, and soberly, of the moral law, or ten commandments, which God by the hand of *Moses* gave unto his people, it will appear that such was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain nor profit adjoined to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any religion among men; yet if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these laws, all society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every state and common-wealth in the world fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore, these laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended; that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel; that right might be done to all men from all men; that by justice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of civil men, and not of savages. And hereof making our human reason only judge, let us see the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these laws.

As first, What would the issue be if we acknowledged many Gods? Would not a far greater hatred, war, and blood-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, even among those nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to idols, and images of gold, metal, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thencefrom, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his holy name.

The observing the sabbath holy, giveth rest to men and beasts, and nature her self requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our own children to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished: and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If adultery were lawful and permitted, no man could say unto himself, this is my son: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeavour by virtue and undertaking to raise families; murders and poisonings between man and wife, would be daily committed, and every man subject to most filthy and unclean diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or live as the savages, by roots and acorns. For no man labour-eth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution four-fold, policy of state and necessity hath made it death.

<sup>a</sup> Psal. 143.<sup>b</sup> Prov. 20. 9.



To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would swear against the virtuous: the waster against the wealthy: the idle beggar and loiterer, against the careful and painful labourer: all trial of right were taken away, and justice thereby banished out of the world.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of mind with an inward vexation: for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitless hopes, so long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours, we can look for no other, but that ourselves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burden of God's commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most merciful and provident God ordain them; without the observation of which, the virtues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable and of no use. For we should remain but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

#### SECT. XV.

*Of human law, written and unwritten.*

**H**UMAN law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two, viz. Written, and unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*: and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probate*, to be customs approved by antiquity or unwritten laws. Now custom differeth from use, as the cause from the effect: in that custom is by use and continuance established into a law: but yet there, where the law is defective, saith *Isidore*.

And of customs there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customs, received and exercised by nations, as the customs of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*: the ancient general custom of *England*, and the customs of *Castile*, and other provinces.

The second are these petty customs, used in particular places, cities, hundreds, and manors. The general or national customs are some written, others unwritten.

The particular of petty customs are seldom written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The customs of the dutchy of *Cornwall* comprehending also the *Stannery* of *Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoever use and time hath made these customs as laws, yet ought every custom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*.

<sup>a</sup> *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith *Ulpian*) <sup>b</sup> *Quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere*; Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all laws of custom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine and natural; the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being

manifest, that every custom, which is against the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, tho' they have been since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their ancestors were thereto moved. For *non sufficit simplex toleratio*. And it is in this sort overruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam legem, & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est*; The people cannot bring in a new custom against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the prince.

Human law generally taken, to wit, human law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practic reason: by which human actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the law a common precept, the advisement of wisemen, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the law a constitution written, agreeing with religion, fittest for government and common profit: and more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit*; All that stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined: Human law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal: made by the rational discourse of those that exercise publick authority: prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, *St. Augustine* teacheth, saying: *Mibi lex esse non videtur, quæ justa non fuerit*; It seems to be no law at all to me, which is not just: and just it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law just and legitimate (saith *St. Augustine*) which the law-makers have not derived from the eternal; <sup>d</sup> *Nihil justum atque legitimum est, quod non ab æterna lege sibi homines derivaverint*.

Secondly, It ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law natural, to wit, the natural, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law human is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, That it ought to be made by an authorized magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government, of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the title of those decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *Iniquæ Constitutiones*; Violences, or Wicked Constitutions.

Of human law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, As it is drawn out of the law of nature: so every particular of the human law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, It is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, It is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, Concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all human actions. And so is the law as large and diverse, as all human actions are diverse, which may fall under it. For according to *Thomas*, <sup>e</sup> *Alia lex Julia de adulteriis, alia Cornelia de sicariis*; The law of *Julian* against adultery is one, the *Cornelian* against ruffians, is another. Now the human law, generally taken, is, in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the law of nations, and the civil.

The law of nations is taken less or more properly; less properly for every law which is not of it

<sup>a</sup> In rep. jur. v. 2. q. 117. art. 1. <sup>b</sup> Ulp. l. 29. <sup>c</sup> Greg. de Val. Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 3. <sup>d</sup> Lib. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6. <sup>e</sup> Tho. q. 95. art. 2.



self, but from other higher principles deduced : and so it seemeth that *Ulpian* understands it : for he defineth *jus gentium*, or the law of nations, to be that which is only common amongst men, as religion, and the worship of God : which is not in the very nature of this law of nations : but from the principles of the scriptures, and other divine revelations. But the law of nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, tho' not from an evident principle, yet so probable that all nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadors* be granted between enemies, &c. which national law, according to divers acceptations, and divers considerations had of the human law, may be sometimes taken for a *species* of the natural, sometimes of the human.

*Jus Civile*, or the civil law, is not the same in all common-wealths, but in divers estates it is also diverse and peculiar, and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of nature, as the law of nations is : for it is partly deduced out of such principles, as all nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto ; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diverse, and do not fit all estates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit : itaque cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id est civile, efficitur* ; The civil law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of nature and nations, nor yet in all points obey it : therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the civil law.

The law now commonly called the civil law, had its birth in *Rome* : and was first written by the *Decemviri* 303 years after the foundation of the city. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian*, and other *Grecian* laws, as out of the ancient *Roman* customs and laws regal. The regal laws were devised by the first kings, and called *leges regiae*, or *Papyrianae*, because they were gathered by *Papyrus*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For tho' so many of the former laws as maintained kingly authority were abolished, with the name : yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve tables. To these laws of the twelve tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the senate, called *Senatus-consulta* : those of the common people, called *Plebi-scita* : those of the lawyers called *responsa prudentum* : and the edicts of the *annual magistrate* : which edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetual laws : and the volume styled, *Edictum perpetuum* : as those and the like collections of *Justinian* afterwards were.

The difference anciently between laws and edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that laws are the constitutions made or confirmed by sovereign authority (be the sovereignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withal general and permanent : but an edict (which is but *Jussum magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a law) hath end with the officer, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt* ; They who ascribe the most unto an edict, say that it is a law for one year. Tho' *Isidore* doth also express by the word *constitutiones* or *edicts*, those ordinances called *Acts of prerogatives* : as *Constitutio vel edictum est, quod rex, vel*

*Imperator, constituit, vel edicit* ; An ordinance or edict is that which a king or emperour doth ordain or proclaim.

Lastly, The human law is divided into the secular, and into the ecclesiastical, or canon. The secular commanding temporal good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth : the ecclesiastical the spiritual good, and right government of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, or church : *Il-lud naturæ legem, hoc divinam spectat* ; That respecteth the law of nature, this the law of God. And so may *jus civile* be taken two ways : first, As distinguished from the law of nations, as in the first division : secondly, As it is the same with the secular, and diverse from the ecclesiastical. But this division of the *schoolmen* is obscure : for altho' the civil be the same with the secular, as the civil is a law ; yet the secular is more general, and comprehendeth both the civil and all other laws not ecclesiastical. For of secular laws, in use among christian princes, and in christian commonwealths, there are three kinds ; the civil which hath every-where a voice, and is in all Christian estates (*England* excepted) most powerful ; the laws of *England* called common, and the laws of custom or provincial. In *Spain* besides the law civil, they have the customs of *Castile*, and other provinces. In *France* besides the civil, the customs of *Burgundy*, *Blois*, *Berry*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux situes & assis en Lodunois, seront gouvernez selon les costumes du dit Pays* ; All places lying within the precincts of *Lodunois*, shall be governed according to the customs of that place. There are also in *France* the customs of *Normandy*, and these of two kinds, general and local ; and all purged and reformed by divers acts of the three estates. The charters of confirmation of these ancient customs, before and since their reformation, have these words : *Nos autem registrum prædictum, usus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & auctoritate regia confirmamus* ; The register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient customs, we praise, approve, and by our kingly authority confirm. The common law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customs of the same, and of certain maxims by those customs of the realm approved. Upon which customs also are grounded those courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *King's Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small courts.

These ancient customs of *England* have been approved by the kings thereof, from age to age : as that custom by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the law of the land, was confirmed by the statute of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custom of *England*, that the eldest son should inherit without partition : in *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custom for all lands (that have not been resigned into the king's hands) that the eldest of the house shall enjoy the inheritance during his own life : and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the heir in lineal descent : this is called the custom of *Tanistry*. For example, If a lord of land have four sons, and the eldest of those four have also a son, the three brothers of the eldest son shall, after the death of their brother, enjoy their father's lands before the grandchild : the custom being grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times having always lived in a subdivided civil war, not only the greatest against the greatest, but every baron and gentleman one against another, were inforced

<sup>a</sup> In leg. 6. ff. de justitia jure.

<sup>b</sup> Dion. Hal.

<sup>c</sup> C. Sigon. l. 1. out of Pomponius.

<sup>d</sup> Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Cult.



to leave successors of age and ability to defend their own territories. Now as in *Normandy, Burgundy*, and other provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar, and petty customs, besides the great and general custom of the land; so are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulk of our laws, as I take it, are the acts of parliament: laws propounded and approved by the three estates of the realm, and confirmed by the king, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are acts of choice, and self-desire. <sup>a</sup> *Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent quam quod iudicio populi receptæ sunt*; The laws do therefore bind the subjects, because they are received by the judgment of the subject. <sup>b</sup> *Tum demum humane leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutæ, sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; It is then that human laws have their strength, when they shall not only be devised, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

*Isidore* fastneth these properties to every Christian law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it be according to nature, and according to the custom of the country; also for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He also gives four effects of the law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two: to wit, obligation and instigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice: the latter encourageth with hope, to follow virtue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum*; It behoveth the law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of virtues. The part obligatory or binding us to the observation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws: and it is two-fold, the one constraineth us by fear of our consciences, the other by fear of external punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is instigation, or encouragement to virtue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men virtuous. For laws being such as they ought to be, do, both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing: laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina à malo & fac bonum*; Decline from evil, and do good.

#### SECT. XVI.

*That only the prince is exempt from human laws, and in what sort.*

NOW whether the power of the human law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well divines as lawyers; and namely, whether sovereign princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid, the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive*, they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment against himself: and if equals have not any power over each other, much less have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of laws, simply then is the prince so much above the laws, as the soul and body united, is above a dead and senseless carcase. For the king is truly called, *Jus vivum & lex animata*; An animate and living law. But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, princes both add greatness to themselves, and conserve it, and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of *Justinian*. *Merito debet rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipse sit rex*; Rightfully ought the king to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the king; for it is the law that doth make kings.

But whereas <sup>d</sup> *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the human law, he is therein mistaken. For kings are made by God, and laws divine: and by human laws only declared to be kings. As for the places remembered by the divines and lawyers, which infer a kind of obligation of princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of virtuous princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only.

<sup>e</sup> *Tibi soli peccavi*, saith *David*; Against thee only have I sinned: therefore the prince cannot be said to be subject to the law. *Princeps non subicitur legi*: for seeing, according to the schoolmen, the law human is but *Quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernativæ: non videtur posse ejus obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humane non pertinet: sed vis potestatis humane non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, est principium transmutandi aliud*: Seeing human law (say they) is but a kind of organ or instrument of the power that governeth, it seems that it cannot extend it self to bind any one whom no human power can controul, or lay hold of: but the governour himself, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himself, or by his own power be controuled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot bind the law-maker himself: for every active ability is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it self resides. And seeing princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law. <sup>f</sup> *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet princeps sive legislator sua se voluntate prohibito ab obligatione legis liberare*; Therefore also may a prince or law-maker at his own will and pleasure deliver himself from the bond of the law. Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus concluded. *Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis, princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis*; The subjects are bound to fulfil the law by necessity of compulsion, but the prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.

Now concerning the politic laws, given by *Moses* to the nation of the *Israelites* whether they ought to be a precedent, from which no civil institutions of other people should presume to digress, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, that we ought not to seem wiser than God himself, who hath told us, that there are no laws so righteous as those which it pleased him to give to his elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all nations have their several qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no less than in their peculiar languages, which disagreeable conditions to govern aptly one

<sup>a</sup> Ulp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31.

Gratian. in dec. dist. 4. cum in illis.

<sup>c</sup> Psal. 37.

<sup>d</sup> Bract.

<sup>e</sup> Psal. 50. ff. de leg.

<sup>f</sup> Greg. de Valentia de leg.



and the same law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civil laws did indeed contain in order, a great part of the then known world, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural customs of the sundry people, which it governed. For whether it be thro' a long continued persuasion; or (as astrologers more willingly grant) some influence of the heavens; or peradventure some temper of the soil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunity to steal, makes the *Arabians* to be thieves) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence so common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Christian religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great fury rejected, because plurality of wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, methinks, it were not amiss to consider, that the High God himself permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their natural disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant unto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjust; there may the law given by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with so long and so publick approbation, that the virtue opposing it, would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *English* fashion of apparel in *Turky*: there may a wise and upright law-giver, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses's* law required; even as the good king *Hezekiah* did, in a matter merely ecclesiastical, and therefore the less capable of dispensation, praying for the people; "The good Lord be merciful unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to seek the Lord, the God of his fathers, tho' he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by *Dr. Willet*, that the moral judicials of *Moses* do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is not given by *Moses*: Christian magistrates ruling under Christ the <sup>b</sup> *Prince of peace*, that is, of clemency and mercy, may abate of the severity of *Moses's* law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot add unto it to make the burden more heavy: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becometh not the gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the subject of many learned discourses, neither will I take upon me to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversy among worthy divines. Thus much (as in honour of the judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath always been very plausible. And surely, howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and

only law; yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a judge may rest, with equal satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giving sentence upon doubts, arising out of any law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that judge could have been witness, of whom *Fortescue*, that notable bulwark of our laws, doth speak, complaining of a judgment given against a gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her own man, without any other proof, for murdering her husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a year after being convicted for the same offence, confessed that his mistress was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (tho' over-late) grievously lamented: but this judge, saith the same author, *Sæpius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret*; He himself often confessed unto me, that he should never, during his life, be able to clear his conscience of that fact. Wherefore that acknowledgment which other sciences yield unto the metaphysicks, that from thence are drawn propositions, able to prove the principles of sciences, which out of the sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politick Institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the metaphysicks, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*, Being as it is being, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*, The being of beings, the only good, the fountain of truth, whose fear is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose well saith *St. Augustine*, *Conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum est*; The author of temporal laws, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the law eternal, to determine of which there is no power given to any soul. And as well prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue's* discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus*; No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.

## CHAP. V.

*The story of the Israelites from the receiving of the law, to the death of Moses.*

### SECT. I.

*Of the numbering and disposing of the host of Israel, for their marches through the wilderness: with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troops.*

**W**HEN *Moses* had received the law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the ark and sanctuary; he mustered all the tribes and families of *Israel*: and having seen what numbers of men, fit to bear arms, were found in every tribe, from 20 years of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the Lord, such princes and leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every tribe most eminent. The number of the whole army was 603550 able men for the wars, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great army was divided by *Moses* into four gross and mighty battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole tribes.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 30. 18, 19.

<sup>b</sup> Isaiah 9.

<sup>c</sup> Cap. 5. 3.



The first of these containing 186400 able men, consisted of three regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called armies; as containing the three whole tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the tribe of *Judah* were 74600 fighting men, led by *Naaſon*: in *Issachar* 54400 led by *Nethaneel*: in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliab*. All these marched under the standard of the tribe of *Judah*, who held the van-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incamping on the east-side of the army; which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second battalion, or army, called in the scriptures the host of *Reuben*, had joined unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151,450. All which marched under the standard of *Reuben*. In the tribe of *Reuben* were 46500 under *Elizur*: in *Simeon* 59300 under *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650 under *Eliſab*. These had the second place, and incamped on the south-side of the tabernacle.

The third army, marched under the standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joined the regiments of *Manasseh* and *Benjamin*; who joined together, made in number 108100 able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the west quarter of the tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500 under *Eliſhama*: *Manasseh* 32200 under *Gamaliel*: *Benjamin* 35400 under *Abidam*.

The fourth and last army, or squadron, of the general army, containing 157600 able men, marched under the standard of *Dan*; to whom were joined the two tribes of *Nephthali* and *Aſher*. And these had the reere-ward, and moved last, incamping on the north-side. *Dan* had 62700 under *Abiezzer*: *Aſher* 41500 under *Pagiel*: *Nephthali* 53400 under *Abira*.

Besides these princes of the several tribes, there were ordained captains over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against *Moses*, *Numbers* xvi. 1, 2. For there arose up against *Moses* 250 captains of the *Assembly*, famous in the congregation, and men of renown: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal mutineers, with those 250 captains that followed them, were not any of the twelve princes of the tribes, or general colonels before spoken of, as by their names *Numb.* i. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the land of *Promise*, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them under their several standards in the wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedency and the greatest army, which also was wholly compounded of the sons of *Leah*, *Jacob's* wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had undergone his father's curse; and with *Gad*, the son of his mother's hand-maid. *Joseph*, who in temporal blessings had the prerogative of the first-born a double portion, was accounted as two tribes; and divided into two regiments: the younger (according to *Jacob's* prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was assisted by *Benjamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacob's* concubines, was given the leading of the fourth army, according to *Jacob's* prophecy. He had with him under his standard none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the sons of the hand-maids.

In the middle of these four armies, was the tabernacle, or portable temple of the congregation

carried, surrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the heathens and pagans could not approach, by reason of these four powerful armies, which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the movable temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000 persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 8580 had the peculiar charge, according to their several offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the tabernacle; the *Gershurites* on the west, within the army and standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliſaph* commanded, in number 7500. The family of *Cobath* on the south side, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the army of *Reuben*, and between him and the tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200, and these were lodged on the north side within the army of *Dan*; on the east side, and next within those tribes and forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate commanders, both of the ceremonies, and of the people; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* families, was *Eleazar* the son of *Aaron*, his successor in the high priesthood.

This was the order of the army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching: the tabernacle of God being always set in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care, which *Moses* the prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the tabernacle; ark and sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal borne towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up and preserving the holy vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this superfluous age, by those of the family, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of churches into barns, and from thence again into the fields and mountains, and under the hedges; and the offices of the ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all order, discipline, and church-government, left to newness of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soon after, as many kinds of religions would spring up, as there are parish-churches within *England*: every contentious and ignorant person cloathing his fancy with the spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of *Revelation*; insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that persuaded him to become a *Lutheran*,



*Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis; si me aliis adjungo, a vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar non habeo;* If I adjoin my self to you, I am condemned by others; if I join with others, I am condemned by you; what I should avoid I see, but I know not what I should follow.

## S E C T. II.

*The offerings of the twelve princes: the passover of the second year: the departing of Jethro.*

NOW when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the laws, numbred his army, and divided them into the battles and troops before remembered, and appointed them leaders of all forts: the twelve princes or commanders of the tribes, brought their <sup>a</sup> offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered chariots, and twelve oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the sanctuary excepted; which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the sons of *Korab*, to whom the charge was committed; and the chariots in which were conveyed the other parts of the tabernacle and vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service, namely to the sons of *Gershon* and *Merari*.

Besides these chariots, each of these commanders, princes, or heads of tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the temple, a charger of fine silver, weighing 130 <sup>b</sup> sheckles: a silver bowl of 70 sheckles: after the sheckle of the sanctuary: and an incense cup of gold of ten sheckles; which they performed at the same time when the altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conquest: besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve silver chargers, and twelve silver bowls, amounted unto 2400 sheckles of silver: and the weight of gold in the incense cups, to 120 sheckles of gold: which makes of sheckles of silver 1200, every sheckle of gold valuing ten of silver; so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time, was about 420 *l. Ster.* This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the passover: which they performed on the 14th day of the second month of the second year: and on the 20th day of the same the cloud was lifted up from above the tabernacle, as a sign of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God, *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, fly before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* removed from their encamping at the foot of the mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*; the army or great squadron of *Juda*, led by *Naason*, taking the vanguard, followed by *Nethaneel* and *Eliab*, leaders of the tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched as in the figure express'd. And because the passage thro' so many deserts and mountains was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing unforesight which might serve for the advancement of his enterprize, he instantly entreated his father-in-law, whom in *Numbers* x. he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*: promising

him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man as he was of great understanding and judgment (as appeared by the counsel he gave to *Moses* for the appointing of judges over the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great years and experience, for he was then the priest or prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his daughter: which was 42 years before this request made. And tho' *Moses* himself had lived forty years in these parts of *Arabia*, thro' which he was now to travel: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of souls, which could not be so few as a million, it was necessary to use many guides and many conductors. To this request of *Moses* it may seem by the places, *Exod.* xviii. 27. and *Numb.* x. 30. that *Jethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not: for it is evident, <sup>c</sup> that he went back from *Moses* into his own country. But because it appeareth by other places of scripture, that the posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*: it is most likely that this his return to his own country was rather to fetch away his family, and to take his leave of his own country, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

## S E C T. III.

*The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their returning back to the Red sea.*

AFTER this dismissal of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the deserts of *Paran*: and after three days wandring, they sat down at the sepulchres of lust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incensio*: by reason that God consumed with fire those mutineers and murmurers, which rose up in this remove, which happened about the 23d day of the same month. And from this 23d day of the second month, of the second year, they rested, and fed themselves with quails (which it pleased God by a sea-wind to cast upon them) to the 24th day of the third month, to wit, all the month of *Sinan* or *June*; whereof surfeiting, they died great numbers: from whence in the following month, called *Thamus*, answering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazereth*: where <sup>d</sup> *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosy, which continued upon her seven days, after whose recovery *Israel* removed toward the border of *Idumea*: and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelve discoverers into the territory of *Canaan*: both to inform themselves of the fertility and strength of the country: as also to take knowledge of the ways, passages, rivers, fords and mountains. For *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* surprized divers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush near those ways, thro' which the discoverers and searchers of the land had formerly pass'd. Now after the return of the discoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against <sup>e</sup> *Israel*; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from the *Egyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them thro' that great and terrible wilderness (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the <sup>f</sup> victory

<sup>a</sup> *Numb.* 7. <sup>b</sup> The Hebrew *gerah* weigheth sixteen grains: so a *gerah* of silver is about three half pence Sterling: the sheckle of the sanctuary (as it is expounded *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20 *gerahs*, so a sanctuary sheckle of silver is about seven groats: the common sheckle is but half so much, to wit, ten *gerahs*, as it is usually expounded; tho' *Vallalpandus* labours to prove that the common and the sanctuary sheckle were all one. *Numb.* 9. 5. *Numb.* 10. 11. *Exod.* xl. 34. *Numb.* 9. 17. <sup>c</sup> *Judg.* 1. 16. and 4. 11. Also *1 Sam.* 15. 6. and *2 Reg.* 10. 15. <sup>d</sup> *1 Chron.* 2. 55. *Jer.* 35. <sup>e</sup> *Numb.* 11. 12 and 13. <sup>f</sup> *Numb.* 21. <sup>g</sup> *Deut.* 1. 19. <sup>h</sup> *Deut.* 1. 27. which



which he gave them against the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives and children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoil to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported unto them, by the searchers of the land, that the cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong towers and castles: that many of the people were giant-like (for they confess'd that they saw the sons of *Anak* there) who were men of fearful stature, and so far over-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as grasshoppers in their respect. Now as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to chuse them a captain (or as they call it now-a-days an *Elesto*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*: so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every soul of the whole multitude (*Joshua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in God's promises, persuaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it, and at the mountain foot of *Idumea*, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of fear had bereaved both of reason and common sense: <sup>a</sup> they threatened to stone these encouragers to death, accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the fear of his bright glory between the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence: threatening an entire destruction of the whole nation, by sending among them <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> a consuming and merciless pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion which they had made, since God delivered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But <sup>c</sup> *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies: alledging that this so severe a judgment, how deservedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the heathen nations: and give them occasion to vaunt that the God of *Israel* failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitless desarts. Yet as God is no less just than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand less heavy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to pass unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent; whom, because they participated not with the offences of their fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his promises, which have never been frustrate.

#### SECT. IV.

*Of their unwillingness to return; with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.*

NOW when *Moses* had revealed the purposes of God to the people: and made them know his heavy displeasure towards them: they began to bewail themselves, tho' over-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after

they had so often play'd and dallied with his merciful sufferings; they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the land contrary again to the advice of *Moses*; who assured them, that God was not now among them: and that the ark of his covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not err: and that the enemies sword, which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no less sharp than death: and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no less cruel. But as men, from whom God hath withdrawn his grace, do always follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrews*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their conductors offered, and might then have entred *Judea* before their enemies were prepared and joined; did afterwards, contrary to God's commandment, undertake the enterprize of themselves, and ran headlong and without advice into the mountains of *Idumea*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joined and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former loss, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerful assembly of those two nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour kings joined together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarn *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painful passages of the desarts, thro' which they had formerly travelled, till they had found the banks of the *Red* sea again: in which retreat, before they came back to pass over *Jordan*, there were consumed 38 years: and the whole number of the six hundredth and odd thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Joshua* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn out, and the promis'd land bestow'd on their children: which were increased to 600000, and more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the land upon the return of the discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible idolatry of worshipping *Molech*, and the host of heaven. For altho' *Moses* doth not mention it, yet <sup>d</sup> *Amos* doth, and so doth the martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the sun and moon in after-times it is proved out of sundry other places.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the camp at *Kades*, *Moses*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the south from whence he came, to recover the shores of the *Red* sea. And so from *Kades* or *Rithma* he removed to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the frankincense there found. From <sup>e</sup> *Libnah* he cross'd the valley, and far down at *Reffa* near the foot of the mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the west, and encamped at *Coelata*: where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* always keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountains (those which bound the desert of *Zin*, and those of *Pharan*) cross'd the same from

<sup>a</sup> Numb. 14. 10. <sup>b</sup> Numb. 14. 12. <sup>c</sup> Numb. 12. 3. <sup>d</sup> Amos 5. 25. Acts 7. 42. <sup>e</sup> 2 Kings 17. 16. and 21. 3. and  
<sup>f</sup> 1 Chron. 33. 3. Jerem. 19. 13, &c. <sup>g</sup> Numb. 33. 21. *Coelata*.



*Ceelata*, and marched eastward to the mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thabab*; and so to *Thara* or *Thare*, the four and twentieth mansion. Where, while *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korab*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*: who, for their contempt of God and his ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the earth opening her mouth devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korab*, were consumed with fire from heaven; and 14700 of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvels and judgments of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses*'s government, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men, who would have usurped ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the earth with their families and goods; even while they sought to overthrow the order, discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the high priest and magistrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church and commonweal of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant *Aaron*, by the twelve rods given in by the heads of the twelve tribes; of which *Moses* received one of every head and prince of his tribe: which being all withered and dry wands, and on every rod the name of the prince of the tribe written, and *Aaron*'s on that of *Levi*; it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable spirit, and having lain in the tabernacle of the congregation before the ark one night, had on it both buds, blossoms, and ripe almonds.

From *Tharah* the whole army removed to *Me-thra*, and thence to *Esmena*, and thence to *Mose-roth*, (or *Masurit* after St. *Jerome*) and from *Mose-roth* to *Bencjacon*: and so to *Gadgad*, which *Jerome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth mansion; where from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Andrichomius* maketh a river, which falleth into the *Red sea*, between *Madian* and *Ezion-gaber*.

Now altho' it be very probable, that at *Ezion-gaber*, where *Solomon* furnished his fleets for the *East-Indies*, there was store of fresh water; and tho' *Herodotus*, l. 3. maketh mention of a great river in *Arabia* the stony, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence, saith he, the inhabitants convey water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the king of *Arabia* relieved the army of *Cambyfes*: yet is *Andrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*; being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those springs are spoken of, which in *Deut.* x. 7. is also called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a land of running waters, and which by probability fall into the river *Zared*, the next adjoining. And that these springs should fall into the *Red sea* at *Ezion-gaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*: which tho' they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red sea*.

From *Jetabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red sea*, and encamped at *Hebrona*; and from thence to *Ezion-gaber*: which city in *Josephus*'s time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Jerome*'s, *Essia*. From thence keeping the sea and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the north, as he was by God commanded: *Ezion-gaber* being the farthest place towards the south-east that *Moses* travelled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Ezion-gaber*, or *Azion-gaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in possession of the kings of *Edom*. For it is said, <sup>b</sup> *That the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the mount Hor, near the coast of the land of Edom*; so as the mount *Hor* was at that time on the border of *Idumea*. And if *Ezion-gaber*, and the other places near the *Red sea*, had at this time been subject to the *Idumeans*, *Moses* would have also demanded a free passage thro' them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumeans* obtained these places: for it is said, <sup>c</sup> *And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took men with them*; which were those companies that followed young *Hadad* of *Idumea* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewise it is said of *Solomon*, that he made a navy of ships in *Ezion-gaber* besides *Eloth*, in the land of *Edom*.

#### SECT. V.

*Of Moses's arrival at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while they abode there.*

FROM *Ezion-gaber* he turned again towards the north, and pitched in the wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they sat down in the first month of the fortieth year after they left *Egypt*. For at the next mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth month of the fortieth year: the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Ezion-gaber*. And at this city of *Kades* (for so it was thought to be) or near it, died <sup>d</sup> *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses*'s sister, whose sepulchre was to be seen in St. *Jerome*'s time, as himself avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to mountain *Hor*, <sup>e</sup> all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the earth; by the sudden pestilence which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites: but instead of seeking for help and relief at God's hands, when they suffered hunger, and thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea, tho' they well knew, that their own fathers had left their bodies in the deserts, and that they were now entered into the fortieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded <sup>f</sup> *Moses* to strike a rock adjoining with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattle were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place: therefore he per-

<sup>a</sup> *Deut.* 2.

<sup>b</sup> *Numb.* 20. 12.

<sup>c</sup> *1 Kings* 11. 18.

<sup>d</sup> *Numb.* 20. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *Numb.* 20. 3.

<sup>f</sup> *Numb.* 20. 9.



mitted neither of them to enter the land promised; whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travels of Aaron at the mountain *Hor*, being the next, and 34th station. At which mountain of *Hor*, Aaron was despoiled of the garments of his priesthood, and the same put on Eleazar his son, as God had commanded. Which done, Moses and Eleazar descended the mountain; but God received Aaron on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Of this mountain called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deut. x. 6.* those *Horites* took name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the 27th mansion, and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the 34th mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because Moses, in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Ezion-gaber*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hefmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, Moses's sister died; the first being the 27th, and the second being the 34th mansion. But for *Hor*, which is called *Mosera*, it should have been written, *Hor juxta Mosera*, *Hor* near *Mosera*; for it is but one root of a mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: whereof the west part Moses calleth *Mosera*, and the east part *Horeb*. By the west part Moses incamped, as he pass'd towards the *Red* sea, on his left hand; by the east part, as he went back again northwards towards *Moab*: as in the description of Moses's passage thro' *Arabia*, the reader may perceive.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that Moses sent messengers to the prince of *Idumea*, praying him that he might pass with the people of *Israel* thro' his territory into the land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the city of *Kadesh*, where Moses then incamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful kings, which commanded in those regions. Now the better to persuade the prince of *Idumea* hereunto, Moses remembred him, that he was of the same race and family with *Israel*: calling him by the name of brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the sons of one father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esau* his ancestor had made war, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name *Edom*, or *Idumea*. He also making a short repetition of God's blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises, assured *Edom*, or the king thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or waste his country; but that he would restrain his army within the bounds of the common and king's highways, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their cattle should drink. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to provoke the children of *Esau*. But the king of *Edumea* knowing the strength of his own country, the same being near *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharp mountains: and withal suspecting, as a natural wise man, that 600000 strangers being once entred his country, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly refused them passage,

and delivered this answer to the messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a denial might satisfy or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his country together, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For it is written: *Then Edom came out against him (to wit, Moses) with much people, and with a mighty power.* Whereupon Moses considering, that the end of this enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumea*, and that the land promised was that of *Canaan*: like unto himself, who was of a natural understanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of war that the world had, he refused to adventure the army of *Israel* against a nation, which, being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others; and which by reason of the seat of their mountainous country, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them less able, if not altogether powerless, to have conquered the rest.

#### SECT. VI.

*Of their compassing Idumea and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.*

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumea*, turned himself towards the east, and marched towards the deserts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* understood, and that Moses had blanced the way of *Edumea*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom* which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to find his enemies in his neighbour's country, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had Moses been inforced first to have made his way by the sword thro' *Idumea*, and thereby, tho' victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But altho' it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolved to make trial what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home, leading the strength of his nation to the edge of the desert, he set upon some part of the army; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many herds of cattle that they drave with them, could not incamp so near together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his predecessor, which joined his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, which without direction from God by Moses would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that army were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deut. 44.* the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to have beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victory over *Israel* near *Cadesbarne*, or if it were his predecessor that then prevailed, this man finding that Moses was returned from the *Red* sea, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the south part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moses's purpose to compass *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the desert to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the 3d verse of the xiith chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroy'd

<sup>a</sup> Numb. 33. <sup>b</sup> Deut. 2. 4. <sup>c</sup> Numb. 20. 20, 21. <sup>d</sup> Numb. 20. <sup>e</sup> Numb. 14. 45



the *Canaanites* and their cities, they are much mistaken that think, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be understood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joshua*. For had *Moses* at that time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the deserts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetched a wearisome and needless compass, by the rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it self, but that his territory lay without it, and near the mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* *Gades* were the south borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the south of the land of *Canaan* that *Arad* dwelt: which south part of *Canaan* was the north part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (for so far the *Israelites* after their victory pursued the *Canaanites*) is seated in the south of *Judea*. There is also a city of that name in *Simoon*. But there is no such place to the south of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Joshua's* time, and not at the instant of *Arad's* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sack'd the cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of *Joshua*, that the *Israelites* took their revenge, and after they had pass'd *Jordan*: *Joshua* then governing them; who in the xiith chapter and 14th verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his city so called; and with him the king of *Horma*: to which place the *Israelites* pursued the *Canaanites*. And he nameth them amongst those kings, which he vanquished and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprise by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people eastward to compass *Idumea* and the *Dead* sea, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the plains of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a desert was terrible, began again to rebel against their leader; till God by a multitude of fiery serpents (that is, by the biting of serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterwards, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial serpent, by his commandment set up.

From the mount *Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way, which lieth between the *Red* sea and *Cœlesyria*, incamped at *Zalmora*: and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the brazen serpent; making these journies by the edge of *Edumea*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principal city of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers* xxi. 4. That from mount *Hor*, they departed by the way of the *Red* sea, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the *Israelites* turned back towards the *Red* sea; neither did they march (according to *Fonseca*) *per viam, que habet a latere mare rubrum*, by the way that sided the *Red* sea; but indeed they cross'd, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the countries of *Moab* to the *Red* sea, that is, to *Ezion-gaber*; *Eloth* and *Midian*: which way, as it lay north and south, so *Israel*, to shun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost east part of *Moab*, cross'd the common way towards the east, and then they turned again towards the north, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they en-

tred the territory of *Moab*, adjoining to the land of *Suph*, a country bordering on the *Dead* sea; and from thence to *Abarim*, the 38th mansion; that is, where the mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small mountains of hills, on the east border of *Moab*; from whence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the river of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead* sea, not far from *Petra* the metropolis thereof, being the 39th station. And having pass'd that river, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the cities of *Moab*; which *Jeremy* (chap. xlviii. ver. 22.) calleth the *House of Diblathaim*, the same which afterwards was destroy'd among the rest by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the river of *Arnon*, and incamped in the mountains of *Abarim*: tho' in *Numbers* xxii. *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but speaketh of his remove from the river of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*: speaking, as he found the state of the country at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, king of the *Amorites*: even from the predecessor of *Balac-Peor* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon* king of the *Amorites*, to desire a passage thro' his country: which tho' he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour nations, of the war he undertook. And tho' *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon* observed the same precept, which he left to his posterity, and successors, for a law of the war, namely in *Deut.* xx. 10. in these words, *When thou comest near unto a city to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it do accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all commanders of armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

#### SECT. VII.

Of the book of the battles of the Lord, mentioned in this story, and of other books mentioned in scripture which are lost.

NOW concerning the war between *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to refer a great part of this story to that book, entitled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; The book of God's battles; and therefore passeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words after the *Geneva* translation are these: *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the book of the battles of the Lord, what things he did in the Red sea, and in the rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copy differeth not in sense from this: but the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect, *For thus it is said in the book: the war of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoub, and the brooks of Arnon.* *Junius*, for the *Red* sea, which is in the *Genevan*, and *Vulgar* edition, names the region of *Suph*, a country bordering the *Dead* sea towards the east, as he conjectureth. The text he readeth thus. *Idcirco dici solet in recensionibus bellorum Jahovæ, contra Kalebum in regione Suph: Et contra flumina, flumina Ammanis*; Therefore it is spoken in repeating of the battles of *Jehovah*, against *Kaleb* in the country of *Suph*: and against the rivers, the rivers

<sup>a</sup> Numb. 33. 40. <sup>b</sup> Numb. 21. 14. <sup>c</sup> Numb. 21. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Of the Country of *Suph*, see more, chap. 10. §. 4. †. 2. and of the force of the word *Suph*, also chap. 18. §. 3.



of *Arnon*. In which words he understands, that amongst the wars which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the war of *Sehon* against *Vabeb* the king of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the country near *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vabeb* was the immediate predecessor of *Balac*, who lived with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vabeb*. For it seems (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these kingdoms were elective and not successive. And as *Junius* in this translation understandeth no special book of the battles of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his annotations, doubt whether in this place any special book be meant; and if any; whether it be not a prediction of wars in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the book of *Judges*. *Siracides*, cap. xlv. tells us plainly, that those battles of the Lord were fought by *Joshua*. *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battles of the Lord*. But seeing the histories of the scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the reader to other books, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a book as this there was; wherein the several victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroy'd by the ignorant and malicious heathen magistrate. For the books of *Enoch*, howsoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an epistle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* *περί ἀρχῶν*; and by *Tertullian*.

That work also of the patriarch *Abraham*, of *formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The books remembered by *Joshua*, chap. x. ver. 13. and in the 2d of *Samuel*, chap. i. ver. 18. called the *Book of Jasber*, or *Jusorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the sun and moon in the midst of the heavens is recorded, and how they stood still, till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *David* took the precept of teaching the children of *Juda*, to exercise their bows against their enemies.

Some think this to be the book of eternal predestination, in which the just are written, according to *Psalms* xlix. 28. where it is said, *Let them be put out of the book of life, neither let them be written with the righteous*. *Jerome* thinks, that *David* by this book understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the books of the law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, are written; others, that it was the book of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a commentary upon *Joshua* by an unknown author.

The book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasseh*, remembered in the 2d of *Chron.* xxxiii. 18, 19. Of this book, also lost, *Jerome* conceives that the prophet *Isaiah* was the author.

The same mischance came as well to the story of *Solomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the kingdom of *Israel* from the son of *Solomon*: as to the books of *Nathan* the prophet, and

to those of *Jeedo* and *Seer*, remembered in the 2d of *Chron.* ix. 29. with these have the books of *She-maiah* and of *Iddo*, remembered in the 2d of *Chron.* xii. 15. perished: and that of *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehosaphat*, cited in the 2d of *Chron.* xx. 34. Also that book of *Solomon*, which the *Hebrews* write *Hascirim*, of 5000 verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1 *Kings* iv. 32. and with this divers others of *Solomon's* works have perished, as his book of the natures of trees, plants, beasts, fishes, &c. 1 *Kings* iv. 33. with the rest remembered by *Origen*, *Josephus*, *Jerome*, *Cedrenus*, *Cicco Asculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the temple of *Jerusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

#### SECT. VIII.

Of *Moses's* sparing the issue of *Lot*: and of the giants of those parts: and of *Sehon* and *Og*.

**W**HEN *Moses* had pass'd *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the city of *Nebo*, leaving the city of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the south side of *Arnon*, having lost all his ancient and best territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battle, God having given that land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was anciently possess'd by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those giants called *Anakims*, or the sons of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the east of *Jordan*, even to the desert of *Arabia*, as well on the west, as on the east side of the mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by giants. And in the plantation of the land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time pass those mountains to the east of *Basan*, but left their country to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many giants both before and after the flood: so these nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the land it self, had among them many families of giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the city of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Joshua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also been giants in the land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chief city was *Arocr* or *Ar*, near the river of *Arnon*. To the giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: and their chief city was *Rabba*, afterwards *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendique gigantes*; Strong men, and fearful giants, who inhabited other cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same province, and not far to the north of *Arocr*.

Now *Moses* having pass'd *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*; as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest up-

<sup>a</sup> Numb. 21. 26. <sup>b</sup> 1 Chron. 1. <sup>c</sup> Hieron. in quest. super lib. Regum. <sup>d</sup> Hieron. in annot. in Paralip. <sup>e</sup> Deut. 2. 9. 10, 11, 12. <sup>f</sup> Jos. 15. 13. c. 14. 15.



on *Vabeh* the *Moabite*, which nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and usurpers (themselves being of the sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withal prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the country of his new conquests, to wit, the plains of *Moab*, the 42d and last mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people and cattle. Towards him therefore hasting himself, they encountred each other at *Jabaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the women and children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other cities, villages, or fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were: and descended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for <sup>a</sup> *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And altho' *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judea*, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perilous to leave so great a part of that nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the region of *Basan* or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his army to invade *Og*, a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60 cities walled and defended: lying between the mountain of *Hermon* (which mountain, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shenir*) and the river of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the king of *Basan* (who attended *Moses's* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sihon*: for he and his sons perished, and all his cities were taken and possessed. After this, *Moses* withdrawing himself back again to the mountains of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that war unto *Jair* the son of *Manasseh*: who conquering the east parts of *Basan*, to wit, the kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, 60 walled cities: called the same after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which conquests afterwards the half tribe of *Manasseh* possess'd the north part as far as *Edrei*, but the east part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the mountains of *Gilead* adjoining, was given to *Ruben* and unto *Gad*.

#### SECT. IX.

*Of the troubles about the Midianites, and of Moses's death.*

**A**fter these victories, and while *Israel* sojourn'd in the valley of *Moab*, the *Midianites* and *Moabites* (over both which nations it seemeth that *Balac* king of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) sought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their daughters, and by persuading them to honour and serve their idols, to divide them both in love and religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of *Moab*, and the countries adjoining. The *Israelites*, as they had ever been inclined, so were they now easily persuaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished <sup>b</sup> 24000 persons: besides which punishment of God the most of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his commandment put to the sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the son of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a prince of

the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi*, a daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the plague ceased, and God's wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews* became an idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and stay'd his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms <sup>c</sup> 601730, of which at his last enterprise, he appointed 12000 to be chosen out, to invade the cities of *Midian*, who, together with the *Moabites*, practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the service of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous idolatry. Over which companies of 12000 *Moses* gave the charge to *Phineas*, the son of *Eleazar* the high priest: who slew the five princes of the <sup>d</sup> *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by <sup>e</sup> *Joshua*. These five princes of the *Midianites* slain by *Eleazar*, were at that time but the vassals of <sup>f</sup> *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba* the dukes of *Sehon*, saith *Joshua*. He slew also all the men, male-children, and women: saving such as had not yet used the company of men, but those they saved and dispers'd them among the children of *Israel* to serve them.

And <sup>g</sup> *Moses* having now lived 120 years, making both his own weakness of body known to the people, and his inability to travel: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the spirit of God: from whom he received a new commandment to ascend the mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: he hastned to settle the government in *Joshua*: whom he persuaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of God's favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, kings of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the law (or an iteration of the law, according to <sup>h</sup> *St. Augustine*) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people: which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledge, love, fear, and service, of the all-powerful God: he <sup>i</sup> blessed the twelve tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with several and most comfortable blessings: praising the greatness and goodness of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: he also commanded the priests to lay up the book of the law, by the side of the ark of God: the last that he indited was that prophetic song, beginning, <sup>k</sup> *Hearken ye heavens and I will speak, and let the earth bear the words of my mouth*: and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this life, unto that rest which never afterwards hath disquiet, he was buried in the land of <sup>l</sup> *Moab*, over against *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day, which happened in the year of the world 2554.

#### SECT. X.

*Observations out of the story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.*

**N**OW let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting God's miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this people) he

<sup>a</sup> Deut. 1. 8. <sup>b</sup> Numb. 25. 9. <sup>c</sup> Numb. 26. 51. <sup>d</sup> Numb. 31. 8. <sup>e</sup> Jos. 13. 21. <sup>f</sup> Jos. 13. 21. <sup>g</sup> Deut. 31. 2. <sup>h</sup> Aug. l. 1. de Mirab. facr. scrip. <sup>i</sup> Deut. 33. <sup>k</sup> Deut. 32. 1. <sup>l</sup> Deut. 34. 6.



wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and natural appetites. And so we shall find, that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrews*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of the sorrows and loss, which befel himself, and the *Egyptian* nation: which numbers when he sought, by cruel and ungodly policies, to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and savage craft of mortal men) moved compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh's* own daughter, to preserve that child, which afterwards became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently learned in all divine and human knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his nation; even then, when he sought by the strength of his men of war, of his horse and chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The grief which *Moses* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to fly into *Midian*: the contention between the shepherds of that place, and *Jethro's* daughters, made him known to their father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those sisters: and, in that solitary life of keeping of his father-in-law's sheep, far from the press of the world, contenting himself (tho' bred as a king's son) with the lot of a poor herdsman, God found him out in that desert, wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages thro' which he purposed that he should conduct his people toward the land promised: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleasure for his return into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterwards by God's direction performed in the story of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by; yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

*Of the nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the men of renown in other nations, about the times of Moses and Joshua, with the sum of the history of Joshua.*

SECT. I.

*How the nations, with whom the Israelites were to have war, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.*

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the wilderness, or afterwards: we shall find

them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Ismaelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in religion, were these nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*, and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand, that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the north, by the same mountains continued as far as the springs of *Arnon* on the east: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red* sea on the south, and by the *Mediterranean* sea on the west: was inhabited and peopled by two nations, the one springing from the sons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with a family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient lords and possessors of those territories, by process of time divided into several families and names: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzumims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter borders and mountains of their countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who took name after the sons of *Canaan*, and after whom the country in general was still called.

As for the *Hebrews* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another family, and strangers in that country: especially the *Israelites*, and this was some cause why the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or endure them: no more than the *Philistines* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For tho' *Abraham* himself being a stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them, especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the west part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity: than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so far possessed themselves of the borders of those regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esau* the *Idumeans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael*, the eldest son of *Abraham*, came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are joined, as of the same nation, the *Amalekites*, whom tho' the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of *Edom*, because *Esau* had a grandchild of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless war decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. viii. Sect. iii. Of

<sup>a</sup> It also seemeth that *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his brother, planted themselves in the east-side of *Jordan* about *Basan*: where they find the land of *Hus*: in which both *Job* dwelt, as one of the issue of *Hus* the son of *Nachor*, and *Elihu* his friend, which is called a *Buzite*. See hereafter, Chap. 10. Sect. 7. <sup>b</sup> Exod. 17. 16. <sup>c</sup> Deut. 11. 5. <sup>d</sup> Deut. 11. 5.



<sup>a</sup>*Ismael's* eldest son, *Naboth*, sprung the *Arabians* of *Petrea*, called *Nabathæi*. Now even as *Abraham* besought God to bless *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to <sup>b</sup>promise and perform it. For of him those twelve princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that tract of land between *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur*, which is the west part of the desert of *Arabia Petrea*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great yet it is not unlikely but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of fear: because all princes and states do not willingly permit any stranger or powerful nation to enter their territories. Wherefore, tho' all these families before named, were not so united, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion; yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood a-part, or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to join themselves together against *Israel*; tho' they did it nothing so maliciously and resolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Idumeans* only denied the *Hebrews* a passage: which the *Moabites* durst not deny: because their country lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og*, kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the <sup>c</sup>border of the *Ammonites* was strong by reason of the mountains which divided it from *Basan*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate: was, that the *Moabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the valleys and plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: but as soon as *Sehon* was slain, and that the king of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that valley to the tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to idolatry. And thus at length the *Moabites* by special occasion were more and more stirred up to enmities against *Israel*. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from *Abraham's* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the authors of their pedigrees, God permitted some enmity to be as it were prefaces of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed by the memory of old grudges: and withal by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest son of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest son of *Isaac*, *Jacob* being but a second son of a second brother, those princes which were descended of the elder houses, being natural men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselves to their inferiours, as they took it; and for a more aggravation, the issues of *Esau*, princes of *Idumæa*, might keep in record, <sup>d</sup>that their parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacob's* taking his advantage, and that he was <sup>e</sup>deceived of his father's blessing also by him; and that <sup>f</sup>*Jacob* after reconciliation came not unto him, as he promised, unto *Seir*, or *Idumæa*.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remain as a seed, or pretence of enmity, that their

forefather was by the instigation of *Sarah* cast out into the desert, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his angel to relieve them. *Ismael* also had an *Egyptian* both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalek* was also an *Horite* by his mother; which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Idumeans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their maternal line descended of the *Canaanites*. For <sup>g</sup>*Esau* took two wives of that nation: one of them was *Adab* the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*, and the other *Aholibamah* the grand-child of *Zibeon* the *Hevite*, lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Lastly, It appears that all those families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledge and worship of God, and became idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: only a few of the *Kenites*, and those *Midianites* which inhabited on the edge of the *Red sea*, whereof *Jethro* was priest, or prince, or both, worshipped the true and everliving God.

## SECT. II.

*Of the kings of the Canaanites and Midianites, mentioned in the ancient wars of the Israelites.*

**O**F the kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham* for (*Melchizedeck* may be thought to be of a better pedigree) we find four named by *Moses*, and thirty one remembered by *Joshua*, tho' few of these named, otherwise than by these cities over which they commanded; to which each of them had a small territory adjoining, and no other dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be understood for all those nations descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, &c. and so here we understand this name in speaking of the kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the country of their habitation, the holy land, or the land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principal families should be rooted out: and that his own people should inherit their lands and cities. But if we consider of the name and nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan* on the east, and by the *Mediterranean sea* on the west: in which narrow country, and in the choicest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their paternal name, chiefly inhabited.

The first kings of these nations, named in the scriptures, was <sup>h</sup>*Hamor*, or *Hemer*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simeon* and *Levi* slew, together with his son *Sichem*, in revenge of their sister's ravishment.

*Arad* was the second king which the scriptures have remembered, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the south, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead sea; the same which surprized *Israel*, as they encamped in the <sup>i</sup>wilderness in the edge of *Idumæa*.

The third named, was *Sehon* king of *Essebon*, who before *Moses's* arrival had beaten the *Moabites* out of the west part of *Arabia Petrea*, or *Nabatheæa*, and thrust them over <sup>k</sup>*Arnon* into the deserts, the same whom *Moses* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*; at which time he took *Essebon*, and all the cities of the *Amorites*.

Presently after which victory, <sup>l</sup>*Og* was also slain by *Israel*, who commanded the north part of that valley between the mountains *Traconis*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was also a king of the <sup>m</sup>*Amorites*.

<sup>a</sup> Exod. 17. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Numb. 21. 24.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. 25.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. 27.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. 33. 14.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. 36.

<sup>h</sup> Gen.

<sup>i</sup> Numb. 21. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Numb. 21. 24.

<sup>l</sup> Josh. 9.

Joseph. Ant. lib. 4. c. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Numb. 21. 35.

The



The fifth was *Adonizedek*, king of the *Jebusites*, and of *Jerusalem*, with whom *Joshua* nameth four other kings.

*Hoham* king of *Hebron*.

*Piram* king of *Jarmuth*.

*Japia* king of *Lachis*, and

*Deber* king of *Eglon*; who were all <sup>a</sup> *Amorites*, overthrown in battle, and hanged by *Joshua*. After this overthrow, *Joshua* nameth *Jabin* king of *Hazor*, and

*Jobab* king of *Madon*; whom he also slaughtered, and took his cities: and this *Jabin* seemed to have some dominion over the rest, for it is said in the text, <sup>b</sup> *For Hazor before time was the head of all those kingdoms*.

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious tyrant is named; who confessed that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his table: who, after <sup>c</sup> *Juda* and *Simeon* had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this king was carried to *Jerusalem*, where he died.

The last king named is *Jabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joshua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisera* against *Israel*, whom he oppressed twenty years, after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, <sup>d</sup> *Barak* (encouraged by *Deborah*) overthrew; and his captain *Sisera* had by *Jael*, the wife of <sup>e</sup> *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her tent; *Jabin* himself perishing afterwards in that war.

The *Madianites* had also their kings at times, but commonly mixt with the <sup>f</sup> *Moabites*; and they held a corner of land in *Nabathea*, to the south-east of the dead sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abraham*'s son by <sup>g</sup> *Keturah*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gethegheus* or *Jethres*, saith *Josephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the son of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jexanis*, or *Joksham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by <sup>h</sup> *Keturah*, was priest or prince of the *Madianites* by the *Red* sea, whose daughter or niece *Moses* married; and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seven daughters. He guided *Moses* in the wilderness, and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father <sup>i</sup> *Raguel*'s surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the second, even now remembered.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the <sup>k</sup> *Kenites* had strong seats, and lived in the mountains of the desarts.

The kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these.

1. *Hemor* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*.
2. *Arad* of the south parts.
3. *Schon* of *Essebon*.
4. *Og* of *Basan*.
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebusite*, king of *Jerusalem*.
6. <sup>l</sup> *Hoham* of *Hebron*.
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*.
8. *Japia* of *Lachis*.

9. *Debir* of *Eglon*.

10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*.

11. <sup>m</sup> *Jobab* of *Madon*.

12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and

13. *Jabin* the second king of *Hazor*.

Of the *MADIANITES* these:

<sup>n</sup> *Evi* or *Evis*.

*Rekam* or *Recem*, who built *Petra*, the metropolis of *Petræa*, so called by the *Greeks*: and by *Isaiah* xvi. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 *Reg.* xiv. 7. where it is also called *Joktheel*.

*Zur*.

*Hur*, and

*Reba*.

<sup>o</sup> *Oreb*.

*Zeb*.

*Zebah*.

*Zalmunna*.

After the death of *Barac*, judge of *Israel*, the four last named of these *Madianite* kings, vexed *Israel* seven years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slain by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6th, 7th, and 8th of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterwards in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himself laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000 of the *Madianites*, and their confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speak hereafter in the description of their territories.

### SECT. III.

Of the *Amalekites* and *Ishmaelites*.

OF the kings of the *Amalekites*, and *Ishmaelites*, I find few that are named; and tho' of the *Ishmaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater nation, according to the promise of God made unto <sup>p</sup> *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites*, were numbered among them, were more renowned in <sup>q</sup> *Moses*'s time than the rest of the *Ishmaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* governed *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* into *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the desert. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve princes which came of *Ishmael*, were content to leave those barren desarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Shur*, *Paran* and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, that joined with them (for so seem the *Amalekites* to have been, and so were the *Midianites*;) themselves taking possession of a better soil in *Arabia* the happy, and about the mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*. For *Nabaioth*, the eldest of those twelve princes, planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*, which was very fruitful, tho' adjoining to the desert, in which *Moses* wandred, afterwards called *Nabathea*: the same which neighboureth *Judea* on the east side. They also peopled a province in *Arabia* the happy, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathei*, [*b*] changed into [*p*.]

<sup>a</sup> Josh. 10. <sup>b</sup> Josh. 11. 10. <sup>c</sup> Judg. 1. <sup>d</sup> Judg. 4. <sup>e</sup> Judg. 4. <sup>f</sup> Psal. 85. <sup>g</sup> Joseph. Ant. 1. 5. c. 1. <sup>h</sup> Exod. 3. <sup>i</sup> Cedron. p. 34. <sup>j</sup> Judg. 1. <sup>k</sup> 1 Sam. 15. 6. <sup>l</sup> Josh. 10. <sup>m</sup> Josh. 11. <sup>n</sup> These five <sup>o</sup> *These five* <sup>p</sup> *These five* <sup>q</sup> *These five* <sup>r</sup> *These five* <sup>s</sup> *These five* <sup>t</sup> *These five* <sup>u</sup> *These five* <sup>v</sup> *These five* <sup>w</sup> *These five* <sup>x</sup> *These five* <sup>y</sup> *These five* <sup>z</sup> *These five* <sup>aa</sup> *These five* <sup>ab</sup> *These five* <sup>ac</sup> *These five* <sup>ad</sup> *These five* <sup>ae</sup> *These five* <sup>af</sup> *These five* <sup>ag</sup> *These five* <sup>ah</sup> *These five* <sup>ai</sup> *These five* <sup>aj</sup> *These five* <sup>ak</sup> *These five* <sup>al</sup> *These five* <sup>am</sup> *These five* <sup>an</sup> *These five* <sup>ao</sup> *These five* <sup>ap</sup> *These five* <sup>aq</sup> *These five* <sup>ar</sup> *These five* <sup>as</sup> 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*Kedar*, the second of *Ishmael's* sons, gave his own name to the east part of *Basan* or *Batanea* which was afterwards possessed by *Manasseh*, so much thereof as lay within the mountains of *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny*, *Cedreans*.

*Adbeel* sat down in the desert *Arabia*, near the mountains which divided it from the happy; and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

*Mibsam* was the parent of the *Masamancuses*, near the mountain *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia* the happy.

The *Raabens* were of *Mishma*; who joined to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolemy* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumeans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the city *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*; and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Atbritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the same happy *Arabia*.

*Thema* begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* mountains, where also the city of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Jetur* the *Itureans*, or *Chamatbens*; of whom *Tobu* was king in *David's* time.

Of *Naphri* the *Nubcian Arabians*; inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded while *David* ruled *Israel*.

*Cadma*, the last and twelfth of *Ishmael's* sons, was the ancestor of the *Cadmoneans*; who were afterwards called *Asitæ*, because they worshipped the fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gave their kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabians*, *Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he pass'd the *Red sea*; when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterwards they joined with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Israelites* near *Cades-barne*. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joined them with the *Moabites*; after *Barac* with the *Medianites*, and invaded *Israel*. God commanded, that as soon as *Israel* had rest, they should root out the name of the *Amalekites*; which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

In *David's* time they took *Ziklag* in *Simeon*: but *David* followed them, and surprized them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. And yet, after *David* became king, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

In *Iezekiah's* time as many of them as joined to *Idumea* were wasted and displanted by the children of *Simeon*.

#### SECT. IV.

Of the instauration of civility in Europe about these times, and of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*.

THERE lived at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the world was but even now enriched with the written law of the living God, so did art and civility (bred and fostered far off in the east, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of

*Greece* neighbouring *Asia* and *Judea*. For if *Pelagus*, besides his bodily strength, was chosen king of *Arcadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple cottages, to defend them from rain and storm: and learned them withal to make a kind of meal, and bread of Acorns, who before lived for the most part by herbs and roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how falsely those nations have vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not only with civil learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge. And it was in this age of the world, as both *Eusebius* and *St. Augustine* have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientie doctor fuisse perhibetur*; Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa sapientie pertinere*; To have reference to wise inventions: and *Eschylus* affirmeth, that by the stealing of *Jupiter's* fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the stars, and other celestial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art so to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to images of wood, stone, and clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived had nothing else worthy men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the hill *Caucasus*, his entrails the while devoured by an eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to investigate the natures, motions, and influences of heavenly bodies: for so it is said; *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno cælo quam longissime astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*: That he ascended *Caucasus*, to the end that he might in a clear sky discern a-far off, the settings and risings of the stars: tho' *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Of this man's knowledge *Eschylus* gives this testimony.

*As agebant omnia*

*Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse reperi*

*Signorum obitus, ortusque qui mortalibus*

*Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium*

*His reperi: componere inde literas;*

*Matremque musarum auxi ego memoriam*

*Perutilem cunctis, &c.*

But fortune governed all their works, till when I first found out how stars did set and rise:

A profitable art to mortal men:

And others of like use I did devise;

As letters to compose in learned wise

I first did teach: and first did amplify

The mother of the muses memory.

*Africanus* makes *Prometheus* far more ancient, and but 94 years after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrus* says, that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Isaac*.

There lived also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sons of *Japetus*, of whom tho' it be said, that they were born before *Moses's* days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date; yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the world long after them. Besides these sons of *Japetus*, *Eschylus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the west, gave name to the evening,

<sup>a</sup> *Plin.* l. 6. c. 28.

<sup>b</sup> *Junius.*

<sup>c</sup> *Exod.* 17.

<sup>d</sup> *Numb.* 14.

<sup>e</sup> *1 Sam.* 30.

<sup>f</sup> *2 Sam.* 8. 12.

<sup>g</sup> *1 Chron.* 4.

<sup>h</sup> *Aug.*

<sup>i</sup> 18. c. 8. de *Civit. Dei.*

<sup>j</sup> *Æschyl.* in *Prom. vinct.* in c. 8. l. 18. de *Civit. Dei.*

<sup>k</sup> *L. Vives ex Hef.*

<sup>l</sup> *Æschyl.* in

*Prom. vinct.* <sup>m</sup> *Aug.* l. 18. c. 3. de *Civit. Dei.*



and so to the evening-star. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Libya* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same name: but of the *Libyan*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those mountains which cross *Africa*, to the south of *Morocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the sea adjoining took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestows on *Atlas*, the son of *Neptune*.

*Cicero*, in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to express divine knowledge. *Nec vero Atlas sustinere Cælum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaſo, nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset*; Neither should *Atlas* be said to bear up Heaven, nor *Prometheus* to be fastened to *Caucasus*, nor *Cepheus* with his wife to be stellified, unless their divine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.

*Orpheus* sometimes express'd *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometimes he took him for *Saturn*; as *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheus*. But that the story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction; and that he lived about this time, the most approved historians and antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and *St. Augustine* have not doubted. For the great judgment which *Atlas* had in astronomy, saith *St. Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: others attribute unto him the finding out of the moon's course, of which *Archas* the son of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Archas*, *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus* took name, and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the moon. *Et luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be understood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any observation of the moon's course; or of her working in inferiour bodies. And tho' there be that bestow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who, besides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his philosophy.

#### SECT. V.

##### Of Deucalion and Phaeton.

AND in this age of the world, and while *Moses* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the son of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother, the rest *Clymene*: *Homer*, in the 15th of his *Odyſſes*, makes *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*; but he must needs have meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Ulyſſes* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulyſſes*, after his return from *Troy*, feigned himself to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was son to this latter *Deucalion*, the son of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken (for *Idomeneus* served in that war) and this *Deucalion* the son of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalion's* time happened that great inundation in *Thessaly*: by which, in effect, every soul in those parts perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Thessaly*, those people exceeded in all kind of wickedness and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of God's vengeance, so did all

that nation, for their foul sins, perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general destruction by the flood universal. Only *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of virtue, of justice, and of religion. Of whom *Ovid*:

*Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior equi  
Vir fuit: aut illâ reverentia ulla dearum.*

No man was better, nor more just than he:  
Nor any woman godlier than she.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* foretold his son *Deucalion* of this overflowing, and advised him to provide for his own safety; who hereupon prepared himself a kind of vessel, which *Lucian* in his dialogue of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterwards add the sending out of the dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily think that this story had been but an imitation of *Noah's* flood devised by the *Greeks*, did not the times so much differ, and *St. Augustine*, with others of the fathers, and reverend writers, approve this story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children, *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Helen*, of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*; and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is said to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, so renowned among the heathen for the oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvelous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under *Phaeton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Istria*, a region in *Italy*, and about *Cumæ*, and the mountains of *Vesuvius*: of both which, the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

#### SECT. VI.

##### Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BUT of all other which this age brought forth among the heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous and renowned: the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter maximus*: and of the *Greeks*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name: and how to distinguish, and set them in their own times, both *St. Augustine* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the God of thieves, the God of wrestlers, of merchants, and seamen, and the God of eloquence (tho' all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercury*, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

*Cicero*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries*: of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the son of *Nilus*, whose name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury* which slew *Argos* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them laws. But *Diodorus* affirms, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying, that letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwise *Theuet*; whom *Philo Biblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Egyptians* *Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians*

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 18. c. 8. de Civitate Dei. <sup>b</sup> Ovid. de fast. l. 1. <sup>c</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. <sup>d</sup> Strab. l. 9. <sup>e</sup> August. de Civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio & Hieronymo. <sup>f</sup> Lud. Vives ont of Cicero, in Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 8. c. 26.



*Thot*; and the *Greeks* (as before) *Hermes*.<sup>a</sup> And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who lived about the war of *Troy*, gives the invention of letters. But *St. Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury*, the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grandchild of that *Atlas* which lived whilst *Moses* was yet young. And yet *Lud. Vives* upon *St. Augustine* seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt*, or *Phenicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian*, into *Egypt*. For they all confesse that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Bæotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phenicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius* that lived at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* king of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* lived, and in whose time about his tenth year *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus* who reigned 11 years; after him *Danaus* 50 years; after him *Lynceus*; in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* king of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bæotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moses*'s time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *St. Augustine* remembreth, the one the grandfather, the other the nephew or grandchild, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*; of whom the *Phenicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phenicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phenicians* had them first from him. For every nation gave unto those men the honour of first inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of <sup>b</sup>*Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Moses*, the maternal grandfather of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, calls the counsellor and instructor of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But <sup>c</sup>*Ficinus* giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the tomb of *Isis*. *Lud. Vives*, upon the 26th chapter of the 8th book of *St. Augustine de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth that this *Mercury*, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entitled, *Ter Maximus*, but his nephew or grandchild. <sup>d</sup>*Sanconiathon*, an ancient *Phenician*, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the scribe of *Saturn*, and called by the *Phenicians*, *Taautus*; and by the *Egyptians*, *Thooth* or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is said to have lived, to wit, 300 years, gave occasion to some <sup>e</sup>writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* philosophy and divinity, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the inventor of the *Egyptian* wisdom, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that altho' this *Mercury*, or *Hermes*, doth in his divinity differ in many particulars from the scriptures, especially in the approving of images, which *Moses* of all things most detested; yet whosoever shall read him with an even judgment, will rather resolve that these works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine and in nature. For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a style more reverend and divine, unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two treatises, now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themselves; I think it had not been perilous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himself; and that the *Egyptian* theology hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more ancient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joseph* the son of *Jacob*; whom, after the exposition of *Pharaoh*'s dreams, they called *Saphanet Phane*, which is as much as to say, *Abconditorum Repertor*, a finder out of hidden things. But these are over-adventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whosoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: <sup>e</sup>*Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos Deum & Patrem*; He hath written many books belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the majesty of the most High and One God, calling him by the same names of God, and Father, as we do. The same father also feareth not to number him among the sibyls and prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgments to those idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*, that for my self, I am persuaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himself confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex ejus esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c.* God (saith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain, and life, and power, and light, and mind, and spirit: and all things are in him and under him. For his word out of himself proceeding, being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it also fruitful and producing. And he was therefore (saith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus*, quia *Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens*; Because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. *Hic ruinam* (saith *Ficinus*) *prævidit prisce religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium, resurrectionem seculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum*. This *Mercury* foresaw the ruin of the old or superstitious religion, and the birth of the new faith; and of the coming of Christ, the future judgment, the resurrection, the glory of the blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de prep. Evang. <sup>b</sup> Virg. l. 4. <sup>c</sup> Æneid. Ficin. in Præfat. Pœmand. Mercurii Trismegisti. <sup>d</sup> Or Sanconiatho. <sup>e</sup> St. Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 1. c. 6. <sup>f</sup> Vives in l. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civitate Dei. (Masius. <sup>g</sup> L. 1. c. 6. fol. 4. <sup>h</sup> In Præf. Mercur. Trismeg.



To this I will only add his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volterran* out of *Suidas*. *Hactenus fili pulsus a patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumque post paulum a vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque civitatem regredior; ad quam universi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namque solus Deus est summus princeps: qui cives suos replet suavitate mirifica; ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita*; Hitherto, O son, being driven from my country, I have lived a stranger and banished man; but now I am preparing homeward again in safety. And when I shall after a few days (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood depart from you, see that ye do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that best and blessed city, to which all her citizens (by the condition of death) shall repair. Therein is the only God, the most high and chief prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with a sweetness more than marvellous; in regard whereof this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death, than a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words with *Suidas*. *O cælum magni Dei sapiens opus, teque O vox patris quam ille primum emisit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus verbum & spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei*; I adjure thee, O heaven, thou wise work of the great God, and thee O voice of the father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his only begotten Word and Spirit, comprehending all things, have mercy upon me.

But *Suidas* hath his invocation in these words; *Obtestor te Cælum magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam locutus est primum cum omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigenitum sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto*. I beseech thee O heaven, wise work of the great God, I beseech thee, O voice of the father, which he spake first when he established all the world, I beseech thee by the only begotten word, containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of Jannes and Jambres, and some others that lived about those times.*

There were also in this age both *Esculapius*, which after his death became the God of physicians, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his commentary upon *Augustine*, *de Civitate Dei*, l. 8. and also those two notorious forcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever have been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with devils, or ill spirits; words indeed that seldom came out of his mouth; however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophistæ* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, sophist poisoners, and incantaters: by *Jerome*, *sapientes & malefici*, wise men and evil-doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it self seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural magick; calling them *φάρμακός*, workers by drugs. The *Genevian*, *Sorcerers* and *Inchanters*; *Junius*, *Sapientes*, *Præstigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and wise-men here by him are taken in one sense; and Prestigiaters are such as dazel men's eyes, and make them

seem to see what they see not; as false colours, and false shapes. But as some virtues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other (religion and superstition having one face and countenance) so did the works and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharoah's* forcerers, appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the devil changeth himself into an angel of light: and imitateth in all he can the ways and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary, every work which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned as performed by the help or ministry of ill spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, as such as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to understand their hidden and best virtues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Beseith*, & *opus de Mercana*: the one they call *Sapientiam Naturæ*, The wisdom of nature: the other *Sapientiam Divinitatis*, The wisdom of divinity: the one *Jacob* practised in the breeding the pied lambs in *Mesopotamia*; the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*; having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so far as it pleased God to portion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them; assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also *St. Augustine* noteth that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joshua*, divers other famous men lived in the world, who after their deaths, for their eminent virtues and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the use of the vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted musical plays to *Apollo Delphicus*; thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenness and scarcity upon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his temple and set it on fire: so did *Erichthonius* institute the like games to *Minerva*; wherein the victor was rewarded with a present of oil, in memory of her that first press'd it out of the olive.

In this age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other historians. To these *St. Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the same to whom the 12 labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrinthia*, a city of *Peloponnesus*: (or, as others say, only nursed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and destroy'd many monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phenicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manifestum sit, non Thebanum Herculem, sed Egyptium ad Gades pervenisse, & ibi finem statuisseterræ* (saith *Philostratus*, l. 2.) It is manifest that it was the *Egyptian Hercules*, and not the *Theban*, which travelled as far as the streights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also, while *Moses* wandered in the desarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soever they were that lived in the days and age of

<sup>a</sup> L. Vives in l. 8. Aug. de Civitate Dei, c. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. 9. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. De Civitate Dei, c. 12.



*Moses*, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things, whom he favoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with angels; never any more learned both in divine and human knowledge; never a greater prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that received and delivered the law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God, his creating out of nothing the world universal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication which followed it.

<sup>a</sup> *Syracides* calleth *Moses* the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is blessed. He made him (saith the same author) like to the glorious saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to hear his voice, sanctified him with faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.

He is remembred among profane authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*; by *Megasthenes* and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long lives which the patriarchs enjoyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Estieus*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecataeus*, *Elanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the historian, confirm. The universal flood which God revealed unto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others have testified. The building of the tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Estieus*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecataeus* wrote a book of him. *Damascenus*, before cited, speaketh of *Abraham's* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham* which *Moses* did. For, beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he saith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the city called *Camerina*, or *Urien*, excelled all men in wisdom; and by whom the astrology of the *Chaldeans* was invented. *Is justitia pietateque sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut Divino præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibique habitaverit*; For his justice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his commandment he came into *Phœnicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus*, in his 2d book and 5th chapter, speaketh reverently of *Moses*. There are many other among prophane authors, which confirm the books of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the 9th of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, chapter the third and fourth, to which I refer the reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words. <sup>b</sup> *Moses enim affirmabat, docebatque, Ægyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemque Afros & Græcos, qui Diis hominum figuram assinxerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cælum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulacrorum effigione repudiata) dignum ei templum ac delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum.* *Moses* affirmed and taught, that the *Egyptians* thought amiss, which attributed unto God the images of beasts and cattle: also that the *Africans* and *Greeks* greatly erred in giving un-

to their gods the shapes of men; whereas that only is God indeed, which containeth both us the earth and sea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image doubtless, no wise man will dare to fashion out unto the likeness of those things which are amongst us; that therefore (all devising of idols cast aside) a worthy temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wisdom, for which the martyr *Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, <sup>c</sup> *That Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in works and words*; the same is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Lacrtius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, and divided into four parts, viz. mathematical, natural, divine and moral.

In the mathematical part, which is distinguished into geometry, astronomy, arithmetick, and musick, the ancient *Egyptians* excelled all others. For geometry, which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was useful unto them; because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper lands and territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflowed and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, astronomy, the site of the country being a level and spacious plain, free and clear from clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the stars.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in geometry and astronomy, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of musick they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnify their gods, their kings, and good men.

The natural part of this wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from peripatetical philosophy; teaching that *materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mix'd bodies and living creatures have their being; that heaven is round like a globe; that all stars have a certain sovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the planets have their proper souls, &c.

The divine part of this wisdom, which is called theology, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first original in *Egypt*, partly by means of the temperateness of that country, where neither winter with cold, nor summer with heat, are offensive; and partly through the fertility that *Nilus* giveth in those places: that the soul is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body: that God is one, the father and prince of all gods; and that from this God, other gods are, as the sun and moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them temples, statues, and divers images, because the true similitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues, and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been deified. That those beasts, whose images and forms the kings did carry in their arms when they obtained victory, were

<sup>a</sup> Syrac. 45. 12. 3.<sup>b</sup> Strab. l. 16.<sup>c</sup> Acts 7. 22.



adored for God's ; because under those ensigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover, the *Egyptian* divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical and secret, wherein the highest points of their religion and worship of God which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

<sup>a</sup> *Clemens* distributeth the whole sum of this latter *Egyptian* learning into three several sorts, viz. *Epistolar*, which is used in writing common epistles ; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their priests ; and *Sacred*, which sacred containeth scripture of two kinds ; the one proper, which is expressed by letters alphabetical in obscure and figurative words ; as for example, where it is written, The *Ibis* by the hornet participateth the beauty of the hawk ; which is red thus : The moon doth by the sun borrow part of the light of God ; because light is an image of divine beauty. The other symbolical, or by signatures, which is threefold, viz. imitative, tropical and enigmatical ; imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified ; as by a circle, the sun ; and by the horns of the moon, the moon itself : tropical or transferent, which applies the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to signify the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods and of men. So with the *Egyptian* divines, the image of an hawk signifieth God ; the figure of the hornet signifieth the sun ; the picture of the bird *Ibis* signifieth the moon ; by the form of a man, prudence and skilfulness ; by a lion, fortitude ; by a horse, liberty ; by a crocodile, impudency ; by a fish, hatred is to be understood. Enigmatical, is a composition or mixture of images or similitudes ; in which sense, the monstrous image of a lion's body having a man's head, was graven on their temples and altars, to signify, that to men all divine things are enigmatical and obscure. So the image of the sun set on the head of a crocodile (which liveth as well in the waters, as on land) expresseth, that the sun nourisheth meteors in the air, as well from the waters as from the earth. So a scepter, at the top whereof is made an eye, and an ear, signifieth God, hearing, seeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, that when *Darius* sending letters, threatened *Idanthura*, king of the *Scythians*, with the ruin and destruction of his kingdom, unless he would acknowledge subjection : *Idanthura* returned to him a mouse, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a plough-share ; which *Orontopagas*, tribune of the soldiers, interpreted to signify, that by the mouse, their dwellings ; by the frog, their waters ; by the bird, their air ; by the dart, their weapons ; by the plough their lands ; were signified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their sovereign lord. But *Xyphodres* made another construction, viz. that the king meant, that except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a bird thro' the air, or creep into holes as a mouse, or run into the waters which they had passed as a frog, they should not escape his arms, but either be slain, or (being made captives) till his grounds. The same history is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*, l. 4.

The fourth and last part which is moral and politick, doth contain especially the laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Termaximus* devised ; who in his books or dialogues of *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God worthy of admiration ; as well (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of Christ,

as of the last and fearful day of judgment : that (saith the same author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a philosopher, but a prophet of things to come.

*Iamblicus* in his book of mysteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very ancient historians for his authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menætus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not only the inventor of the *Egyptian* philosophy, but of all other learning, called the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, before remembred : and that he wrote of that subject 36525 books, or pages. Of which there were numbered of fiery spirits, 100 books ; of aerial spirits as many ; and of spirits celestial a thousand : which because they were out of the *Egyptian* language converted by certain learned philosophers into the natural *Greek*, they seemed to have been first written in that tongue.

<sup>b</sup> *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36 ; of physick six books ; of the orders of priests ten ; and of astrology four.

### SECT. VIII.

*A brief of the history of Joshua ; and of the space between him and Othniel ; and of the remainders of the Canaanites ; with a note of some contemporaries to Joshua ; and of the breach of faith.*

AFTER the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth year of the egression, in the first month called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the spirit of wisdom, took on him the government of *Israel* ; God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to pass the river of *Jordan*, and to possess and divide among the *Israelites* the land promised.

The beginning of *Joshua's* rule, <sup>c</sup> *St. Augustine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth king in *Assyria* ; with *Corax* the sixteenth king in *Sicyonia* ; when *Danaus* governed the *Argives* ; and *Eriethonius*, *Athens*.

<sup>d</sup> *Joshua*, imitating in all things his predecessor, sent over *Jordan* certain discoverers to view the seat and strength of *Jericho*, the next city unto him on the other side of the river, which he was to pass over. Which discoverers being saved, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a tavern or victualling house, made *Joshua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jericho*, and those of the country about it, hearing of the approach of <sup>e</sup> *Israel*, had lost their courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth year after the egression, *Joshua* removed from <sup>f</sup> *Shittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his army to the banks of the river *Jordan*, and gave them commandment to put themselves in order <sup>g</sup> to follow the ark of God, when the *Levites* took it up, and moved towards the river ; giving them withal this forcible encouragement, that they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is Lord of all the world, when the river of <sup>h</sup> *Jordan* should be cut off, and divided, and the waters coming from above should stand still on a heap ; whereby those below towards the *Dead sea* wanting supply, they might pass over into the land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

He also commanded <sup>i</sup> *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*, to prepare themselves (according to their covenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and (as we call it in this age) to lead in the van-guard, which thro' all the desarts

<sup>a</sup> Clem. Strom. l. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Clem. Strom. l. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei, c. 11.

<sup>d</sup> Josh. 2. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Josh. 2. 11.

<sup>f</sup> Josh.

<sup>g</sup> Josh. 3. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Josh. 3. 13.

<sup>i</sup> Josh. 1. 12.



of *Arabia*, from the mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the tribe of *Judah* had performed. For these tribes being already provided of their habitations, and the country and cities of the *Amorites*, by the help of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equity, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manasseh* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first month *Nisan*, or *March*, they pass'd over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the midst of the river: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the east side of the city of *Jericho*, where they encamped the first night. At which place <sup>a</sup> *Joshua* gave commandment, that all born in the last fortieth year in the desarts, <sup>b</sup> should be circumcised; which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof <sup>c</sup> *St. Augustine* giveth for cause, the people's contempt of their superiors, <sup>d</sup> *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; that the *Israelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another; *Damascen*, that it was not needful by circumcision to distinguish them from other nations, at such time as they lived by themselves and apart from all nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same month, the children of *Israel* celebrated the passover now the third time; first, At their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, At mount *Sinai*; and now at <sup>e</sup> *Gilgal*. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the country, and having, as it were, surfeited on manna, they parched of the corn of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and eat thereof.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the land of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sibon* held, so did *Joshua* perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the territories, he gave to each tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three several times; first, By <sup>f</sup> *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*, of the lands over *Jordan*; secondly, By *Joshua*, to the tribe of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and the other half tribe of *Manasseh*, about the fifth year of his government; proved in *Joshua* xiv. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven tribes at *Shilo*, where <sup>g</sup> *Joshua* seated the *Tabernacle* of the congregation.

The victories of *Joshua* against the kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his own books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetiton. In whose story I chiefly note these particulars.

First, How in the beginning of the war, those little kings, or *reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custom of those estates, from whose governors God hath taken away all wisdom and foresight, they left those of their own nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched ere it could spread it self so far as their own territories and cities. But after such time as *Jericho* and *Ai* were entered, and the kings, people, and cities consumed, five of those thirty-one kings (all which at length perished in that war) joined themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Joshua*.

Only five (the rest looking on to see the success) namely the king of the *Jebusites*, in *Jebus*, or *Jerusalem*, the kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, *Lachis* and *Eglon* address'd themselves for resistance: whose army being by *Joshua* surprized and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight, and hopeless of mercy by submission, creeping into a cave under ground, were thence by *Joshua* drawn forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also took <sup>h</sup> *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* king of *Gezar* hastned, and perished. After which *Joshua* possessed himself of <sup>i</sup> *Eglon*, *Heber*, and *Debir* destroying these cities with their princes.

In the end, and when the fourth countries were possessed, the cities thereof conquered, and their kings and people made dust; the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counsels of necessity, united themselves to make one gross strength and body of an army; which *Jabin* king of *Hazor* practised and gathered together, being at that time of all the *Canaanite* kings the most powerful; which army being by *Joshua* discovered, as the same rested near the lake of *Merom*, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining an absolute victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entered their cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reserving the rest for *Israel* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Joshua* shewed himself a skilful man of war, for that in those ancient times he used the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the armies of the first five kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprize: for he marched all night from his camp at <sup>k</sup> *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day, when they suspected no enemy at hand; as he did also at *Merom*, when he overthrew *Jabin*, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great city of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, The miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the river of *Jordan* at the springs, so as the army of <sup>l</sup> *Israel* pass'd it with a dry foot; the fall of *Jericho* by the sound of rams horns; the showers of <sup>m</sup> hail-stones which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished, than by the sword of *Israel*. Again, the arrest of the sun in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the All-powerful God.

Fourthly, Out of the passage between *Joshua* and the *Gibeonites*, the doctrine of keeping faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it admitteth no distinction, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousness, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called equivocation. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the <sup>n</sup> *Hevites*, expressly and by name, by the commandment of God, to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and, as it were, deride *Joshua*, and the princes of *Israel*, by feigning to be sent as ambassadors from a far country, in which travel their cloaths were worn, their bread mouldy, which they avowed to have been warm for newness when they first set out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken, their shoes patch'd, and their sacks, rent and ragged: yet <sup>o</sup> *Joshua* having sworn

<sup>a</sup> Josh. 4. 19. <sup>b</sup> Josh. 5. 2. <sup>c</sup> Aug. 9. 3. in Josh. <sup>d</sup> Thom. part 3. quest. 70. art. 4. ad 3. <sup>e</sup> Josh. 5. 10. <sup>f</sup> Josh. 14. 3. <sup>g</sup> Josh. 18. <sup>h</sup> Josh. 10. <sup>i</sup> Josh. 10. <sup>j</sup> Josh. 10. 9. <sup>k</sup> Josh. 3. 13. <sup>l</sup> Josh. 10. 11. <sup>m</sup> Josh. 9. 7. <sup>n</sup> Josh. 9. 7. <sup>o</sup> Josh. 10. 13.



unto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, he durst not, tho' urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their lives, and the cities of their inheritance.

Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promise made, *Joshua* had it. For first, The commandment which he received from God to root out this nation among the rest, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, He might justly have put these men to the sword, and have sack'd their cities; if there be any evasion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* that he gave peace, because he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gave faith, and to a nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, fought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, The accord which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanites* was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale; that is, believed what they had said, and counselled not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, These men, who were known idolaters, and served those puppets of the heathen, men of an apish religion, as all worshippers of images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they believed not. I say therefore, that if ever man might have served himself by any evasion or distinction, *Joshua* might justly have done it. For he needed not in this case the help of equivocation, or mental reservation. For what he swore, he swore in good faith; but he swore nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithless subtilty of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they to whom he had sworn it, were worshippers of the devil.

For it is not as faithless men take it, that he which sweareth to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a king, and sweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his presence, that this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect; we therein profess that we fear him not, and that we set him at naught and defy him. If he that without reservation of honour giveth a lie in the presence of the king, or of his superiour, doth in point of honour give the lie to the king himself, or to his superiour; how much more doth he break faith with God, that giveth faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witness of the covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a son to break the promise, will, or deed of the father; for a state, or kingdom, to break those contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick faith. For tho' it were 400 years after *Joshua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*; yet God, who forgot not what the predecessors and fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworn in his name, afflicted the whole nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased,

till seven of *Saul's* sons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of subjects to kings, of servants to their masters, of vassals to their lords, of wives to their husbands, and of children to their parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world; be torn asunder. It is by oaths (when kings and armies cannot pass) that we enter into the cities of our enemies, and into their armies. It is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this: That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the world is true, whom he calleth for a witness, and in whose presence, he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor evasions, which play with the severity of God's commandments in this kind: but this indeed is the best answer: That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whosoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The Christians in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greatest, and had brought the caliph of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not only lose it again, but were soon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* itself: by reason (saith *William of Tyre*, a reverend bishop which wrote that story) that *Almerick* the fiftieth king after *Godfrey* brake faith with the caliph *Elhadeck*, and his vicegerent, the soldan *Sanar*; who being suddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the Turk, *Syracon*, to their aid; whose nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the Christians out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden cross (the very cross, say they, that Christ died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge; seeing they had foresworn themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy Ghost, *That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soul*: how much more perilous is it (if any peril be greater than to destroy the soul) to swear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the pope that persuaded, or rather commanded the king of *Hungary* after his great victory over *Amurath* the Turk, and when the said king had compelled him to peace, the most advantageous that ever was made for the Christians, to break his faith, and to provoke the Turk to renew the war. and tho' the said king was far stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battle with 30000 Christians, and his own life. But I will stay my hand: for this first volume will not hold the repetition of God's judgments upon faith-breakers; be it against Infidels, Turks, or Christians of divers religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-days is rather made a matter of custom than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable; that it pleased God to leave so many cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by foreseeing their idolatry, and as it is said in the scriptures, *To be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make war*. For these cities hereafter named, did not only remain in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Joshua*, but soon

<sup>a</sup> Josh. 9. 7. <sup>b</sup> Josh. 9. 14. <sup>c</sup> Psal. 5. 6. Wisdom 1. 11. <sup>d</sup> Josh. 23. Judg. 1. and Judg. 3. 2.



after his death, the <sup>a</sup>children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain countries, and enforc'd to inhabit the mountains, and places of hardest access. And those of *Judah* were not able to be masters of their own vallies; because, as it is written in *Judges* i. 19. *The Canaanites had chariots of iron*. And those principal cities which stood on the sea-side, adjoining unto <sup>b</sup>*Judah*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistines*; as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*, out of one of which cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasseh* over *Jordan* expel the <sup>c</sup>*Geshurites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the north parts of *Basan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nephtalims* possess themselves of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanab*; but they enforc'd those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did <sup>d</sup>*Asher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Atblab*, *Achzib*, *Heblab*, *Apbike*, and *Rehob*, nor enforce them to a tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nabalol*, but received tribute from them. Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in <sup>e</sup>*Gezer* among the *Ephraims*; and among the children of *Manasseh*, on the west of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held <sup>f</sup>*Bethshean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*; yea, *Jerusalem* itself did the *Jebusites* defend above four hundred years, even till *David's* time.

Now *Joshua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. *Josephus* gives him five and twenty years; *Seder Ollam Rabbi*, the author of the *Hebrew* chronology, eight and twenty; and *Masseus* six and twenty; *Maimonius*, cited by *Massius*, fourteen; *Joannes Lucidus*, seventeen; *Cajetanus*, ten; *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty, and so doth *St. Augustine*; *Melancthon*, two and thirty; *Codoman* five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480 years from the deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Joshua* only eighteen of them, as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480 years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the temple, convinceth of error such as have inserted years between *Joshua* and *Othniel*, of whom <sup>h</sup>*Eusebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last chapters upon *Joshua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine years, *Bucholzer* and *Reusner* but one, *Codoman* twenty, and *Nicephorus* no less than three and thirty; whereas following the sure direction of these 480 years, there can be no void years found between *Joshua* and *Othniel*, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Joshua* by the account already specified. The praises and acts of *Joshua* are briefly written in the six and fortieth chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where, among many others things, it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battles of the Lord?*

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last chapter, verse 26. *And Joshua*

wrote these words in the book of the law of God; which seemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which *Joshua* made with *Israel* in *Shechem*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord; which promise *Joshua* caused to be written in the book of the law; and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulensts*: *Theodore* doth likewise conceive that the book of *Joshua* was collected out of an ancient volume, intitled *Liber Justorum*; remembered by *Joshua* himself; and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*; for where-as *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26th verse, *And Joshua wrote these words*, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it; for when the people had answered *Joshua*, <sup>b</sup>*The Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey*; it followeth that *Joshua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the book of the law of God.

There lived at once with *Joshua*, *Erichonius* in *Attica*, who taught that nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: and about the same time the fifty daughters of *Danaus* (as it is said) flew the fifty sons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who succeeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived also with *Joshua*, *Phoenix* and *Cadmus*, and near the end of *Joshua's* life, *Jupiter* is said to have ravished *Europa* the daughter of *Phoenix* (afterwards married to *Asterius* king of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But <sup>i</sup>*St. Augustine* reports this ravishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether <sup>k</sup>*Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong man at the same *Trojan* war. And so doth *Nestor* reckon up in the counsel of the <sup>l</sup>*Greeks*, *Theseus* and *Perithous* for men of antiquity, and of ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the tribes of Israel, that were planted in the borders of Phenicia, with sundry stories depending upon those places.*

### SECT. I.

*The proem to the description of the whole land of Canaan, with an exposition of the name of Syria.*

THE story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Joshua*, after whom the commonwealth of the *Jeros* was governed by kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten tribes, shall be remembered when we come to the description of *Samaria*: but because the land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the stages and theatres, whereon the greatest part of the story pass'd, with that which followeth hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a geographical description of those regions; that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the neighbour countries) I have be-

<sup>a</sup> *Judg.* i. 31. <sup>b</sup> *Josh.* ii. 19. <sup>c</sup> *Sam.* xii. 4. <sup>d</sup> *Josh.* xiii. 13. <sup>e</sup> *Judg.* i. 31. <sup>f</sup> *Josh.* xvi. 10. <sup>g</sup> *Judg.* i. 27. <sup>h</sup> *Luc.* x. 1. <sup>i</sup> *Josh.* v. 1. <sup>j</sup> *Josh.* v. 24. <sup>k</sup> *Josh.* v. 26. <sup>l</sup> *Lib.* i. c. 12. *De Civitate Dei.* <sup>m</sup> *Hom.* *Odyss.* & *Iliad.*



flowed on every tribe his proper portion; and do shew what cities and places of strength were by the *Jews* obtained; and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at sundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and dead idols of the heathen. *Divina bonitas* (saith St. *Augustine*) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro; & misericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne eternam juste inferat ultionem*; the divine goodness is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come; and doth mercifully use temporal severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal vengeance.

To the cities herein described, I have added a short story of the beginnings and ends of divers kingdoms and common-wealths; and to help my self herein, I have perused divers of the best authors upon this subject; among whom, because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistines*, and the lands of *Og* and *Sihon* kings of *Basan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but small provinces of *Syria*; it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the general, and so descend to this particular, now called the holy land.

<sup>a</sup> *Syria*, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, as it was anciently taken, imbraced all those regions from the *Euxine* sea to the *Red* sea; and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called <sup>b</sup> *Leucosyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the north border, unto *Idumea* towards the south, *Tigris* towards the sun-rising, and the *Mediterranean* sea westward: it then containeth, besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia* the *Desart*, and *Arabia Petraea*, that region also which the *Greeks* call *Mesopotamia*; the *Hebrews* *Syria*, of the two rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aram-Nabairajm* is expounded; also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriae*, because the two rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

<sup>c</sup> *Edeffa*, sometimes *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the metropolis of this region of *Syria*. In *Syria*, taken largely, there were many small provinces, as *Cœlesyria*, which the *Latins* call *Syria Cava*, because it lay in that fruitful valley between the mountains of *Lybanus* and *Anti-lybanus*, in which the famous cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the city <sup>d</sup> *Damascus*, and the mountains of *Lybanus*, the regal seat of the *Adades*, the first kings of *Syria*. Adjoining to it was the province of *Sophene*, or <sup>e</sup> *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*; over which *Adadezer* commanded in *Solomon's* time. Then *Phenicia* and the people *Syrphœnes*; and lastly, *Syria Palestina* bordering *Egypt*; of which <sup>f</sup> *Ptolemy* maketh *Judea* also a part; and to that province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syria Judea*.

## SECT. II.

*Of the bounds of the land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this land.*

**B**UT that land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phenicia*, and stretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great desarts between *Idumea*

and *Egypt*; bounded by the midland sea on the west, and the mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon* towards the east; the same hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolemy Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from <sup>g</sup> *Canaan* the son of *Cham*, *& lingua appellata fuit Canaan*; The language was also called *Canaan*, saith *Montanus*; and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*, who took name from *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, according to <sup>h</sup> St. *Augustine*. But *Arius Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noah's* sons, which pass'd over *Euphrates* towards the west sea. For the word *Heber*, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens*, of going or passing over. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding; therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of <sup>i</sup> *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Judea* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intitled the holy land, because therein our Saviour Christ was born, and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four, namely, into *Edom* (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumea*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*. *Galilee* is double, the superior, called *Gentium*, and the inferior; and that *Galilee* and *Judea* are distinguished, it is plain in the <sup>k</sup> *evangelists*, tho' both of them belong to *Phenicia*.

Now besides these provinces of *Phenicia*, and *Palestina* (both which the river of *Jordan* boundeth; saving that *Phenicia* stretcheth a little more easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the east of *Jordan*, and within the mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of half *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also; as well because anciently possess'd by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoy'd by the *Israelites*; which eastmost parts are again divided into *Basan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are known to the latter cosmographers by the name of *Arabia* in general; and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Picria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the latter provinces, which fell to *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; for these be his words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar until Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the country north and south; then it followeth in the text; *And as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Schoim, even unto Lasba*; by which words *Moses* setteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead* sea to the *Mediterranean*. But in <sup>l</sup> *Deuteronomy*, it seemeth to be far more large; for it is therein written: *All the places whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours: your coast shall be from the wilderness, and from Lebanon, and from the river Perah, unto the uttermost sea*. Now for the length of the country north and south, this description agreeth with the former; only *Lebanon* is put for *Zidon*; and the wilderness for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent east and west, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*, then the land promised stretcheth it self both over *Arabia Petraea* and the desert, as far as the border of *Babylon*, which the *Israelites* never possess'd, nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt.

<sup>a</sup> Ptol. Asia Tab. 1. <sup>b</sup> Ptol. 5. <sup>c</sup> Aurogallus. <sup>d</sup> 1 King 11. <sup>e</sup> Herod. in Polym. Dion. 1. 27. <sup>f</sup> Ptol. Asia Tab. 4. <sup>g</sup> Strabo 1. 16. <sup>h</sup> Caleb 1. 62. <sup>i</sup> Euseb. Præp. Evang. 1. 7. c. 3. <sup>k</sup> Matt. 2. Luke 2. John 4. <sup>l</sup> Deut. 11. 24.



And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the river *Perab*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*; taking light from this place of *Joshua*; <sup>a</sup> *Behold I have divided unto you by lot these nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your tribes; from Jordan, with all the nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great sea westward.*

And tho' it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the territory of the holy land: yet, as <sup>b</sup> *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perab* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it but *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *David* did not at any time enter so far to the east as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavil, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* unperformed: for when both their kings, magistrates, and people fell from his worship and service, it pleased him, not only to inclose them within that territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein, and elsewhere, to subject them unto those idolatrous nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obey'd. And sure, the promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of <sup>c</sup> *Canaan*, and the lasting injoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth*, was tied to those conditions, both in the verses preceding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other, than all mankind could or can expect; who knew, that all sorts of comforts, from the merciful goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in *Deuteronomy* xi. 8. the keeping of God's commandments, was a condition joined to the prosperity of *Israel*. For therein it is written; *Therefore shall ye keep all commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your days in the land which the Lord swear unto your fathers, &c.*

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens are above the earth. <sup>d</sup> *For if ye keep diligently, saith he, all these commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these nations before you, and ye shall possess great nations, and mightier than you.* And here, tho' it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of God's commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his All-powerful majesty, to the idolatry of the heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed. Yet I cannot mislike that exposition of *Metancthon*; for, saith he, *ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc politico regno*; He sheweth that his chief promise is not of a civil kingdom. To which agrees that answer, which *St. Jerome* made to a certain heretick, in his epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused *St. Jerome*, that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an allegory, and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in celis est* (that is) Only to that land of the living which is in heaven. *Quoniam tota Judæorum regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vis longitudinem habeat 160 miliarium, latitudinem vero 40, & in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Judæis occupata,*

*sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa*; Because the whole country of the *Jews* is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160 miles in length, and 40 miles in breadth; and in these are countries, places, cities, and many towns, which the *Jews* never possess'd, but were only granted by divine promise. In like manner the same father speaketh upon *Isaiah*, touching the blessings promised unto *Jerusalem*; where he hath these words, <sup>e</sup> *De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palæstina regione petendam: quæ totius provinciæ deterrima est, & saxosis montibus asperatur; & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut cælestibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione soletur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur festinaverunt structores tui*; From whence, saith he, we learn, that *Jerusalem* is not to be sought in that region of *Palestina*, which is the worst of the whole province, and ragged, with craggy mountains, and suffereth the penury of thirst: so as it preserveth rain water, and supplieth the scarcity of wells, by building of cisterns: but this *Jerusalem* is in God's hands, to which it is said thy builders have hastned; so far *St. Jerome*. Where also, to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself; *Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hereticus sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historie veritatem: quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis, sed ut decutiam supercilium Judæorum: qui synagogæ angustias latitudini ecclesiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem, ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem*; Neither (saith he) say I this to disgrace the land of *Judea* (as the heretical sycophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the history, which is the foundation of spiritual understanding, but to beat down the pride of the *Jews*; which enlarge the straits of the synagogue, farther than the breadth of the church: for if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickning spirit, let them shew the land of promise flowing with milk and honey.

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the west bound in the place, *Deut.* xi. 24. had his truth in the literal sense; that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the east bound, should be taken only for a spiritual sense) yet nevertheless that *Jerome's* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood for *Euphrates*: and that the promise it self was never so large, much less the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this holy land, because *Asser*, *Nephthalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the northermost part, and were seated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asser* for the first: of which tribe, yet before I speak, I must admonish the reader touching the names of places in this, and the other tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of translators, are diversly expressed; so that to the unskillful they may seem diverse, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly, because the ancient editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* editions have; and partly, because the ancients expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter do think fit.

<sup>a</sup> Josh. 23. 4.<sup>b</sup> Vadian. Epitom. trium terre partium. cap. Palæstina.<sup>c</sup> Deut. 11. 21.<sup>d</sup> Deut. 11.<sup>e</sup> Is. 49. 14.



SECT. III.

The Tribe of ASHER.

† I.

The bounds of the tribe of Asher.

THE *Asherites* descended of *Asher*, the son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500 and odd persons, all men above 20 years of age, and able to bear arms at the time, when they were mustered by *Moses* at mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the desarts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 53400 bodies fit for the wars: which pass'd the river of *Arnon*, into the plains of *Moab*; and, after the conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phenicia*, from *Zidon*, and the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* along the sea coast, containing 30 *English* miles, or thereabouts; and from the midland sea to the east border, some 12 miles; tho' <sup>a</sup> *Antoninus* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in wine, oil, and wheat, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities; according to that prophesy, *Asher pinguis panis*; concerning *Asher*, his bread shall be fat; <sup>b</sup> *And he shall give pleasures for a king*.

† II.

Of Zidon.

THE first city seated on the north border of the territory of *Asher*, was *Zidon*, which *Joshua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greeks*, and <sup>Q</sup> *Curtius*, make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and <sup>c</sup> *Justin* derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores; whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But that it was far more ancient, <sup>d</sup> *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Josephus* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon*, the eldest of *Canaan's* sons: and so strong it was in *Joshua's* time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the *Asherites*, or any of their successors, master it: but it continued all the time of the judges and kings, even unto the coming of Christ, a city interchangeably governed, by their own princes, or other magistrates: tho', according to the warnings and threats of the prophets <sup>e</sup> *Isaiab*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel* and *Zachary*; it was often afflicted, both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

*Zidon* is seated on the very wash of the *Phenician* sea, which is a part of the *Mediterranean*, or midland sea. It hath to the north, the city of *Berythus*, and the river *Leontis*; and to the south, *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which standeth between it and *Tyre*; the distance between which two great and famous cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14000 paces, saith <sup>f</sup> *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it 200 furlongs, and so doth *Weissinbury*, in his description of the holy land, and both from *Strabo*: which 200 furlongs make 25 miles. This difference of distance, as well between these two known cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new scale to the map and description of the holy land.

What kings it had till *Agenor's* time, there is

no memory. The story which *Zeno* the philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*; which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as <sup>g</sup> *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*; because it was but a member of *Zidon*, and a city subject to the kings thereof: tho' it be true, that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong. From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* their principal workmen, both in timber and stone; for the building of the temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other mechanical arts and trades: the prophet <sup>h</sup> *Zachary* calling them the wise *Zidonians*. The city was, both by nature and art, exceeding strong, having a castle or citadel on the north side, standing upon an unaccessible rock, and compassed by the sea; which after the citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the knights of the *Dutch* order: and another castle it hath on the south side, by the port of *Egypt*, which the templers guarded. It also sent many other colonies besides that of *Tyre*, into places remote; as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, cities of *Beotia* in *Greece*.

*Strabo* and <sup>i</sup> *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of <sup>k</sup> glass, which they used to make of those sands which are taken out of the river *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterranean* sea, near *Ptolomais* or *Acon*; and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those clear glasses which they make at *Murana*; of which *St. Jerome* and *Pliny*. *Zidon insignis artifex vitri*, *Zidon vitrariis officinis nobilis*; *Zidon* a famous glass-maker, or a skilful worker in glass-houses.

They were in religion idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and <sup>l</sup> *Astaroth*: which idols, tho' common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of <sup>m</sup> *1 Sam.* xxxi. 10. and *Judges* x. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*; as appears <sup>n</sup> *1 Kings* xi. 5. in the story of *Solomon's* idolatry, where *Astaroth* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and <sup>o</sup> *1 Kings* xvi. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said, that he marrying *Jezebel*, the daughter of the king of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals*, and divers *Astaroths*, in their idolatries, they acknowledged; as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim* and *Astaroth*, <sup>p</sup> *1 Sam.* xii. 10. and elsewhere: for even the name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skilful *Hebrician*, is plural; the singular being *Astoreth*: whence *Judg.* ii. 13. the *Septuagint* read ἐλάτρευσαν τοὺς ἀστρούχαις; *They worshipped the Astarties*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Astoreths*, may be diversly understood; either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them; which (as fables use to be) were doubtless in divers cities diverse. *Augustine Quest.* 19. in *Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by some such name as *Astarte*, *Tull.* l. 3. de *Nat. Deorum*, making divers goddesses of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*; whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the wife

<sup>a</sup> Ant. Itin. <sup>b</sup> Gen. 49. <sup>c</sup> Justin. l. 18. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 10. Joseph. <sup>e</sup> Isa. 23. Jer. 47. Ezek. 28. & 32. Zach. 9. <sup>f</sup> Palest. Sig. l. 19. Vadian. Phoen. l. 278. Strab. l. 16. <sup>g</sup> Strab. l. 16. <sup>h</sup> Zach. 9. 2. <sup>i</sup> Plin. l. 5. c. 9. <sup>k</sup> It seems that even in Joshua's time they practised Glass-making; whence Junius for Mithrephoth mairim, which ad verbum, is as much as combustiones aquarum, reads fornaces vitrarias, Josh. 11. 8. as it seems, because these furnaces were where there was flow of water, either for the melting of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other necessary uses. But there are others that take them for salt-pits, and others again for hot-baths. <sup>l</sup> The form of Astoreth (or Astarte) seemeth to have been a sheep; for, Deut. 7. 13. the word in the plural number signifieth sheep; and this may confirm Augustine's opinion, that Astarte was Juno: for the form of her husband Jupiter Hammon was a ram.



of *Adonis*. As also *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn.* cap. 21. says, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Affyrians*. And *Jerome*, upon *Ezekiel* viii. 44. notes, that *Thammuz* (whom there the idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seem, that in the worship of *Astarte*, or *Venus*, they did bewail her husband *Adonis*. As also the *Grecians* did in their songs of *Adonis*, <sup>a</sup> *Mourn for Adonis the fair, dead is Adonis the fair*. Howbeit, others in that place of *Ezekiel*, not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris*, in the sacrifices of *Isis*: whose loss of her husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Egyptian* idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus's* loss of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iside & Osiride*; that *Osiris* with the *Egyptians*, is called *Ammuz*: which word may seem to be the same with *Ezekiel's* *Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus anciently fostered with the milk of idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the doctrine and gospel of Christ after this ascension, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moses*, and the prophets, so many years, whereof our Saviour, in *Matthew* and *Luke*; <sup>b</sup> *Wo be to thee Cherazin, &c. For if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long ago, &c. But I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgment, than for you.*

It received a Christian bishop with the first; who was afterwards of the diocese of *Tyre*. But in the year of our redemption 636, it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*; and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then king of *Jerusalem* in the year 1111, by the help of the *Danes* and *Norways*, who came with a fleet to visit the holy land, and took port at <sup>c</sup> *Joppa*; it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Eustace Gremer*, a nobleman of that country. And again, in the year 1250, it was re-edified and strengthened by *Lodowick* the *French* king; while he spent four years in the war of the holy land. <sup>d</sup> Lastly, in the year 1289, it was reconquered by the *Saracens*; and is now in possession of the *Turks*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

### † III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief history of Tyre in the same coast.

**S**arepta, or, after the *Hebrew*, *Sarpath*, is the next city southward from *Zidon*, between it and the river called *Naar*, or *Fons horrorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a city very famous for the excellent wine growing near it: of which *Sidonius*;

*Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,  
Queque Sareptano palmite missa bibas.*

I have no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,  
Nor any for thy drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This city had also a bishop of the diocese of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the rest, and now called *Saphet*, saith *Postellus*.

Not far from *Sarepta*, was situate that some time famous city of *Tyre*, whose fleets of ships commanded, and gave the law over all the *Mediterranean* sea, and the borders thereof; during which time of greatness and power, the *Tyrians*

erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*; of which *Virgil*; <sup>e</sup> *Urbs antiqua fuit Tyrii tenuere coloni, Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called <sup>f</sup> *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a colony of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italy*, *Nola*. In *Asia* the less, *Dromos Achillis*, which city the <sup>g</sup> *Scholiast* of *Apollonius* placeth near the river *Phyllis* in *Bithynia*.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*; and so it is written in *Ioshua* xix. taking name from the situation, because built on a high rock, sharp at one end. The *Latins*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; for <sup>h</sup> *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ostrum Sarranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day, the place being still known by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a colony of the *Zidonians*, the prophet *Isaiab* xxiii. calleth it the daughter of *Zidon*: which *Trogus* also confirmeth, tho' *Berosus*, by affinity of name, makes *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* to be the parent thereof: and tho', no doubt, it was very ancient (for so much the prophet *Isaiab* xxiii. also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?*) yet, that *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* set himself in the bosom of the *Canaanites*, who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that region, I see nothing to persuade me.

But that new *Tyre*, in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was <sup>i</sup> *Curtius* and *Iosephus*. And *Eusebius* makes this city elder than *Solomon's* temple 240 years: *Cedrenus* 361, who also addeth that *Tyrus*, the wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor*, I will speak more at large in the story of their kings.

For strength, and for the commodiousness of the harbour, and the better to receive trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an island 700 paces from the continent; and therefore <sup>k</sup> *Ezekiel* placeth it in the midst of the sea, as some read; or as others, in the innermost part of the sea; whence he calleth it, *situate at the entrance of the sea*; as also the same prophet calleth it, *the mart of the people for many isles*: and *Isaiab* xxiii. 3. *A mart of the nations*. And so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this city, as the prophet *Isaiab* xxvii. 8. calleth the merchants thereof *princes*, and their chapmen *the nobles of the world*.

It excelled, both in learning, and in manufacture; especially in the making and dying of purple and scarlet cloth: which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules's* dog, who passing along the sea coast, and eating of the fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same idols that *Zidon* did; saving that *Hercules* became their patron in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a crown of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the defender of their city, and the ancestor of the *Macedonian* kings, and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules's* temple was in the mountain of old *Tyre*, where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not, for *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Li-*

<sup>a</sup> Κλαίετε καλὸν Ἄδωνιν. <sup>b</sup> Matth. 11. 20. <sup>c</sup> Tyr. 11 Bell. Sacr. 14. Vitriac. c. 27. <sup>d</sup> Niger Postellus. <sup>e</sup> Virgil. l. 1. <sup>f</sup> Plin. l. 5. c. 19. <sup>g</sup> Marcellin. l. 22. <sup>h</sup> Gellus, l. 4. c. 6. <sup>i</sup> Justin. l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euseb. in Chron. Ioseph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2. Cedren. p. 17. <sup>k</sup> Ezek. 28. 2. & 27. 3.



*banus* so great a number of cedars, and so many weighty stones from the old city of *Tyre* adjoining, as notwithstanding that his materials were often washed away with the strength of the sea and the tides, yet he never rested, till he had made a foot passage from the continent to the island: and having once approached their walls, he over-topp'd them with turrets of wood, and other frames; from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving spirit of resolution) he became lord thereof, putting all to the sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000 more to be hung up in a rank all along the sea-shore; which execution in cold blood he performed (as some authors affirm) upon the issues of those slaves which had formerly slain all their masters, taking their wives, children, riches, and power of government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrians*, <sup>a</sup> *Josephus* remembreth; and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000 soldiers; who was the last *satrapa*, or provincial governour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*; the same who having married his daughter to *Manasseh*, brother to *Jaddus* the high priest of *Jerusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a temple might be built on the mountain *Garizim*, over *Samaria*; that the forces of the *Jews* being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which priesthood he bestowed on his son-in-law *Manasseh*, whom the *Jews* oppugned, for that he had married out of their tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom <sup>b</sup> *Gulielmus Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre*, by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanassar* the *Assyrian* king; when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He besieged it both on the land side, and with three-score ships of war held the port; to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve sail scattered that fleet, and took five hundred prisoners of the *Assyrians*; notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before it by his lieutenants five years, but with ill success. And this siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Josephus*, made report of in his chronicles, as he found the story among the annals of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding that *Eluleus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Heliseus*, was then king of *Tyre*, having governed the same six and twenty years. Soon after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200 years before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor*, at such time as he destroyed *Jerusalem* with the temple, came before this city; who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that despairful work of joining it to the continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it; tho' by the diligence of the citizens, and the strength of the sea, the same way and passage was again broken down and demolished.

Against *Nabuchodonosor* for many years the *Tyrians* defended themselves; for so long did these *Babylonians* continue before it: *As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare*, saith, *Ezekiel* xxix. 18. who with the prophet *Isaiah* ch. 23, &c. had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after thirteen years siege or more, the *Tyrians*, despoiled of all their

hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of God's prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ships, abandoned their city, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained; and with their wives, children, and portable riches, sailed thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other maritime cities of their tributaries, or confederates; so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfy so many labours and perils, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that war. It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nabuchodonosor* victorious over the <sup>d</sup> *Egyptians*; and gave him that kingdom and the spoil thereof, as it were in wages for his army. Whereupon *St. Jerome* noteth, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the heathen unrewarded; who tho' they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his servants and saints; yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Now of this enterprize of *Nabuchodonosor* against *Tyre*, profane historians have not been silent. For both *Dioctes* and *Philostratus* (as <sup>e</sup> *Josephus* citeth them) the one in his second book, the other in his *Phœnician* histories remember it.

After these two great vastations by the kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this city of *Tyre* repaired and recovered itself again; and continued in great glory about 300 years, even to the coming of our Saviour Christ; and after him flourished in the Christian faith near 600 years; the archbishop whereof gave place to none but to the patriarch of *Jerusalem* only; who within his own diocese had fourteen great cities, with their bishops and suffragans; namely, <sup>f</sup> *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphyria*, *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Biblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the year 636, it was with the rest of that beautiful region of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subjected to the cruel and faithless *Saracens*. Under the burden and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered with the other *Palestine* cities 488 years.

<sup>g</sup> In the year 1112, it was attempted by *Baldwin* king of *Jerusalem*, but in vain; yet in the year 1124, by *Guaremonde*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, vicegerent to *Baldwin* II. with the assistance of the *Venicians*, and their fleet of gallies, it was again recovered, and subjected to the kings of *Jerusalem*, and so it remained 165 years.

Finally, in the year 1189, *Saladine* having first taken *Jerusalem*, removed his whole army, and sat down before *Tyre*, drawing his fleet of ships and gallies from *Alexandria* into the port, this city as then only remaining in the Christian power.

The citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fired, burnt and brake the *Saracens* fleet, and sallying out resolvedly upon his army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the *Saracens* forsaking their trenches and tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory, the body of that famous *Frederick Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the Christians enemies over a river unfordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph. Ant. Judæ. l. 11. c. 8.* <sup>b</sup> *De bell. fac. l. 13. c. 4.* <sup>c</sup> *Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 14. Et cont. Ap. 1. Gul. Tyrius, c. bell. fac. 13. 4. Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 15.* <sup>d</sup> *Ezek. 29. 19.* <sup>e</sup> *Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 13.* <sup>f</sup> *Gul. Tyr. bell. fac.* <sup>g</sup> *Gul. Tyr. 11. bell. fac. 17.*



interred in the cathedral church of *Tyre*; near unto that glorious sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and graven with guilt pillars of marble, 940 years before therein buried; but in the year 1289, the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the *Turks*.

## † IV.

## Of Ptolomais, or Acon.

THE third city along the coast of the sea, which the *Asherites* could not obtain, on the south bound of *Asher* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof, after *Jerome*; tho' other good authors affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolemy*. <sup>a</sup> *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*; and otherwise the colony of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*; and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Haetipos*.

But, lastly, it was intituled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolemies*; which city also, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the <sup>b</sup> *Ptolemies* perfidiously wrested from his son-in-law *Alexander*, which called himself the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, daughter of the said *Ptolemy*, not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Maccabeus* treacherously surprized and slain, as it is 1 *Maccab.* xii. 48. by the perfidiousness of <sup>c</sup> *Tryphon*; whom soon after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the story ensuing; and by like reason, about the same time, was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the war against *Demetrius*, one of the sons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolemy* joined, overthrown and treacherously murdered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*, to whom he fled for succour; and his head presented unto his father-in-law *Ptolemy*, who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three days, for <sup>d</sup> God struck him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this city, this *Alexander* made it his regal seat; two parts of the same being environed by the sea; and the port of safety and capacity, not inferior to any other in all that tract. This city is distant from *Jerusalem* some 34 miles: four miles to the north, from the mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the south from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, <sup>e</sup> *Antoninus* maketh it 32 *Italian* miles. In the midst of the city there was a tower of great strength, some time the temple of *Belzebub*, and therefore called the castle of flies; on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, like unto that called <sup>f</sup> *Pharus* in *Egypt*; to give comfort in the night to those ships, which came near and sought that part. It had in it a bishop's seat, of the diocese of *Tyre*, after it became Christian; but in the year 636 (a fatal year to the Christians in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen*. In the year 1104, it was regained by <sup>g</sup> *Baldwin* I. by the help of the gallies of *Genoa*; to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God 1187, *Saladine*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became lord thereof. In the year of Christ 1191, by *Richard* king of *England*, and *Philip* king of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, In the year 1291, it was, by the fury of the *Saracens*, besieged with an army of 150000, entred, sack'd, and utterly demolished; tho' in some sort afterward re-edified, and it is now *Turkish*.

## † V.

## Of the castle of St. George.

FIVE miles from *Ptolomais*, toward the east, is the castle of <sup>h</sup> *St. George* seated, in which he was born; the valley adjoining bearing the same name. And tho' for the credit of <sup>i</sup> *St. George's* killing the dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others, it was strange that the order, full of honour, which *Edward* III. founded, and which his successors royal-ly have continued, should have borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcity of saints in those days, as that the *English* were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or person feigned. The place is described by *Adrichomius*, in his description of *Asher*, to have been in the fields of *Libanus*, between the river *Adonis* and *Zidon*. His own words are these: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inclitum Christi militem D. Georgium, regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asservasse: eamque maculata bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam ecclesia postmodum fuit edificata*; In this place, which by the inhabitants is called *Cappadocia*, not far from *Berytus*, men say that the famous knight of Christ, *St. George*, did rescue the king's daughter from a huge dragon; and having killed the beast, delivered the virgin to her parent. In memory of which deed, a Church was afterwards built there: Thus far *Adrichomius*. His authors he citeth *Ludovicus Roman. Patric. Navigationum*, l. 1. c. 3. and *Bridenbach, Itin.* 5. The valley under this castle some time called *Asher*, was afterward called the valley of *St. George*. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the story allegorical, figuring the victory of Christ, than accept of *George* the *Arian* bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

## † VI.

## Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BETWEEN *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* along the sea-coast, was the strong city of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which <sup>k</sup> *St. Jerome* calleth *Achziph*, and *Josephus*, *Ecdippus*; *Pliny*, *Ecdippa*, one of those which defended itself against the *Asherites*. *Belforrest* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve searchers of the land which *Moses* sent from *Gades-barne*, travelled as far to the north as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the tribe of *Asher*, which *Rechob*, as also *Berothæ*, which by *Ezekiel* xlvii. 16. is placed in these north borders, belong'd, in *David's* time, to the king *Hadarezer*, as it may be gathered out of 2 *Sam.* viii. 8. and x. 6. and it defended itself against the *Asherites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomai*, *Alab*, *Helbab*, and *Apbek* did.

This *Apbek* it was, whose wall falling down, slew 27000 of *Benbadad's* soldiers after that 100000 had been slaughtered by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Abab*. Here *Junius* finds that the *Philistines* incamped, a little before the battle at *Gilboa*, tho' in his note upon 1 *Sam.* ix. 1. he takes *Apbek* there mentioned (at which battle the ark was taken) to have been in <sup>l</sup> *Juda*. Of which *Joshua* xv. 53. and in 2 *Kings* xiii. 17. he reads *Fortiter*,

<sup>a</sup> *Plin. lib. 5. c. 19. in descrip. ter. sanct.* <sup>b</sup> *Ptolomæus Philometer.* <sup>c</sup> 1 *Mac.* 1. 10. <sup>d</sup> 1 *Mac.* 11. 18. <sup>e</sup> *Ant. Itin.* <sup>f</sup> *Herold* <sup>g</sup> *G. Tyr. bell. fac. l. 10. c. 28.* <sup>h</sup> *Herod. l. 1. bell. fac. l. 7. & l. 2. c. 2. & alibi.* <sup>i</sup> *Broch.* <sup>j</sup> *Itin. 4. Of place and memory of his death. See chap. 9. §. 1.* <sup>k</sup> *Jerom. de locis heb. Jos. bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19.* <sup>l</sup> 1 *Sam.* 29. 1.



for, in *Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Peroutiens Syros in Apheck*.

The next place along the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when he besieged *Tyre*: and set it on a point of land which extendeth itself into the sea, between *Azciba* and *Tyre*: which castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified, in the year of Christ 1157, when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much above a mile from this castle, there ariseth that most plentiful spring of water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called the *Well of living waters*: from whence, not only all the fields and plains about *Tyre*, are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn; but the same spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the sea, driveth six great mills in that short passage, saith *Brochard*.

Within the land, and to the east of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hofa*: and beyond it, under the mountains of *Tyre*, the city of *Achsaph*, or *Axah*, or after *St. Jerome*, *Acisap*, a city of great strength, whose king, amongst the rest, was slain by *Joshua*, at the waters of *Merom*.

† VII.

*Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.*

**F**ARTHER into the land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the eastermost hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107, thereby to restrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the Christians; the place adjoining being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this castle, the lords of *Thoron*, famous in the story of the wars for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, derive their names, and take their nobility. It had in it a curious chappel, dedicated to the blessed virgin, in which *Humphrey* of *Thoron*, constable to *Baldwine III.* king of *Jerusalem*, lieth buried: There were five castles besides this within the territory of *Asher*; whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other; to wit, *Castrum Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum regium*, and *Belfort*. The first near the sea, under the hills of *Saron*; the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort* and *Regium*, stand more within the land, and belonged to the brotherhood and fellowship of the *Teutonizi*, or *Dutch* knights (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians, at such time as the *Saracens* possessed the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which order was in *Ptolomais Acon*. The first fortrefs was, for beauty and strength, called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the river *Naar*, near the city *Rama*: of which in this tribe, *Joshua* xix. 29. for which the *Vulgar* reads *Horma*, making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels; from the siege of this castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine*, king of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the Christians army raised, and, with great loss and dishonour, repulled.

To the east of *Belfort*, is the strong city of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which *St. Jerome* calleth *Chalab*; one of those that defended themselves against *Asher*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the south from *Roob*, they place *Gabal* (which *Herod*, surnamed the *Ascalonite*, rebuilt) making it of the territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syro-*

*rum lingua displicere significat* (saith *Weissenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre*, was ill pleased with those twenty cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the temple. Others think this *Chabol*, or *Chabul*, containing a circuit of those twenty cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compass of the *Holy Land*; tho' bordering *Asher* on the north side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* ix. 11. that they were in *regione limitis*; that is, in *limite regionis*, in the border of the country: for it was not lawful, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possession allotted to the *Israelites*: howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears 2 *Chron.* viii. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David*, from the *Syri Rechobæ*, whose city *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the castle of *Thoron*, they place the cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over *Jordan*: *Giscala* was made famous by *John* the son of *Levi*, who from a mean estate, gathering together 400 thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*; at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judea*; by whose practice *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly endangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second book of those wars, chap. 36. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the city of *Giscala* (whereof he was a native) to the *Roman* state: and finding a resistance in the city, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and the *Gadarims*, to surprize it; who at the same time forced it, and burnt it to the ground: But being by *Josephus's* authority rebuilt, it was afterwards rendred to *Titus* by composition. They find also the cities of *Cana major*, and *Cades* (or *Cedessa*; ) of the first was that *Syro-Phenician*, whose daughter *Christ* delivered of the evil spirit. Near the other, they say, it was that *Jonathas Maccabeus* overthrew the army of *Demetrius*.

There are, besides these forenamed cities within the tribe of *Asher*, divers others; as on the south border, and near the sea, *Messal*, or *Misbeal*: within the land *Besara*, *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the south border, between *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the north-side, joining to *Syro-Phœnicia*, is the city of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the utmost of the *Holy Land* that way; under which, towards the sea, is *Chali*, and then *Enoch*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his son *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Amman*, or *Chammon*, of which *Joshua* xix. 28. where also we read of *Nekiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton*: the cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Hadbon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misbeal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Asherites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made *Judges* i. 30. to which, out of *Joshua*, we may add *Ebron*, *Ambad*, and others, on which no story dependeth, and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

† VIII.

*Of the rivers and mountains of Asher.*

**T**HE rivers to the north of *Asher*, are *Adonis*, afterwards *Canis*, to which *Zeigler* joineth *Lycus*, *Ptolemy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the

<sup>a</sup> Cant. 4. <sup>b</sup> Itin. 1. <sup>c</sup> Josh. 12. 20. <sup>d</sup> Herold. 1. 2. c. 4. <sup>e</sup> Continuationis bell. sac. <sup>f</sup> Joseph. Ant. 13. 21. and 15. 10. <sup>g</sup> Jun. Annot. in 1 Reg. 9. 11. <sup>h</sup> 2 Sam. 10. 6. <sup>i</sup> See Kadeth in Nephtalim, Mat. 15. Mark 7. <sup>j</sup> Mac. 1. 73. <sup>k</sup> Jol. Ant. 13. c. 8. <sup>l</sup> Of *asobich* Joshua in vita sua. <sup>m</sup> Of both *asobich*, Josh. 19. 27. <sup>n</sup> Ezek. 47. 15. <sup>o</sup> Or *Enofa*, Joseph. Ant. 1. c. 4. <sup>p</sup> Josh. 21. 30.



sea near *Berytus* : which river of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws near unto *Zidon* : finding his head notwithstanding, where <sup>a</sup>*Ptolemy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a river called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome*, out of *Brochard*, entitleth *Eleutherus* : for which he also citeth <sup>b</sup>*Pliny* ; and <sup>1</sup>*Maccabees* xi. but neither of those authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Asher* : for this river falleth into the sea at the isle of *Aradus*, not far from *Balanæa*, witness <sup>c</sup>*Ptolemy* : and therefore <sup>d</sup>*Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus*, *Valana* : which river boundeth *Phœnicia* on the north-side : to which *Strabo* also agreeth : but this principal river of *Asher* *Arius Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christianus Schrot*, out of the mouth and papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the *Holy Land*) calleth the main river, *Fons hortorum Libani* : and one of the streams which runneth into it from the north-side, *Naar* ; and another from the south-west, *Chabul*, of the city adjoining of the same name ; for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another river described by *Adrichome*, named *Jepthael*, which I find in no other author, and for which he citeth *Joshua* xix. but the word <sup>e</sup>*Ghe*, which is added there to *Jepthael*, is not taken for a river, but for a valley : and for a valley, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arius Montanus* turn it. There is also found in *Asher* the river of *Belus*, remembred by *Josephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith <sup>f</sup>*Pliny* : out of the sands of this river are made the best glass, which some time the *Zidonians* practised ; and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arius Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim* ; which it cannot be ; for *Belus* is known to flow from out of the lake *Cendevia* ; as all cosmographers, both ancient and modern, and the later travellers into those parts witness. It is true, that the river of *Chifon*, taketh water from *Chedumim* ; but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it : neither doth it find the sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus*, but farther to the south, between *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witness *Zeigler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Besides these rivers, there are divers famous springs and fountains, as that of living waters adjoining to *Tyre* : and <sup>g</sup>*Maserephot*, or after *St. Jerome*, *Maserephotmaim*, whose well filled by the flood of the sea adjoining (they say) the inhabitants, by seething the water, make salt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

The mountains which bound *Asher* on the north, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœlesyria* ; two great ledges of hills, which from the sea of *Phœnicia*, extend themselves far into the land eastward, four hundred stadia, or furlongs, according to <sup>h</sup>*Strabo* : for that length he giveth to the valley of *Cœlesyria* ; which those mountains inclose : but <sup>i</sup>*Pliny* gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the west (where they begin at *Theiophon*, or *Dei facies*, near *Tripolis*) to the mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus* ; where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the south. These ledges, where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Basan* from the desert *Arabia*, are called *Hermon* : which *Moses* also nameth *Sion* ; the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion* ; and the *Amorites*, *Sanir* ; neither is this any one

mountain apart, but a continuation of hills ; which running farther southerly, is in the scriptures called *Galaad*, or *Gilead* : the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the prophet *Jeremy* proveth ; *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani* : noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of those hills of *Libanus*. <sup>k</sup>*Strabo* knows them by the name of *Traconitæ* ; and *Ptolemy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth these mountains bordering, *Asher*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other cosmographers, but he giveth no reason for his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops ; because, according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are covered with snow all the summer ; the Hebrew word *Libanos* (saith *Weissenburgh*) signifieth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the frankincense which those trees yield ; because *λιβνός* is also the Greek word for that gum.

<sup>l</sup>*Niger* out of *Aphrodiseus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kind of honey-dew, which is by the sun congealed into hard sugar, which the inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the Latin word *Saccharum*.

The rivers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour regions, are, *Chrysorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the mountains of *Asher*, are those hills above *Tyre*, and the hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful ; but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus* : for from *Nebo*, or the mountain of *Abarim*, in *Ruben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* 60 miles distant.

#### SECT. IV.

#### The Tribe of NEPHTALIM.

##### † I.

Of the bounds of *Nephtalim*, and of *Heliopolis*, and *Abila*.

THE next portion of the land of *Canaan*, bordering *Asher*, was the upper *Galilee* ; the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the son of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the handmaid of *Rachel* : who, while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400 persons, able men to bear arms, numbred at mount *Sinai* : all which leaving their bodies in the deserts, there entred the holy land of their sons 45400, besides infants, women, and children, under 20 years of age. The land of *Nephtalim* took beginning on the north part from the fountains of *Jordan*, and the hills of *Libanus* adjoining, as far south as the sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the west by *Asher*, and on the east and south-east by *Jordan*.

On the north side of *Libanus*, and adjoining to this territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabit ; in which tract, and under *Libanus*, was the city of *Heliopolis* ; which the height of the mountains adjoining shadowed from the sun, the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Balbec* ; *Niger*, *Marbeck* ; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of <sup>m</sup>*Heliopolis*, there are two great cities in *Egypt* : the first called *On*, by the Hebrews, and the *Chaldean* paraphrast, otherwile *Belshemes*,

<sup>a</sup> *Asie Tab. 4.* <sup>b</sup> *Plin. l. 9.* <sup>c</sup> *Asie Tab. 4.* <sup>d</sup> *Post Orthosiam & Eleutherum est Tripolis.* <sup>e</sup> *The word Nachal is ambiguous, either for a valley, or for a river : but this word Ghe, is always a valley, as in Gehinnon and Gellemanim.* *Joseph. l. 2. Bell. Jud. c. 3.* <sup>f</sup> *Lib. 5. c. 19.* <sup>g</sup> *In Josh. 19. 26. it is called Shichor ; of which name many understand another stream, Josh. 13. 3. which running by Petra of Arabia, falleth into the lake Sirbonis, and divideth Egypt from the promised land ; whereabout the place Rhinocolura, for which city Junius taketh Shichor in that place of Joshua ; but howsoever, whether this Shichor, Josh. 13. 3. be a river or a city, it appears that this name is found, both in the north bound of the Holy Land, Josh. 19. 26. and in the south bound Josh. 13. 3.* <sup>h</sup> *See the note in the second section of this paragraph.* <sup>i</sup> *Strabo, l. 10.* <sup>j</sup> *Plin. l. 5. c. 25.* <sup>k</sup> *Deut. 4. 48.* <sup>l</sup> *Strab. l. 10. Ptol. Asie Tab. 4. Sueton. l. Nig. p. 503.* <sup>m</sup> *Guil. Tyr. Bell. sac. l. 9. c. 15.* <sup>n</sup> *Theodor. 4. Hist. Ecclesiast. Mela. l. 3. c. 9. Just. Gell. in itinerar. Joseph. in pluribus locis. Euseb. 8. Demonst. Volat. l. 11. l. 243.*



or after the *Latins*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus solis*; The city of the sun: into which, saith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the *Roman* emperor sent a colony: the other *Gestelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a city in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also, in the same valley adjoining to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* the queen commanded.

*Abilon* also gave name to the region adjoining; of which *Lyfanius*, the son of *Herod* the elder, became tetrarch or governour; whereof *Ptolemy* gave it the addition of *Lyfanii*, and called it *Abila Lyfanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous sophister, was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this city of *Abila*, or *Aphila*, had received the Christian faith, *Priscillianus* became bishop thereof; slain afterwards by our *British Maximus* at *Trever*. For distinction of this city (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembered, that in the tribe of *Manasseh*, joining upon the bounds of the tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another city of the same name, saving that it is written with an [E] for an [I], and called *Abela*, remembered in the xxth chapter of the 2d of *Samuel*. The same *Josephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Jerome*, *Bethmachab*. In the place of *Samuel*, for distinction sake, it is written, *Abel Beth-Mabaca* (for belike it was the town of *Mabaca*, the wife of *Macir*, the son of *Manasseh*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This city *Joab* besieged; because *Seba* the son of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *David*, fled thereinto for succour; but a certain wife woman of the city persuading the people to cast *Seba's* head over the wall, *Joab* retired his army. The same city was afterwards taken by the king of *Damascus*, *Benhadad*; and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signify bewailing, or a plain ground, and therefore no marvel, that many towns (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called; for even of bewailing many places took name, as *Bochim*, *Judg.* ii. 4. and so doubtless *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen.* i. 11. and yet *Junius*, in his note upon *Numb.* xxxiii. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there (to wit, in the land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Mehola* in the tribe of *Ephraim*; the town of *Elisba* the prophet; also *Abel-Vincarum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jeptha* pursued them.

† II.

Of Hazar.

IN this tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous city of *Jabin*, in *Joshua's* time, called *Asar* (or, after the *Chaldean* paraphrast, *Hafzor*) by *Josephus*, *Asora*; by *Junius*, *Chatzor*; which *Laisstan* names *Hesron*, the regal city and metropolis of *Canaan*, seated in the west part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Asber*. In this city was that great rendezvous, and

assembly of those 24 kings against *Joshua*; who being all overthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerful city was by *Joshua* taken and burnt to dust. But in process of time, the same being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*; a second king *Jabin*, 137 years after the death of this first *Jabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their idolatry, he prevailed against them; and held them in a miserable servitude 20 years; till *Deborah* the prophetess overthrew *Sifera*, *Jabin's* lieutenant, and his army, near the mountain *Tabor*. This city *Solomon* restored at such time as he also re-edified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*, with *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other cities; but about 260 years after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*; king of the *Affyrians*. It is now, saith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiopia*; it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*. There is another city of this name in the territory of *Benjamin*, seated on the confines of *Ascalon*, called the new *Hazar*, <sup>c</sup> saith *Jerome*.

† III.

Of Cæsaria Philippi.

There was also on the border, and within the territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned city of *Laisb*, or *Lajisch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Lefchem*; which city the children of *Dan* (being straightened in their territory under *Juda*) invaded and mastered, and gave it the name of their own parent *Dan*; and by that name it is written in *Gen.* xiv. at which place *Abraham* surprised *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates; and followed his victory as far as *Sobab*, formerly remembered in the division of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the joint name of *Lefchem Dan*. *Weissenburgh* writes it *Lacis*; the *Geneva*, <sup>b</sup> *Laisb*; *Josephus*, *Dana*; *Benjamin*, *Balina*; *Breitenbach*, *Belena*; but the now inhabitants know it by the name of *Balina* to this day: witness *Nubrigenfis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the monk, and *Posellus*; who also taketh this city to be the same which in *Matthew* xv. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*: for which the *Greek* text hath *Magdala* in that place; and in *St. Mark* viii. 10. speaking of the same story, *Dalmanutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subject unto the kings thereof; for it is written, *Judges* xviii. 28. *And there was none to help, because Lais was far from Zidon: and they had no business with other men*; for it was above 30 *English* miles from the *Mediterranean* sea, and from *Zidon*.

In after-times, when these regions became subject to the state of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a fountain adjoining so called; and therefore *Ptolemy* calls it *Cæsaria Panice*. *Hegefippus* calls it *Parnium*, saith *Weissenburgh*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy, for in *Hegefippus*, set out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum*, without an [R]: and at such time as *Philip* the son of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, became governour of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basan*, this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tibe-*

<sup>a</sup> *Abel* a third in *Ephraim* called *Abel Mechola*; and a 4th in *Reuben*, called *Abel Sittim*, also *Abel-Misraim*, at the ford of *Jordan*, and (as it seems) in the same tribe of *Reuben*, of all which, in that which follows, to which also we may add, *Abel-Magnum*, *Gen.* 31. as some think, of a city, otherwise called *Bethshemes*, near the border of the *Philistines*; or according to others, of the great *city* in the border. <sup>1</sup> *Sam.* 6. 18. *Joseph.* *Ant.* 1. 7. c. 10. <sup>2</sup> *Sam.* 20. <sup>1</sup> *Kings* 15. <sup>2</sup> *Kings* 15. <sup>b</sup> *And Abel Magnum.* <sup>1</sup> *Sam.* 6. 18. *Judg.* 7. 24. <sup>1</sup> *Reg.* 19. 15. *Judg.* 11. 35. <sup>c</sup> *Of two other cities of this name in Juda, see chap. 9. § 1. Of a fourth in Parnum, see that which follows in this place. Of a fifth in this tribe of Nephtalim, called Hen Chatfor, see *Josh.* 19. 37. to which we may add Chatfor-Henan, in the uttermost north-east of Manasseh, over Jordan, *Ezek.* 47. *Numb.* 34. 8. Also in Simeon, Chatfor-Sufim, of which <sup>1</sup> *Chron.* 4. 31. which also is called Chatfar-Sufa, and Chatfar-Gadda; and lastly, Chatfar-Shuleb, another city of Simeon. *fol.* 19. 3. <sup>d</sup> <sup>1</sup> *Kings* 9. <sup>e</sup> *Hieron.* loc. *Hebr.* 1. E. out of *Nehem.* 11. 33. as it seem. <sup>f</sup> *Judg.* 18. 27. *Jos.* 19. 47. <sup>g</sup> *Judg.* 18.*



*rius Cefar*, he called it <sup>a</sup> *Cefaria Philippi*; and so it became the metropolis, and head city of *Traconitis*; and one of the first cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa*, in the succeeding age, greatly adorned; by him, in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that emperor, but the memory of his impiety; so in *St. Jerome's* time the citizens remembered their former *Paneas*, and so recalled it, with the territory adjoining, by the ancient name. Of this city was that woman whom Christ healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant faith: who afterwards, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of God's goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as <sup>b</sup> *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two statues to be cast in pure copper; the one representing Christ, as near as it could be moulded; the other made like her self, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great bases or pedestals, of the same metal, which she placed by a fountain near her own house; both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time; which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of *Constantine* the great. But in the year after Christ 363, that monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy monument to be cast down and defaced, setting up the like of his own in the same place; which image of his was with fire from heaven broken into fitters; the head, body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Saliminus*, in his 5th book and 20th chapter.

This city built by the *Danites*, was near the joining together of those two rivers which arise from the springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two <sup>c</sup> apparent fountains of *Jordan*; in a soil exceeding fruitful and pleasant; for as it is written, *Judges* xviii. it is a place which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this city, it was that *St. Peter* acknowledged Christ to be the son of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this city received the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a bishop's seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was afterwards taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and Christians; under *Fulch* the 4th king of *Jerusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Buloin*, the king of *Damascus* wrested it from the Christians: and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth, with all that part of the world, subjected to the *Turks*.

#### † IV.

Of Capernaum, and the cities of Decapolis.

**A**Mong the remarkable cities within this tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least; so often remembered by the evangelists. This city had the honour of Christ's presence three years; who for that time was as a citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our salvation; according to that notable prophecy of *Isaiab* ix. *The people that walked in darkness, have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*

*Capernaum* was seated on *Jordan*, even where it

entreth into the sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich soil: of whose destruction Christ himself prophesied in these words: *And thou Capernaum, which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell, &c.* which shewed the pride and greatness of that city; for it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*, and the metropolis of *Galilee*. And tho' there were some marks of this city's magnificence in *St. Jerome's* time, as himself confesseth, it being then a reasonable burgh, or town; yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as *Brochard*, *Bridenbeck*, and *Saliniac*, affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor fishermen's houses.

The region of ten principal cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned; and in *St. Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, also remembered; but I find no agreement among the cosmographers, what proper limits it had; and so *Pliny* himself confesseth: for <sup>e</sup> *Marius Niger* speaking from others, bounds it on the north by the mountain *Casius* in *Casiotis*, and endeth it to the south at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it embraceth *Phenicia*, a part of *Cœlesyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Judea*.

<sup>f</sup> *Pliny* also makes it large, and for the ten cities of which it taketh name, he numbeth four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*; to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, <sup>g</sup> *Opotos*, *Raphana*; then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or, as I guess, *Amona* rather, because it was the chief city of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptol. Philadelphus* gave it this latter and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nysa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethsan*: for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœlesyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*;) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, near the river *Hieromaix*. This river *Ortelius* takes to be the river *Jaboc*, which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasseh* over *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it, for *Hieromaix* falleth into the sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the same sea between *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh, he nameth <sup>h</sup> *Hippos* or *Hippion*, a city so called of a colony of horsemen there garisoned by *Herod*, on the east side of the *Galilean* sea, described hereafter in the tribe of *Manasseh* over *Jordan*. For the eighth, *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the south border of the region over *Jordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth, *Gelasa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Cœlesyria* by *Josephus*, *Hegeippus* and *Stephanus*; but by *Ptolemy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phenicia*. The tenth, and last, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*; and so doth *Suetonius*, and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*; but *Hegeippus* rightly *Camala*, a city in the region of *Basan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a camel. But the collection of these ten cities, whereof this region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saliniac*, which make them to be these; *Cefaria Philippi*, and *Afor*, before remembered, *Cedes Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the evan-

<sup>a</sup> Of another *Cefaria* (or *Cæsarea*) called *Cæsarea Palestina*, see hereafter in the former part of *Manasseh*. Of *Diocæsarea*, see *Phoriz* in *Zabulon*. <sup>b</sup> *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 14. *Niceph.* l. 6. c. 15. <sup>c</sup> *Josephus* in the book of the Jewish war, 18. *Just.* That *Philip* the tetrarch cast chaff into a fountain called *Phiala*, distant 120 stadia north-east from *Cæsarea*; which chaff being carried under ground, was cast up again at *Pannum*, or *Dan*, whereby it is conjectured, that the first spring of *Jordan*, is from this fountain called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters. <sup>d</sup> *Matt.* 4. *Mark* 7. *Luke* 8. <sup>e</sup> *Niger* comment. *Alia* 4. l. 503. <sup>f</sup> *Plin.* l. 5. c. 18. <sup>g</sup> *Opotos*, a city standing in the valley of *Cœlesyria*, scattered by *Chrysothorus* to *Damascus* in *Plin.* l. 5. <sup>h</sup> *Pliny* hath *Hippion* *Dion.* for which *Volaterran* reads *Hippidion*. *Ortelius* takes them for two cities.



gelist St. *Matthew* makes it manifest, that this region, called *Decapolitana*, was all that tract between *Zidon*, and the sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written in *Matthew* iv. *And he departed again from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the north, by the *Phenician* sea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolemais* on the west; by the hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the south; and by the mountains *Tracones*, otherwise *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the east; which is, from east to west, the whole breadth of the holy land; and from the north to the south, near the same distance, which may be each way 40 *English* miles.

† V.

Of Hamath.

BUT to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is seated, near the foot thereof, the city of *Hamath*, or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the country adjoining taketh name: the same which *Josephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa*. *Ituræa regio tenet borealia tribus Nephtali, per montem Libanum usque Trachones*. The country of *Ituræa*, saith he, containeth the north parts of the tribe of *Nephtali*, along the mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis*, *Ituræa*, he mistakes the seat of this region; and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed, were *Ituræa* (which *Elegesippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the same with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it self is far more to the east than *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*; for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæsaria Philippi*, and the mountains *Trachones*, which the *Hebrews* call *Gilead*: and this *Hamath*, or *Chammath*, is seated under *Cæsaria*, towards the sea westward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew, by confounding *Emath*, or *Hamath* the great in *Cælesyria*, beyond the mountains *Trachones*, which *Jerome* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*; with *Hamath*, or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phenician*; and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hamath*, or in our translation *Hamath* (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* viii. 3. is set far from the north border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numb.* xxxiv. 8. and *Numb.* xiii. 22. and in *Ezek.* xlvii. 10. In the first of which places, it bordereth the land of promise: these being the words; *From mount Hor you shall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *until it come to Hamath*. In the second place, thus: *So they went up and searched out the land from the wilderness in Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath*. Then in *Ezekiel*; *The west part also shall be the*

*great sea from the border, till a man come over-against Hamath*; that is, the coast of the sea shall be the west border from the southermost part of the holy land, till you come directly over-against *Hamath* northward: from whence, if a line be drawn to the sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*; which is <sup>a</sup> the north-west corner of the holy land.

Now that this *Hamath* or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the holy land, is that of *Nephtalim*, both the reference which it hath to the west sea, and the city of <sup>c</sup> *Rehob* adjoining prove it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the forenamed mountains, which inclose all those lands which *Israel* ever had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Ituræa*, witnesses <sup>d</sup> *Stella* and *Laicstan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where <sup>e</sup> *Jonathus Macchabæus* attended the army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

For tho' *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Galilee Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the mountains *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the plains of the territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was tetrarch or president, both of *Ituræa* and *Traconitis*; both which are over *Jordan* towards the east. But *Chammath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the west side of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterranean* sea.

The country *Ituræa* was so called of *Jethur*, one of the sons of *Issmael*; it is placed in the bounds of *Cælesyria* and *Arabia* <sup>h</sup> the desert.

The people of *Ituræa* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent archers. Of whom *Virgil*;

*Ituræos taxi torquentur in arcus,*  
Of yew the *Itureans* bows were made.

The city *Chammath*, or *Hamath*, in *Nephtalim*, seems to have been as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus*, the 11th son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tobu* for king, it is not certain; for *Hamath*, or *Emath*, beyond the mountains, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim* were both neighbours to *Damascus*; at whose subjugation *Tobu* rejoiced, because *Hadadeser*, whom the *Damasceni* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tobu* fearing the strength and prosperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brass.

But it seemeth that *David* in such great success, would not have had peace with *Tobu*, if he had been king of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tsoba*; which city *Solomon*, after his father's death, made himself master of, as a part of the lands (<sup>i</sup> in the larger and

<sup>a</sup> The Septuagint write it Ammath. Jerome, Emath. Josephus, Amath. Josh. 19. 35. Chammath. ch. 21. v. 32. Chammath Dor. 1 Chron. 6. 76. Chammath. 2 Kings 14. 8. Chammath-Jehude, or Junius reads it. *Utriusque*, for further distinction, there is added (in Israel) to note that it was of old belonging to Judah, tho' seated in Israel, that is, in the kingdom of the ten tribes; the other Chammath being in Syria Soba. <sup>b</sup> Zeigler. in Neptal. <sup>c</sup> So Jerome in his comment on Amos 6. 2. where there is mention of Hamath the great, as it seems, for distinction from the other in Nephtalim; tho' Mat. Beroaldus rejecting Jerome, rather judges the opinion of Zeigler above-mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified, that either one or other of these is either Antiochia, or Epiphania: borealis, that the same city which, Josh. 19. 35. is called Chammath, and placed in Nephtalim, was also called Chammath (where the word Hamath and Emath were framed) it may be gathered, partly because the other Hamath, 2 Chron. 8. 3. for distinction is called Chammath-Tsoba, as this (as it may seem by Josh. 21. 32.) was Chammath-Dor, and Chammath-Jude, as we have noted 2 Kings 24. 10. 11. because Numb. 34. 8. and also Ezek. 47. 10. Chammeth in the north side of the holy land, is placed too near the west corner to be at Chammath-Tsoba: for in the line which should make the north border, which begins at the great sea, they make Moses to name a place eastward along all the breadth of the holy land, until we come to Hermon (for so they expound mount Hor, Numb. 34. 8.) and beyond Hermon eastward in this north side, they make him to name divers towns, first Chammath, then Tfedad, then Ziphon; and last, Chatfar-henan: a thing most unlikely, seeing Israel had little or nothing eastward beyond Hermon. Therefore we must needs extend Hor to be one of the hills near Sidon; and so those towns, as they are named to lie in order on the north side of Ather, Nephtalim, and Manassah: and in like manner those in Ezekiel; first, Chetton, then Chammath; and so in order, Berotia, Subrain, Tfedad, Chamon, Chatfar-Henan. <sup>d</sup> Of which, Josh. 19. 35. <sup>e</sup> Which Rehob, or Rechob, in Josh. 19. 28. is placed in Ather towards Zidon, in the confines of Nephtalim. <sup>f</sup> Filemanus Stella, and Peter Laicstan, in their tables of the holy land. <sup>g</sup> Joseph. ant. 13. 8. <sup>h</sup> that it doth properly belong to Arabia, the name of Jethur Issmael's son, whose issue settled in the Arabians, may in part give account for the place of 1 Chron. 5. 19. confirm it, where Jethur is named among the Hagarens, against whom the Reubenites and Gadites made war, and whose country they possessed in the time of Jeroboam, at their forefathers had done in the time of Saul, after his conquest of the Amalekites, 1 Chron. 5. 10. where the country is placed at the east of Gilead. <sup>i</sup> Of the larger promise express'd Deut. 1. 7. where Ephraim is named for one of the bounds, see chap. 7. sect. 2. Hicron. de Locis Hebr.



conditional promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been said, possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While *St. Jerome* lived, it remained a city well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

#### † VI.

Of *Reblatha* and *Rama*, and divers other towns.

**I**N the border of *Hamath*, or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, standeth the city *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis*, which falleth into the lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was *Zedekiah* brought prisoner, after his surprise in the fields of *Jericho*, and delivered to *Nabuchodonosor*: who, to be avenged of *Zedekiah's* infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the princes his children to be slain in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in iron chains, he was led a slave to *Babylon*, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldom-exampled calamity, tho' not in express words, <sup>a</sup> *Jeremiah* the prophet foretold him in *Jerusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, speaking in the person of God, <sup>b</sup> *I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldeans, yet shall he not see it, tho' he shall die therein.*

There are besides these before-remembred, many other strong cities in *Nephtalim*; as that which is called <sup>c</sup> *Cedes*: there are two others of the same name, one in <sup>d</sup> *Issachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Josh. xv. 23.* and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of <sup>e</sup> *Nephtalim*, as *Judg. iv.* It is seated on a high hill, whence *Josh. xx. 7.* *Kedesh in Galilee in monte Nephtali*: *Josephus* calls it *Cedesis*: and in *St. Jerome's* time it was called *Cidissus*. *Belforest* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the desert of *Pharan*.

After the king thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, perished by the hand of *Joshua*, it was made a city of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barak* born, who overthrew the army of the second *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the mount *Tabor*. It was some time possess'd by *Teglatphalassar*, when he wasted all *Nephtalim*: afterwards by the *Romans*, and numbred for one of the ten cities of the *Decapolitan* region: when it had embraced the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a bishop's seat; but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes*, some four *Italian* miles towards the south-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* cities; a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable fortress of the Christians, and afterwards of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour cities of those regions, both inland

and maritime near it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated northward near *Sephet*: this is to be noted, that there are divers places of this name in *Palestine*, all seated on hills; and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebraeis excelsum*, *Rama* with the Hebrews is high.) Also that from this *Rama*, *Josh. xix. 36.* they read *Arama*, making the article (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name of divers towns) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Anama*. From *Sephet* towards the west, they place <sup>g</sup> *Bethsemes*, of which *Josh. xix. 38.* which defended it self against *Nephtalim*, *Judges i. 33.* but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet*, towards the east, was *Bethanath*, who also kept their city from the *Nephtalims*.

Adjoining to which standeth *Carthan* <sup>h</sup> or *Kiria-thajim*, a city of the *Levites*, not far from the mountain, out of which the springs of *Capernaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*; a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his apostles or messengers; of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the <sup>i</sup> evangelists.

Adjoining to these are *Magdalen*, a place of strength; and <sup>k</sup> *Masaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Bacchides*, in the time of the <sup>l</sup> *Maccabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berthas* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this tribe; <sup>m</sup> one near *Chamath* in the north border, of which *Ezek. xlvii. 6.* Another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joseph. Ant. l. 5. c. 2.*) he therefore placeth, in this tract, near the waters of *Merom*; because the kings that joined with *Jabin* against *Joshua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Josh. xi. 5.* are by *Josephus* said to have incamped at the city *Beratha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedes* *Superior*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Beratha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the *Upper Galilee*, or *Galilee of the Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the region of *Berim* near *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-beth-mahacab*, we have spoken already;) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, <sup>n</sup> *2 Sam. xx. 14.* where some read *Abel* & *Bethmahacab*, & *omnia loca Berim*; but the better reading is, & *omnes Berim*, that is, with all the *Beraei*; for *Shoba* being of *Benjamin* (in which tribe also there is a city called *Beratha*, or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that city after him.

To the north of *Beratha* of *Nephtalim*, standeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezekiel* *xlvii.* and *Aroseth gentium*, near the waters of *Merom*, or *Samochonitis*, the city of *Sisara*, lieutenant of the army of the second *Jabin*: from whence, not far off, towards the sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrebi*, a strong city; besides many others, whereof I find no particular story of importance; as *Ser* in *Josh. xix. 35.* called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced cities: whence they make two cities, *Affedim* and *Ser*: then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*; also *Hion*, which they call *Abion*; of which in the books of *Kings*. Then the strong city of *Cinnereth*, afterwards called *Genezareth*, whence we read of the land and lake of *Genezareth*; the same lake which is also called the sea of <sup>o</sup> *Tiberias*.

<sup>a</sup> Jer. 50. 11, &c. <sup>b</sup> Ezek. 12. 13. <sup>c</sup> Or Kedesh, Josh. 19. 37. & 10. 7. & 21. 32. item Judg. 4. 6. <sup>d</sup> 1 Chron. 6. 72. which Josh. 10. 20. is called Kishion. <sup>e</sup> Sometimes Kedesh in Galilee, 1 Chron. 6. 76. Josh. 12. 22. 2 Kings 15. 29. <sup>f</sup> See in Benjamin, and in Ephraim. <sup>g</sup> Other cities there were of this name (which is as much as domus Solis) as that in Juda, 2 Kings 14. 15. where Joath king of the ten tribes, overcame Amasia of Juda, of which also I understand the place, Josh. 21. 16. & 1 Sam. 6. 14. & 2 Chron. 29. 18. <sup>h</sup> At that, as it seems, near in Dan, 1 Kings 4. 9. which Josh. 19. 41. is written Herthemes, which is as much as civitatis Solis. Judg. 1. 31. <sup>i</sup> So it appears by comparing the places, Josh. 21. 32. & 1 Chron. 6. 76. *Adrichomius*, both here and there deceived by the double name, makes two of one; altho' I deny not but that there was another *Kiria-thajim* in Reuben; of which Josh. 13. 19. <sup>j</sup> Mark 3. Mat. 10. Acts 1. Mat. 5. 6, 7. <sup>k</sup> Josh. 19. 38. <sup>l</sup> 1 Mac. 9. 2. <sup>m</sup> Barathan. *Ptolomaeus* in fine Arabiae desertae: Junio eadem cum Berothai una civitatum Hadadezeris. 2 Sam. 8. 8. Josh. 18. 25. Asiroth Hieron. Judg. 4. 17. in Judg. 4. Josh. 19. 37. 1 Kings 15. 20. 2 Kings 15. 29. <sup>n</sup> Mar. 6. 53. Luke 5. 1.



In the body of the land they place *Galgala* to the south border; of which <sup>a</sup> *Maccab. xix. 2.* also divers named, *Jash. xix.* as *Ucuca*, or *Chukkuk*: *Horem* and *Azanoth-tabor* (which they place towards the east parts) and out of the same place of *Joshua*: *Jirzon*, *Lakkum*, *Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and <sup>b</sup> *Reccath*; which two last they place near *Cesaria Philippi*: To these they add out of *Joshua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*; for which two *Junius* readeth *Fossa Adamæi*, making it no town, but a ditch cast by some of *Adamath*, as it seems; or at least the custody of which march or limit belonging to the town. To these out of *Numb. xxxiv. 10.* they add *Sephano*, which <sup>1</sup> *Sam. xxx. 21.* seems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tychon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek. xlvii. 16.* and the latter out of *Joshua xix. 33.* it may appear by *Junius's* translation, that neither are to be taken for cities: for the former he readeth *Mediani*, and for the latter *Quercetum*. The city of <sup>c</sup> *Nephtalim*, which they make the native place of *Toby*, and *Naasson* near unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* translation, *Tob. vii. 7.* but in the *Greek* text there is no sign, neither of the one nor of the other.

## SECT. V.

## The Tribe of ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the sons of *Jacob* by *Leah*, there were mustered at mount *Sinai* 57400 able men, besides women, children, and aged unable persons; all which dying in the deserts, there entered the *Holy Land* of their issues 65000 fit to bear arms; who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the river of *Chison*; southward, and from the sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterranean*, east and west.

The cities within this tribe, which border *Asher*, are *Sicaminum* on the sea-shore, of which *Joseph. Ant. 13. c. 19.* *Debbaset* of which *Joshua 19. 11.* *Jeconam*, or <sup>a</sup> *Joknebam* (whose king was <sup>c</sup> slain by *Joshua*, and the city was given to the *Levites*) and *Gaba*, afterward called the *City of horsemen*, of a regiment there garisoned by *Herod*. Then the city which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *City of men*, exceeding ancient or magnificent, <sup>d</sup> burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, lieutenant of the *Roman* army. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth city of <sup>e</sup> *Elon* judge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita*; not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at *Ajalon*.

To the east of this city of *Zabulon* is *Capeth*, of which *Joshua xix. 15.* on the border of *Asher*; and beyond it the lesser <sup>h</sup> *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Christ* converted water into wine; the native city of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the mountains of *Zabulon*: and then the city of *Cetbron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended itself against *Zabulon*. Then *Bersabe*, which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*. Not far from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*.

Then *Damna* or *Dimna*, a city of the *Levites*; then *Noa*, or rather *Neba*, of which *Joshua xix. 13.*

Then *Dotban*, or *Dotbain*, where *Joseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks; the same wherein *Elisæus*, besieged by the *Syrians*, struck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the east, they imagine <sup>i</sup> *Amthar*, or *Amathar*; then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The last of the cities on the north border of *Zabulon*, is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten cities of *Decapolis*, seated on the *Galilean* sea, and watered by the springs of *Capernaum*; the native city of the apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew* and *Philip*. Herein *Christ* did many miracles; but these people being no less incredulous than the *Capernaïms*, and others, received the same curse of threatened miseries; as, *Wo be unto thee Bethsaida, &c.*

Along the west border of *Galilee*, towards the south from *Bethsaida*, was the strong castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Mary Magdalen*; not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated city of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Josephus* in the *Roman* war: but in the end, after a long siege, surprized by *Vespasian*; who slaughtered many thousands of the citizens; and held 1200 prisoners, whereof *Josephus* the historian was one.

The last and greatest of the cities on that <sup>k</sup> sea, and the lake of *Genesareth* within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*; from whence afterward the *Galilean* sea also changed name, and was called, *The sea of the city Tiberias*, so named in honour of *Tiberius Cesar*; it was one of the ten cities, and the metropolis of the region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew*, from the toll or custom-house, to be an apostle, and near unto it raised the daughter of *Jairus* from death; it was built (as *Josephus* reports) by *Herod* the tetrarch, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius Cesar*, in the most fruitful part of *Galilee*, but in a ground full of sepulchres; *Quum juxta nostras leges* (saith he) *ad septem dies impurus habetur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; Whereas by our law he should be seven days held as unclean who inhabited in such a place: by which words, and by the whole place of *Josephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some have thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

Near unto this *Tiberias* at *Amaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the emperor encamped against *Tiberias*: more into the land, toward the south-west, is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, such as it is. Near which standeth *Bethlehem* of *Zabulon*; and adjoining unto it, *Capbarath* fortified by <sup>l</sup> *Josephus* against the *Romans*; and *Japha* an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in fury, slew <sup>m</sup> 15000 of the citizens, and carried away above 2000 prisoners.

On the south-side are the cities of <sup>n</sup> *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Josephus* in his own life; then *Jasse* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Josh. 19. 12.*) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we spake but now out of *Josephus*. *Jidca-*

<sup>a</sup> The place of the *Maccab. warrants* no *Galgala* or *Gilgal* in *Nephtali*; but may well be understood of *Gilgal* in *Benjamin*, or in *Manasse*.

<sup>b</sup> This *Reccath*, or *Racath*, *Junius* thinks that it is the same with *Karthan* (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters) of which *Karthan* we have noted already, that it is also called *Kirja-thaim*.

<sup>c</sup> In the place <sup>1</sup> *Reg. 4. 16.* where also they bring to prove that there was a city called *Nephtalim*, as it is evident by the following verses, the tribe of *Nephtalim* is mentioned, and not any city of that name.

<sup>d</sup> *Josh. 12. 23.* <sup>e</sup> *Jos. 2. bel. 19.* <sup>f</sup> *Jos. 2. bel. 22.* <sup>g</sup> *Judg. 12. 12.* <sup>h</sup> The greater *Cana* is in the tribe of *Asher*, *Josh. 21. 2.* *Nathaniel* is said to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*.

<sup>i</sup> Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus* *Cantabrigie* reads *Matth. 10. 4.* *Simon Kanneus*, which word *Luc. 6. 15.* he thinketh to be expounded by *Zelotes*.

<sup>j</sup> The Hebrew *Hamme-<sup>l</sup>* (which the *Vulgar* hath *Amthar*, *Jos. 19. 13.*) *Vatablus* expounds *quæ gyra*; *Junius* joins it with the word going before it, *Amthar* *Rimmonem* *Methoarum*, *Matth. 8. 11.* *Mark 1. 6.* *Luke 4. 10.*

<sup>k</sup> The names of the chief cities seated about this sea, *Galilee*, thence *Jordan* runneth, where *Capernaum*, *Tiberias*, *Bethsaida*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they add *Cinnereth*, which in *Antiquities* gave name to the lake and country. *Matth. 9. Luc. 5. Joseph. Ant. 18. 3. Joseph. 10. 15. Adrich. in Zab. 1. Joseph. 10. 15.*

<sup>l</sup> *Joseph. 2. bell. 25.* <sup>m</sup> *Josh. 21. 34.* otherwise *Kisloth Thabor*, as *Junius* thinks upon *Josh. 19. 12.* *Antiquities 1. Canon. 6. 77.* it is called *Thabor*.



la, of which *Josh. xix. 15.* *Jerome* calls it *Jadela*; under it westward *Legio* (afterwards a bishop's seat) and the city *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred *Judith vii. 3.* otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazaret*, is the city <sup>a</sup>*Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth city of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James*, and *John*: then *Sephoris* or *Sephora*, according to *Josephus*: *Sephorum*, according to *Brochard*; which afterwards, saith *Hegefippus* and *Jerome*, was called *Diocæsaria*; the city of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the parents of the Virgin *Mary*, it was called by *Herod* the tetrarch; and by him, as <sup>b</sup>*Josephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in another place he saith, *Urbium Galilearum maximæ Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere he won it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the regal seat of the nether *Galilee*, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much as to say, imperial, saith *Josephus*; and it is now but a castle called *Zaphet*.

To the south-west of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæsaria*, was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the city of *Mary* the mother of *Christ*, in which he himself was conceived; it standeth between mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterranean* sea. In this city he abode chiefly 24 years, and was therefore called a *Nazarene*, as the Christians afterwards were for many years. It was erected into an archbishoprick in the following age. Near unto it are the cities *Buria*, afterwards well defended against the *Turks*, and *Nabalal*, of which *Josh. xix. 15.* and *Judg. i. 30.* where it is called *Nabalal*: and *Josh. xxi. 35.* where it is a city of the *Levites*, near the sea; adjoining to the river of *Chifon*, is *Sarid*, noted in *Joshua* for the uttermost of *Zabulon*.

In this territory of *Zabulon*, there are divers small mountains; but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the transfiguration of *Christ*, in the presence of *Peter*, *James* and *John*; unto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the mountain, the empress *Helen* built a sumptuous chappel.

The chief river of *Zabulon*, is *Chifon*; which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one stream eastward to the sea of *Galilee*, and with another stream westward into the great sea. This river of *Chifon*, where it riseth, and so far as it runneth southward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolemy* calleth *Chorseus*; tho' others distinguish them, and set *Chorseus* by *Cæsaria Palestinæ*. There is a second torrent, or brook, that riseth in the hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*; and the third is branch of a river rising out of the fountains of *Capernaum*, which falleth also into the same sea, and near *Magdalum*; which torrent they call *Dorham*, from the name of the city from which it passeth eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so joining with *Jordanis Parvus*, which runneth from the valley of <sup>d</sup>*Jephthael*, which *Joshua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the sea of *Galilee*.

#### SECT. VI.

#### The Tribe of ISSACHAR.

THE next adjoining territory to *Zabulon*, to the south and south-west, was *Issachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as

appeared by their musters at mount *Sinai*, 54400 able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the desarts, there entered the *Holy Land*, 64300.

The first city of this tribe, near the sea of *Galilee*, was <sup>e</sup>*Tarichea* distant from *Tiberias* eight *English* miles, or somewhat more, a city wherein the *Jews* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upstart, *John* the son of *Levi*) took arms against *Josephus* the historian, then governor of both *Galilees*. This city was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000 *Jews* carried thence captive; and afterwards, with great difficulty by *Vespasian*, who entered it by the seaside, having first beaten the *Jews* in a sea-fight upon the lake or sea of *Galilee*, he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages; saving that his fury being quenched with the rivers of blood running thro' every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bondmen. Next to *Tarichea* is placed <sup>f</sup>*Cession*, or *Cishion*, of the *Levites*, and then *Issachar*, remembred in *1 Kings iv. 17.* then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Josh. xix. 20.* and *Remeth*, of which *Josh. xix. 21.* otherwise *Ramoth*, *1 Chron. vi. 73.* or *Jarmuth*, *Josh. xxi. 29.* this also was a city of the *Levites*, from whose territory the mountains of *Gilboa* take beginning; and range themselves to the *Mediterranean* sea, and towards the west as far as the city of *Jezrael*; between which and *Ramoth* are the cities of *Bethpheses*, or *Bethpasses*, according to *Zeigler*, and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*: near which *Saul* slew himself: under those <sup>g</sup>*Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Issachar*; between which and *Suna*, he saith, that the *Philistines* encamped against *Israel*, and afterwards against *Saul*, a land thirsty of blood; for herein also, says he, the *Syrians*, with 32 *Reguli* assisting *Benbadad*, incountred *Achab*, and were overthrown and slaughtered: to whom the king of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benbadad* vaunted before the victory; which was, *Tell Benbadad, Let not him that girdeth his harness boast himself, as he that putteth it off*; meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the fields, as they say, adjoining to this city, was the same vain-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*, and 100000 footmen of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, slain: before which overthrow, the servants and counsellors of *Benbadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, <sup>h</sup>*That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the mountains; and therefore if they fought with them in the plains, they should overcome them*.

Under *Aphec*, towards the sea, they set the city of *Esdreton*, in the plains of *Galilee*, called also the great field of *Esdreton*, and *Maggedo*; in the border whereof are the ruins of *Aphec*, to be seen, saith *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*. After these are the cities of <sup>i</sup>*Casaloth*, of which *1 Maccab. ix. 2.* *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Levites*; and *Seesima*, or *Sabatsuma*, the west border of *Issachar*, of which *Josh. xix. 22.* From hence ranging the sea-coast, there is found the castle of pilgrims; a strong castle, environed with the sea, some-time the store-house and magazine of the Christians, and built by the earl of *St. Giles*, or *Tolouse*.

From the castle of pilgrims the sea maketh a great bay towards the north, and at the farthest shore beginneth mount *Carmel*, not far from the river *Chifon*; where *Elijah* assembled all the prophets and priests of *Baal*, and prayed king *Achab*, and the people assembled, to make trial, whether

<sup>a</sup> *Johan. de Montevilla, cap. 4. 20.* <sup>b</sup> *Joseph. Ant. 18. 3. & in vita sua.* <sup>c</sup> See Laickell's map in Ortelius. <sup>d</sup> *Josh. 19. 14.* <sup>e</sup> *Tarichea* in Sueton. <sup>f</sup> *Josh. 21. 23.* *Kishion, Josh. 1 Chron. 6. 72. is called Kedesh.* <sup>g</sup> *Josh. 19. 1 Sam. 3. 19. 1 King. 22. 26.* <sup>h</sup> *In the latter two places Junius makes Aphel in Ather, according to Josh. 19. 30. In the first he placeth it in Juda, out of Joshua 15. 53.* <sup>i</sup> *1 Kings 20. 23.* <sup>j</sup> *Judith 1. 8. and 7. 3. 1 Chron. 6. 73. Josh. 21. 29.* the



the God of *Israel*; or the idol of *Baal*, were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the altar: which done, the priests of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not; while *Elijah* in derision told them, that their God *was either in pursuit of his enemies, not at leisure, or perchance asleep, &c.* But at the prayer of *Elijah*, his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many vessels of water thereon; by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those idolaters on the banks of *Chifon* adjoining.

At the foot of this mountain, to the north, standeth *Caiphas*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high priest. It is also known by the name of *Porfina* and *Porphyria*, sometime a suffragan bishop's seat. Returning again from the sea-coast, towards *Tiberias*, by the banks of *Chifon*, there are found the city of *Hapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the castles of *Mesra* and *Saba*; of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*; and then *Naim* on the river *Chifon*, a beautiful city while it stood, in the gates whereof Christ <sup>a</sup> raised from death the widow's only son.

Then *Seon*, or *Shion*, named *Josh. xix.* between the two hills of *Hermon*, in *Iffachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the enchantress that undertook to raise up the body of *Samuel*, at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anadarath* and *Rabbith*, named *Josh. xix. 19, 20.* Then *Dabarath*, as it is named *Josh. xxi. 28.* or *Dobratba*, as it is named *1 Chron. vi. 72.* This city (which stretcheth itself over *Chifon*) was a city of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* situate, near the caves of those two thieves which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herod's* time. It joineth on one side to the mountain of *Iffachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other the valley of *Jezreel*; which valley continueth itself from *Bethsan*, or *Scythopolis*, the east border of *Iffachar*, even to the *Mediterranean* sea; two parts whereof are enclosed by the mountains of *Gilboa* on the south, and by *Hermon* and the river *Chifon* on the north. In these plains <sup>b</sup> *Gideon* overthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they think, *Saul* fought against the *Philistines*, *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

#### S E C T. VII.

#### The Half of the Tribe of MANASSEH.

##### † I.

*Of the bounds of this half tribe, and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therfa, and others.*

**T**HE next tribe which joineth itself to *Iffachar* towards the south, is the half of *Manasseh*, on the west-side of *Jordan*. *Manasses* was the first begotten of *Joseph*, the 11th son of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, priest and prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manasses*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve patriarchs.

Of *Manasseh*, there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at mount *Sinai*, 32200 able men: all which being consumed in the desarts, there entered of their issue 52700 bearing arms. The territory which fell on this one half of *Manasseh*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the east, and *Dora* upon

the *Mediterranean* sea on the west, *Jezrael* on the north, and *Machmata* is the south border.

The first and principal city which stood in this territory, was *Bethsan*, sometime <sup>c</sup> *Nysa*, saith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterwards, when the *Scythians* invaded *Asia* the less, and pierced into the south, to the uttermost of *Cælesyria*, they built this city anew, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the city of *Scythians* given it by the *Greeks*.

These barbarous northern people, constrained the *Jews* to fight against their own nation and kindred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the *Jews* which served them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmost towards the south of *Cælesyria*: and *Strabo* joins it to *Galilee*. It is seated between *Jordan* and the hills of *Gilboa*, *In aulone ad montes Acrabitenæ*, saith *Zeigler*. But I find it in the east part of the valley of *Jezrael* near *Jordan*: after that *Jordan* straitneth itself again into a river, leaving the sea or lake *Genezereth*. Notwithstanding *Montanus* describes it far to the west, and towards the *Mediterranean* sea, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laicstan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best authors. This city was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis*: but the children of *Manasseh* could not expel the inhabitants thereof, and therefore called it *Sane*, an enemy; or *Beth-san*, the house of an enemy.

Over the walls of <sup>d</sup> *Beth-san*, the *Philistines* hung the body of *Saul* and his sons, slain at *Gilboa*. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an archbishop, who had nine other bishops of his diocese numbred by *Tyrius*, *in lib. 14. cap. 12.* but the same was afterwards translated to *Nazareth*. The later travellers in those parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubbish and the ruins of that city, goodly pillars, and other pieces of excellent marble, which witness the stately buildings and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and desolate village.

From *Beth-san*, keeping the way by *Jordan*, they find an ancient city called *Salim*; which city, the ancient *Rabbins*, saith <sup>e</sup> *Jerome*, do not find to be the same with *Jerusalem*; there being, in the time of *Jerome*, and since, a town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before remembred; which if the place of scripture, *Gen. xiii. 18.* do not confirm, where the *Vulgar* readeth *Transivitque in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others read, *Venit incolumis ad civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place *John iii. 13.* where it is said, that *John* was baptizing in *Ainon* near *Saleim*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Saleim* of which *St. John* speaketh, is but contracted of *Shabalim*, of which in the tribe of *Benjamin*, *1 Sam. ix. 4.* This word *Junius* maketh to be the plural of *Shubal*; of which we read, *1 Sam. xiii. 17.* for as for that which is added out of *Cant. vi. 12.* of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a woman of this *Saleim*, near *Ainon*, it hath no probability.

Not far from thence, where they place *Salem*, they find *Bezek* the city of *Adonibezek*; *Josephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israel* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000, when he meant to relieve *Jabesh-Gilead*, against *Naash* the *Ammonite*; who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer

<sup>a</sup> Luke 7. <sup>b</sup> Called Campus Magnus, *1 Maccab. 12. 49.* and *Harbathæ* for *Harnbath*. *1 Macc. 5. 23. and 9. 2.* *Judg. 6. 1 Sam. 21. 1 Kings 20.* <sup>c</sup> *Plin. lib. 5. c. 18.* <sup>d</sup> *Judg. 1. Josh. 17. de bell. sac.* <sup>e</sup> *Hieron. in epist. ad Evagr. in loc. Hebr. This city Bezek, by the the place Judg. 1. 3. seemeth to have been in Judah, Joseph. Ant. 1. 6. c. 5. 1 Sam. 11*



their right eyes to be thrust out. Near *Bezek*, is the city of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.* vii. 24. in the story of *Gideon*; and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited; in the border whereof stood an altar consecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that stone on which *Abimelech* the bastard slew his seventy brothers (an heathenish cruelty, practised by the *Turks* to this day;) and not far hence, between the village of *Asophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomæus Lathurus* overthrew *Alexander* king of the *Jews*; and slaughtered, as <sup>a</sup>*Josephus* numbeth them, 3000; but according to *Timagenes* 5000: after which victory, as *Ptolemy* pass'd by the villages of the *Jews*, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great caldrons, that the rest of the *Jews* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

Towards the west, and on the border of *Issachar*, they place the cities of <sup>b</sup>*Aner* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Judg.* vii. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*; it was the habitation of *Heliseus* the prophet, numbred among those places, *1 Reg.* iv. 12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*; to whose charge also *Tabanach* belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted *Joshua*, tho' their king was afterward hanged, and their city given to the *Levites*.

In the body of this territory of *Manasseh*, but somewhat nearer to *Jordan* than to the *Mediterranean* sea, were three great cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose king was one of those that *Joshua* slew; which the kings of *Israel* used for their regal seat, till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her son's health; who knowing her, tho' she were disguised, told her of her son's death.

The second was *Thebes*, near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame; in the assault of the tower of this town, whereunto the citizens retired, the bastard *Abimelech* was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a woman over the wall; who despairing of his recovery, commanded his page to slay him out-right, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a woman. But others set this city in *Ephraim*, near *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the territory adjoining is called *Acrabatena* (one of the ten toparchies or governments in *Judea*) for which *Jerome*, *1 Maccab.* v. reads *Arabatena*; but in the *Greek* it is *Acrabatine*: *Isidore* calls it *Acrabat*. This city had one of the largest territories of all *Palestine*, belonging to the governour thereof. *Josephus* remembreth it often, as in his second book of the *Jews* wars, c. 11, 25, 28. and elsewhere.

The difference between a tetrarchy and a toparchy, was, that the first was taken for a province, and the other for a city, with some lesser territory adjoining; and a tetrarch is the same with *Præses* in *Latin*, and president in *English*, being commonly the fourth part of a kingdom, and thereof so called. <sup>c</sup>*Pliny* nameth seventeen tetrarchies in *Syria*: the *Holy Land* had four, and so hath the kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, <sup>d</sup>*Lempster*, *Ulster*, *Connaught*, and *Munster*.

To the south-west of *Acrabata*, they place the cities of *Balaam*, or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmon* of the *Levites*: but *Junius* out of *Josh.* xxi. 25. and *1 Chron.* vi. 70. gathers, that these two

are but one; and that *Jibleham*, *Josh.* xvi. 11. is another name of the same city.

Then is *Jezrael* a regal city, set at the foot of the mountains of *Gilboa*, towards the south-west: herein *Jezabel*, by a false accusation, caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end she might possess his vineyard joining to the city; which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

*Joram* also was cast unburied into the same field; for which his mother <sup>e</sup>*Jezabel* murdered *Naboth*.

Towards the sea, from *Jezrael*, is the city which they call *Gaber*; in whose ascent, as *Abaziah* king of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had slain *Joram*, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoining. The scripture calls this city of *Gaber*, <sup>f</sup>*Gur*.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good king *Josias* was slain by *Necho* king of *Egypt*, in a war unadvisedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Affyria* against the king thereof, by the commandment of God; whom *Josias* thought to resist in his passage: it was afterwards called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour city to *Adadremmon* was <sup>h</sup>*Maggeddo*, often remembred in the scriptures; whose king was slain among the rest by <sup>i</sup>*Joshua*; yet they defended their city for a long time against *Manasseh*. The river which passeth by the town, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolemy* calleth *Chorjeus*: and not that of which we have spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the scriptures, many of those that have described the holy land, delineate no such river. *Moore* only sets it down in his geography of the twelve tribes: but the river which passeth by *Maggeddo*, he understandeth to be but a branch falling thereinto. *Laicstan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place; agreeable to this scripture in the vii of *Judges*; *Then fought the kings of Canaan in Tanaac, by the waters of Maggeddo*. But these authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the torrent so called.

But seeing that ancient cosmographers stretch out the bounds of *Phenicia* even to *Sebastæ*, or *Samaria*; and <sup>k</sup>*Strabo* far beyond it on the sea-coast: and *Josephus* calls *Cæsaria Palestinæ* a city of *Phenicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phenicia* as far as *Gaza*: seeing also *Ptolemy* sets down *Chorseus* for the partition of *Phenicia* and *Judea*, this river running east and west parallel with *Samaria*; it is very probable that this torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the city which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolemy* in his 4th table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorseus*. The later travellers of the holy land call *Maggeddo*, *Subimbe* at this day.

† II.

Of *Cæsaria Palestinæ*, and some other towns.

FROM *Maggeddo* towards the west, and near the *Mediterranean* sea, was that glorious city of *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: first, the tower of *Straton*: the same which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: tho' *Ptolemy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and towards *Egypt*, between this city and *Joppe*, to which *Vespasian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world: for besides the edifices, which he reared within the walls, of cut and polish'd marbles, the theatre and amphitheatre, from whence he might look over the seas far away, with

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph.* Ant. 1. 13. c. 21. <sup>b</sup> This *Aner*, *Junius* upon *1 Chron.* 6. 70. makes to be the same with *Tahanac*, of which *Josh.* 21. 25. *Jerome* names it from *Aner* the confederate of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 14. 13. *Josh.* 12. 17. *1 Kings* 14. <sup>c</sup> *Judg.* 9. 54. <sup>d</sup> *Plin.* l. 5. <sup>e</sup> *Fut.* in *Cron.* <sup>f</sup> *1 Kings* 21. <sup>g</sup> *2 Kings* 9. 27. <sup>h</sup> *Judg.* 1. 5. <sup>i</sup> *Josh.* 12. 17. <sup>k</sup> *Strab.* l. 16. *Joseph.* l. 15. c. 13. *Niger*.



the high and stately towers and gates, he forced a harbour of great capacity, being in former times but an open bay: and the wind blowing from the sea, the merchants haunting that port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their cables and anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kind hath not been found in any kingdom, nor in any age: which, because the materials are fetched from far, and the weight of the stones was such, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Josephus's* own words of this work, which are these: <sup>a</sup> *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere: Et in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis vero octodecim, altitudine novem-pedali: fuerunt quedam etiam majora, minora alia.* To mend this inconvenience of place (saith *Josephus*) he compass'd in a bay wherein a great fleet might well ride: and let down great stones twenty fathom deep: whereof some were 50 foot long, 18 foot broad, and 9 foot thick: and some bigger and some lesser. To this he added an arm or causeway of 200 foot long to break the waves: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the son-in-law of *Cesar*: in whose honour he intitled the city it self, *Cæsaria of Palestine*: all which he performed in 12 years time. It was the first of the eastern cities that received a bishop: afterwards erected into an archbishoprick, commanding 20 others under it, saith <sup>b</sup> *Tyrius*.

St. *Jerome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Gelasius*, to have been bishops thereof. In this city was *Cornelius* the centurion baptized by St. *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the apostle. St. *Paul* was herein two years prisoner, under the president *Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom, making his appeal, he was sent to *Cesar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *quænnalia*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatterers, he was stricken by an angel unto death, saith *Josephus*.

To the north of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some read, *Josh. i. 2.* so called (saith *Adricomius*) because it joineth to the sea, whose king was slain by *Joshua*. But *Junius*, for in *Naphoth Dor*, reads in *tractibus Dor*: and so the *Vulgar*, in *regionibus Dor*, altho' *1 Kings iv. 11.* for the like speech in the *Hebrew* it readeth *omnis Nephat Dor*: the *Septuagint* in the place of *Joshua* call it *Nephth-Dor*, and in the other of the kings, *Nephath-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Josh. xii. 23. Judg. i. 27.*) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerful city, and the fourth in account of those 12 principalities, or sitarchies, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macc. xv. 11.* placeth it between the hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the river *Chorseus*: for so some name the river *Corseus*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this city, for the strength thereof, *Typhon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 120000 footmen, and 8000 horse: the same perfidious villain that received 200 talents for the ransom of *Jonathan Macchabeus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then slew him: and after him slew his own master, usurping for a while the kingdom of *Syria*. It had also a bishop's seat of the diocese of *Cæsaria*.

From *Cæsaria* towards the south, they place the cities of *Caparnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgai*: for be-

sides that *Caparnaum* famous in the evangelists, they find in these parts near the west sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe*, *Jerome*, in *locis Hebraicis*. <sup>d</sup> The famous *Galgai*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say it was, whose king was slain by *Joshua*.

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his father: but in the time of the <sup>e</sup> *Macchabees*, it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabeus* overthrew a part of the army of *Nicanor*, lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an army drawn into *Judea* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the priesthood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was St. *Paul* carried prisoner from *Jerusalem*, conducted by 470 soldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the army of *Godfrey of Bulloign* attempted it in vain; yet was it taken by *Baldwin*. It was honoured in those days with a bishop's seat, but it is now a poor village, called *Affur*, saith *Brochard*. Near unto this city the prophet *Jonas* was three days preserved in the body of a whale.

Into the land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the Roman, wasted with fire and sword, because the Jews which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the book of *Moses*. Near unto it is the mountain of *Abdia*, the steward of king *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundred prophets, and fed them: after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the spirit of prophecy also.

## CHAP. VIII.

### Of the kingdom of Phenicia.

#### SECT. I.

*The bounds, and chief cities, and founders, and name of this kingdom: and of the invention of letters ascribed to them.*

**B**Ecause these five tribes, of *Asher*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the half of *Manasseh*, possess'd the better part of that ancient kingdom of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the south part of *Anti-lebanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of those kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devour-eth all things) have left to posterity: and that the rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of estates, and conquests of heathen princes, have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this kingdom, as touching the south parts, are very uncertain: but all cosmographers do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the north, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casiotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia* to the north of *Tripolis*. <sup>1</sup> *Ptolemy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the river *Eleuthernus* that falls into the sea at the island of *Aradus*, somewhat to the north of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence along the coast of the *Mediterranean* sea, as far as the river of *Chorseus*; which seems to be that which the Jews call the torrent, or river of *Mageddo*. <sup>2</sup> *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budeus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priscos appellata* (saith *Budeus*) *quæ nunc Palestina Syriæ dicitur*; It was

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph. l. 15. c. 13.* <sup>b</sup> *Lib. 4. c. 12. Bell. sac.* <sup>c</sup> *Macc. 1. 13, 15.* <sup>d</sup> *Gul. Tyr. de Bell. sac. l. 10. c. 6.* <sup>e</sup> *Macc. 17. 31.* <sup>f</sup> *Ptol. 4. Tab. Asiæ.* <sup>g</sup> *Plin. l. 5. c. 19.*



called *Phenicia* of old (saith he) which now is called *Palestina* of *Syria*.

<sup>a</sup> *Strabo* comprehends in this country of *Phenicia* all the sea side of *Judea*, and *Palestina*, even unto *Pelusium*, the first port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœlesyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my self, I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolemy's* description, who was seldom deceived of his own art. It had in it these famous maritime cities (besides all those of the islands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: and by reason of the many ports and goodly sea-towns, it anciently commanded the trade of the eastern world: and they were absolute kings of the *Mediterranean* sea.

The ancient regal seat of those princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first son of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that family were called *Zidonians*; the same state continuing even unto *Joshua's* time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one king of all that region, afterwards called *Phenicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second book of *Vandal Wars*. But in process of time the city of *Tyre* adjoining, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the <sup>b</sup> prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built, and peopled.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Joshua* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phenician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sons *Cadmus*, *Phenix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix* (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possess'd the cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, to wit, the new *Tyrus*; and brought into *Phenicia* (so called after the name of his second son) the use of letters: which also *Cadmus*, in his pursuit after his sister *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* king of *Crete*, when he surpris'd *Tyre*, had stolen her thence: of which the poets devised the fable of *Jupiter's* transformation into a bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first king of *Phenicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his successor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whose memory *Virgil* also toucheth in these verses.

*Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,  
Implevitque moro pateram: quam Belus & omnes  
A Belo soliti,*

The queen anon commands the weighty bowl  
(Weighty with precious stones and massy gold)  
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,  
And all of *Belus'* line.

Whether this *Belus* were father or grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was ancestor to these *Phenicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Neptune* by *Libya* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the son of *Telegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops's* time, saith *St. Augustin*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenor's* successor living at once with *Joshua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that region the name of *Phenicia*, in honour of his son. But in-

stead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nabuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the same nation, and brought up in *Egypt*, where he learned the use of letters (*Egypt* flourished in all kind of learning in *Moses's* time) or were he by nation an *Egyptian*; yet it is very likely, that either he came to save his own territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan* from the *Israelites*, who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loss and dishonour of that nation, and by *Joshua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and possess the *Canaanites* land. For tho' the *Egyptians*, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the *Red* sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male children at the same time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by land, which also they knew had so many powerful nations to defend it; the desarts interjacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Mobabites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having such vessels or ships, or gallies, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garrison the sea-coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philistines*, which held the shores of *Canaan* next adjoining unto them, were their friends and confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those cities of *Phenicia*, which *Agenor* was said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Joshua*, and against the tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Joshua* xix. 29. called the strong city, *Accho* afterwards *Ptolomais*, *Achzib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phenicia* had in those days.

That the kings of *Phenicia* were mighty, especially by sea, it appears, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their cities, tho' they were then but *reguli*, defended it self 13 years against a king of kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed irresistible) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Josephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the son of *Japhet*. And for the region it self, tho' *Calisthenes* derives it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the *Greeks* from the word *Phonos* of slaughter, because the *Phenicians* slew all that came on their coasts; yet for my self, I take it that *Phenix* the son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phenicia*, or *Cadmus* his son in *Greece*, were the inventors of letters it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those arts, sciences, and civil policies, which they afterwards professed and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himself was instructed by the *Libyans*; to wit, from the south and superiour *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their divinity and philosophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received civility. Again, the *Phenicians* challenge this invention of letters and learning, acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do



they allow that *Agenor* and his sons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

*a Phœnices primi (fame ſe creditur) auſi,  
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.  
Phœnicians firſt (if fame may credit have)  
In rude characters dar'd our words to grave.*

And that *Cadmus* was the ſon of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a ſtranger, and a *Phœnician*;

*b Si patria eſt Phœnix, quid tum? nam Cadmus & ipſe  
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.*

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?  
*Cadmus* was ſo: to whom *Greece* owes  
The books of learned men.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the records and chronicles of *Tyre*, *c Joſephus* the hiſtorian confirms a great part of his antiquities. The *Thracians* again ſubſcribe to none of theſe reports; but affirm conſtantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flouriſhed among them, when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*, *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, ſome of the *French* do not bluſh to maintain, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greeks* the uſe of letters, and other ſciences. And do not we know that our *Bards* and *Druids* are as ancient as thoſe *Gauls*, and that they ſent their ſons hither to be by them inſtructed in all kind of learning?

Laſtly; whereas others beſtow this invention on *Moſes*: the ſame hath no probability at all; for he lived at ſuch time as learning and arts flouriſhed moſt, both in *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, and he himſelf was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that letters were invented by thoſe excellent ſpirits of the firſt age, and before the general flood, either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom eſſe God knows; from whom all wiſdom and underſtanding hath proceeded. And as the ſame infinite God is preſent with all his creatures, ſo hath he given the ſame invention to divers nations; whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other, as well in this as in many other knowledges; for even in *Mexico*, when it was firſt diſcovered, there were found written books after the manner of thoſe hieroglyphicks, anciently uſed by the *Egyptians*, and other nations: and ſo had thoſe *Americans*, a kind of heraldry, and their princes differing in arms and eſcutcheons, like unto thoſe uſed by the kings and nobility of other nations: *d Jura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c.* Natural laws are common, and general.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the kings of Tyre.*

**B**UT whatſoever remaineth of the ſtory and kings of *Phœnicia* (the book of *Zeno*, *Sachoniathe*, *Maſſeas*, and others of that nation, being no where found) the ſame is to be gathered out of the ſcriptures, *Joſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiſiochenus*.

*Agenor* lived at once with *Joſhua*, to whom ſucceeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and ſo far towards the north as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what king ſucceeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at ſuch time as the *Grecians* beſieged *Troy*, *Phœnis* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Jeremy's* time, and while *Jeboiakim* ruled in

*Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a king apart: for *Jeremy* xxvii. 3. ſpeaketh of the kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of ſeveral kings.

In *Xerxes's* time, and when he prepared that incredible army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramneſtus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as ſome writers affirm, *Xerxes's* fleet, or rather, as I ſuppoſe, thoſe 300 gallies, which himſelf brought to his aid: for at this time it ſeemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were tributaries to the *Persians*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty kings in *Jeremy's* time, they were ſubjected by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whoſe conqueſts in the chapter before remembred, *Jeremiah* prophesied.

*Tennes*, tho' not immediately, ſucceeded *Tetramneſtus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his fourteenth book.

*Strato*, his ſucceſſor, and king of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, becauſe of his dependency upon *Darius*, and that his predeceſſors had ſerved the eaſt empire againſt the *Grecians*. But divers kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were conſumed 130 years, and ſomewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* eſteemed the more unworthy of reſtitution, becauſe (ſaith *Curtius*, l. 4.) he rather ſubmitted himſelf by the inſtigation of his ſubjects (who foreſaw their utter ruin by reſiſtance) than that he had any diſpoſition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *Strato*, *e Athenæus*, out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and moſt voluptuous; alſo that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers and ſingers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and aſſembled: that having beheld the moſt beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own uſe and delights. Of the ſtrange accident about the death of one *Strato* king of theſe coaſts, *St. Jerome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Persians* were ſear him with an army too weighty for his ſtrength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, becauſe of his falling away from that empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himſelf, but fainting in the execution, his wife being preſent, wreſted the ſword out of his hand, and ſlew him: which done, ſhe alſo therewith pierced her own body, and died.

After *Alexander* was poſſeſſed of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the kingdom to *Hephæſtion* to diſpoſe of: who having received great entertainment of one of the citizens, in whoſe houſe he lodged, offered to recompenſe him therewith, and willingly offered to eſtabliſh him therein: but this citizen, no leſs virtuous than rich, deſired *Hephæſtion* that this honour might be conferred on ſome one of the blood and race of their ancient kings: and preſented unto him *Balonimus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*; *Juſtin*, *Abdolomius*; and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal eſtate, was with his own hands working in his garden, ſetting herbs and roots, for his relief and ſuſtenance: tho' otherwiſe a wiſe man, and exceeding juſt.

Theſe were the ancient kings of *Zidon*: whoſe eſtate being afterwards changed into popular or *Ariſtocratical*, and by times and turns ſubjected to the emperors of the eaſt, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the tribe of *Aſſer*.

The kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuel's* time, it doth not appear: *Joſephus* the hiſtorian, as is ſaid, had many things wherewith he gar-

<sup>a</sup> Lucan. l. 5. 3. <sup>b</sup> Athen. l. Dipnoſ. <sup>c</sup> Joſeph. contra Appionem. <sup>d</sup> Juſtineſc. <sup>e</sup> Athen. l. 12. c. 13. <sup>f</sup> Hieron. l. 1. cont. Jovin. No. 13.



nished his antiquities from the *Tyrian* chronicles: and out of *Josephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a descent of some 20 kings of the *Tyrians*; but these authors, tho' they both pretend to write out *Menander Ephesus*, do in no sort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

*Abibalus* is the first king of the *Tyrians*, that *Josephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same perchance that the son of *Sirach* mentioneth in his 46th chapter, speaking of the princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*. *David* (saith <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psalms* lxxxiii.

*Hiram* succeeded *Suron*, whom *Josephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometimes *Hieronimus*, sometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras* *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and sent him cedars, with masons and carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Jerusalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebusites*. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Solomon*: whom he not only furnished with cedars, and other materials towards the raising of the temple, and with great sums of money, but also he joined with him in his enterprize of the east *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Solomon* with mariners and pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all nations the most excellent navigators: and lent him 120 talents of gold. Of this <sup>b</sup> *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of scripture, but in *Josephus's* antiquities, the 7th and 8th chap. ver. 2, 3. in *Theophilus's* 3d book, in *Tatianus's* oration against the *Greeks*, and in *Zonaras*, tome the first. This prince seemeth to be very mighty and magnificent; he despiseth the 20 towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defendeth himself against that victorious king *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to <sup>c</sup> *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the idol of the *Phenicians*. *Hiram* lived 53 years.

*Balastartus*, whom <sup>d</sup> *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram* king of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7 years, according to *Josephus*.

*Abdastartus* the eldest son of *Balastartus*, governed 9 years, and lived but 20 years according to *Josephus*: but after *Theophilus*, he reigned 12 years, and lived 54, who being slain by the 4 sons of his own nurse, the eldest of them held the kingdom 12 years.

*Astartus*, brother to *Abdastartus*, recovered the kingdom from this usurper, and reigned 12 years.

<sup>e</sup> *Astarimus*, or *Atbarimus*, after <sup>f</sup> *Theophilus*, a 3d brother, followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9 years, and lived in all 54.

<sup>g</sup> *Phelles* the 4th son of *Balastartus*, and brother to the 3 former kings, slew *Astarimus*, and reigned 8 months, and lived 50 years.

*Ithobalus* (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the 3d brother *Astarimus*, who was the chief priest of the goddess *Astarta*, which was a dignity next unto the king, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his uncle <sup>h</sup> *Phelles*: and reigned 32 years, the same which in *1 Kings* xvi. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter *Jezebel Achab* married.

*Badezor*, or *Bazor*, the son of *Ithobalus*, or <sup>i</sup> *Ethbaal*, brother to *Jezebel*, succeeded his father, and reigned 6 years, and lived in all 45.

*Mettimus* succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9 years (saith <sup>k</sup> *Josephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion*

and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

*Pygmalion* reigned after *Mettimus* his father 40 years, and lived 56. In the 7th year of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143 years and 8 months after the temple of *Solomon*: which by our account was 289 years after *Troy* was taken, and 143 before *Rome*; and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pygmalion*, covetous of *Sicheus's* riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or, if we believe <sup>l</sup> *Justin* and *Virgil*, at the altar: whereupon *Elisa*, fearing to be despoiled of her husband's treasure, fled by sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mother's tears, and by threats from the oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble family of *Barce* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her manlike acts: others from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Solomon*.

*Eluleus* succeeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36 years: the same that overthrew the fleet of *Salmanassar*, in the port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which he continued his siege before it on the land side 5 years, but in vain.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himself to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the prophet writeth at large in his xxviiiith chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this prince died, or was slain in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13 years together, ere he prevailed.

*Baal* followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10 years a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers judges, succeeding each other: first by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the priest, *Mittonus*, and *Geraftus*, who held it among them some 7 years and odd months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a king for one year: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon* 4 years; after him *Irom*, sent thence also 20 years. In the 17th of whose reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Persia*.

### SECT. III.

Of *Bozias's* conceit, that the *Edumeans* inhabiting along the *Red sea*, were the progenitors of the *Tyrians*, and that the *Tyrians* from them received and brought into *Phenicia* the knowledge of the true God.

OF the great mutations of this kingdom and state of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of divers other nations, there is one *Bozias* that hath written a tract at large, intitled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And altho' the great and many alterations found in this and other cities, yea in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who only is unchangeable and the same for ever; yet whereas the said *Bozias*, inticing here-hence, that the prosperity and ruin of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true religion; to prove this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumeans*, descended from *Eisan*, *Jacob's* brother: first, it can hardly be believed that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this end (<sup>m</sup> besides the proof which the scriptures give

<sup>a</sup> Prep. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. 5. <sup>c</sup> 2 Sam. 5. <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 11. 9. 20. <sup>e</sup> 1 Chron. 14. <sup>f</sup> 2 Chron. 2. 8, 9. <sup>g</sup> 1 Kings 11. <sup>h</sup> Theop. 17. <sup>i</sup> 1 Kings 16. 31. <sup>j</sup> Joseph. 6. <sup>k</sup> Joseph. 54. <sup>l</sup> Theoph. 58. <sup>m</sup> Theoph. 12. <sup>n</sup> Joseph. 32. <sup>o</sup> Theoph. 12. <sup>p</sup> 1 Kings 16. 31. <sup>q</sup> Joseph. 6. <sup>r</sup> Theoph. 36. <sup>s</sup> Joseph. 9. <sup>t</sup> Theoph. 29. <sup>u</sup> Justin. l. 11. <sup>v</sup> Virgil. l. 1. <sup>w</sup> Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 3. c. 7.



of *Hiram's* good affection, when *Solomon* built the temple) he brings many conjectural arguments, whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Esau* received from him by tradition the religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others witness, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red sea*, in which there were three islands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Zidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the cities of *Phenicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the *Red sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumeans*: as *Elab* and *Ezion-gaber*, or under the *Amalekites* who descended of *Amalek* the nephew of *Esau*, whose chief city was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the son of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in religion from the children of *Israel*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Astartis* the idol of the *Sidonians*. That the parents of *Thales* and *Pherocides* being *Phenicians*, themselves differed much in their philosophy from the idolatrous customs of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a town of the *Edumeans*, was an university, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Job*, religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of *Bozcius*, who labouring to prove one paradox by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, they were then of the true religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumeans* at all. In what religion *Esau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himself was a profane man, and disavowed by God, the scriptures in plain terms express. That his posterity were idolaters, is directly proved in the 25th chapter of the 2d book of *Chronicles*, that the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the house of *Israel*, save only when *David* and some of his race, kings of *Juda*, held them in subjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *David's* unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely, it was not any argument of kindred or alliance between *Tyrus* and mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* slew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the *Edomites* were so ill treated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wisdom of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumeans* punished, for being such as *David* in his own days found them. Altho' indeed the city of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reason with *Job*, is not that in *Edumea*, but another of the same name, lying east from the sea of *Galilee*, and adjoining to *Hus*, the country of *Job*: and to *Sueh* the city of *Bildad* the *Shuite*; as both such chorographers who best knew those parts, do plainly shew, and the holy text maketh manifest. For *Job* is said to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wisdom, all the people of the east; not the inhabitants of mount *Seir*, which lay due south from *Palestina*. True it is, that *Eliphaz* the son of *Esau* had a son called *Teman*: but that fathers were wont in those days to take name of their sons, I no where find. And *Ismael* also had a son called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the east had the name: for as

much as in the seventh chapter of the book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the east are called *Ismaelites*. He that well considers how great and strong a nation *Amalek* was, which durst give battle to the host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000 able men, will hardly believe that such a people were descended from one of *Esau's* grandchildren. For how powerful and numberless must the forces of all *Edom* have been, if one tribe of them, yea, one family of a tribe had been so great? surely mount *Seir*, and all the regions adjoining, could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalek*, or assisted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalek* is no where in scripture named for a tribe in *Edom*, but a nation of itself, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the founder thereof being son to *Abraham* by *Ke-turah*, doubtless was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seignior*y of the *Red sea* coast, which *Bozcius* imagines the *Edumeans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places, as *Elan* and *Ezion-gaber* on the *Red sea* shore, yet in *Moses's* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himself saith, that *Israel* did compass all the borders of *Edom*; within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs have known it: because he had sojourned long in that country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural arguments, how probable soever, are needless in so manifest a case. For in the lxxxiii. *Psalms*, *Edom*, *Amalek*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct nations: yea, the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good authors shew, and *Bozcius* himself confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appears *Gen. x. 15, 19.* appointed by God to have been destroyed, and their lands given to the children of *Asker*, *Josh. xxix.* because they were idolaters, and of the cursed seed of *Canaan*, not cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same religion. For tho' *Hiram* said, *Blessed be God who hath sent king David a wise son*: we cannot infer that he was of *David's* religion. The *Turk* hath said as much of Christian princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Asteroth*, and drew *Solomon* also to the same idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great provision of corn and oil, and the offer of twenty towns or villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appear, that *Hiram* in all points dealt merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over-pestered, being otherwise apt to yield silks: as the *Andarine* silks which come from thence, and other good commodities. For corn and oil, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to *Solomon*. Also gold for land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiser; who having got the gold first, gave to *Hiram* the worst villages that he had; with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy, which enforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *David* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thro' which countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and re-carry their wares on camels, to their fleets on the *Red sea*, and back again to *Tyrus*: so that *Solomon* being lord of all the countries thro' which they were to pass, could have cut off their trade.

But the *Israchites* were no seamen, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as lord of the sea-towns, which his father had taken from the *Philistines*, might have greatly



greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his father's treasure in magnificent works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofs which *Bozcius* frames negatively upon particular examples, are very weak. For what the religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours: which his daughters, nephews, and others of his house obtained, but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples. Every savage nation hath some whose wisdom excelleth the vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wisdom of these men express any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of *Greece*; whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the islands beforementioned in the *Red sea* to have been, for they traded in all seas) were idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their idolatry from *Solomon's* time onwards, is acknowledged by *Bozcius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancy he is so peremptory, that he stileth men of contrary opinion, *impious politicians*; as if it were impiety to think that God (who even among the heathen, which have not known his name, doth favour virtue, and hate vice) hath often rewarded moral honesty, with temporal happiness. Doubtless this doctrine of *Bozcius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the apostate, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Assyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all those nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true religion: what may be said of the foul idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* itself grew; and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battles did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a temple to some new God, or some new honour to one of their old Gods? Yea, what one nation, save only that of the *Jews*, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterwards entertain in their city? Only the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* majesty. Shall we hereupon enforce the leud and foolish conclusion, which heathen writers used against the Christians in the primitive Church; that such idolatry had caused the city of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations, did also bring with it the decay of the empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperity were a sign or effect of true religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozcius*, who writing against those whom he falsely terms impious, gives strength to

such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour; who having once either foolishly imbraced the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned in their own brains, any strange *Chimera's* of divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their zeal, as atheists and infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that such mad dogs are oftentimes encouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious virtue of an hypocrite.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the tribe of Ephraim; and of the kings of the ten tribes, whose head was Ephraim.*

### S E C T. I.

*Of the memorable places in the tribe of Ephraim.*

HAVING now pass'd over *Phenicia*, we come to the next territory adjoining; which is that of *Ephraim*, sometime taken, *per excellentiam*, for the whole kingdom of the ten tribes. *Ephraim* was the second son of *Joseph*; whose issues, when they left *Egypt*, were in number 45000; all which dying in the desarts, *Joshua* excepted, there entered the *Holy Land* of their children, grown to be able men, 32500, who sat down on the west side of *Jordan*, between *Manasseh* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the north and south; as *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean sea* did by the east and west.

The first and chief city which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria* the metropolis of the kingdom of *Israel*, built by *Amris*, or *Homri*, king thereof, and seated on the top of the mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the sea-coast. It was afterwards called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus Cesar*. This city is often remembered in the scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* observeth, the ruins which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Jerusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there found great store of goodly marble pillars, with other hewen and carved stone, in great abundance, among the the rubbish.

It was beaten to the ground by the sons of *Hircanus* the high priest: restored and built by the first *Herod*, the son of *Antipater*; who, to flatter *Cesar*, called it *Sebaste*. Herein were the prophets *Heli-seus* and *Abdias* buried; and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few cottages filled with *Grecian* monks.

Near *Samaria* towards the south, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a town of that name; on the top of which mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves to be worshipped; with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient city of *Sichem*; after the restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelosa*, and *Napolasa*: it was destroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the ravishment of their sister *Dinah*: and after that by *Abimelech* evened with the soil. *Jeroboam* raised it up again; and the *Damascenes* a third time cast it down.

<sup>a</sup> Psal. 59. 78, 108. Par. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Sichar. Joh. 4. 5. Maborthan. Joseph. 11. Ant. 1.



Under *Sichem* towards the sea, standeth *Pharaton*, or *Pirbaton*, on the mountain <sup>a</sup> *Amalek*, the city of *Abdon* judge of *Israel*; and under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built, as it is said, by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this city, *Judas Maccabeus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lyfias*, lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This city had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Between *Bethoron* and the sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Josh. x.* and *Saron*, whose king was slain by <sup>b</sup> *Joshua*: it is also mentioned *Acts ix. 35.* And of this *Saron* the valley taketh name; which beginning at *Cesaria Palestina*, extendeth itself along the coast as far as *Joppe*, saith *Adrichome*. Tho' indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this valley, but to every fruitful plain region; for not only this valley is so called, to wit, between *Cesaria* and *Joppe*, but that also between the mountain *Tabor* and the sea of *Galilee*; for so *St. Jerome*, upon *Isaiah xxxv.* interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same father, in his commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Affaron*; understanding thereby a plain near *Lidda*: which *Lidda*, in his time, was called *Diospolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, one of the toparchies of *Judea*, the fifth in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where *St. Peter* (*non sua sed Christi virtute*) cured *Aeneas*. *Niger* calls all that region, from *Antilibanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, those ravens and spoilers of all estates, disturbers of commonwealths, usurpers of other princes kingdoms: who with no other respect led, than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most savage and barbarous nations.

In *Diospolis* (saith *Will. of Tyre*) was <sup>d</sup> *St. George* beheaded, and buried; in whose honour and memory, *Justinian* the emperor caused a fair Church to be built over his tomb; these be *Tyrius's* words; *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per late patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertranscunt, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris Georgii usque hodie sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus ecclesiam quum ad honorem ejusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus multo studio & devotione prompta edificari præceperat, &c.* They having left, saith he, on the right hand, the sea-towns *Antipatris* and *Joppe*, passing over the great open plain of *Eleutheria*, came to *Lidda*, which is *Diospolis*; where the sumptuous tomb of the famous martyr *St. George* is at this day shewed: whose Church, when the godly and orthodox prince of the *Romans*, high and mighty *Justinian*, had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion, &c. Thus far *Tyrius*, by whose testimony we may conjecture that this *St. George* was not that *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*, but rather some better Christian; for this of *Alexandria*, was slain there in an uproar of the people, and his ashes cast into the sea, as <sup>e</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better Christian than he is commonly thought: for his words of the temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this sepulchre stand?* occasioned the uproar of the people against him, as fearing lest he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who tho' he says, that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else

might have rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the sea, lest if their relicts had been gathered up, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whose name lives in the right honourable order of our knights of the garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius*, above cited, witnesseth to have been buried at *Lidda*, or *Diospolis*. The same also is confirmed by <sup>f</sup> *Vitriac. St. Jerome* affirms that it was sometimes called *Tigrida*; and while the Christians inhabited the *Holy Land*, it had a bishop suffragan.

Near to *Lidda*, or *Diospolis*, standeth *Ramatba* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama* and *Ramula*, the native city of *Joseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. <sup>g</sup> There are many places which bear this name of *Rama*: one they set in the tribe of *Judah* near *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephthalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which, they say, adjoineth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama* in the hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the north, along the coast, are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which <sup>h</sup> *Chron. vi. Apollonia*, of which <sup>i</sup> *Josephus* in his antiquities, and in the wars of the *Jews*. Also *Balsalisa* (for which *Junius*, <sup>2 Kings iv. 42.</sup> reads *Planities Shalisha*) they place hereabout in this tribe of *Ephraim*: but *Junius*, upon <sup>1 Sam. vi.</sup> where we read of the land of *Shalisha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

On the other side of the mountains of *Ephraim*, standeth *Gosna*, one of the toparchies, or cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the country about it taketh name.

Then <sup>j</sup> *Thamnath-sara*, or, according to the *Hebrew* *Thimnath-serach*; one also of the ten toparchies or presidencies of *Judea*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly city and strong, seated on one of the high hills of *Ephraim*, on the north of the hill called *Gaas*; which city and territory *Israel* gave unto their leader *Joshua*; who also amplified it with buildings, near which he was buried. His sepulchre remained in <sup>k</sup> *St. Jerome's* time, and over it the sun engraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders which God wrought in *Joshua's* time.

In the places adjoining standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where <sup>l</sup> *Judas Maccabeus*, with 3000 *Jews*, overthrew the army of *Nicanor*, lieutenant of *Syria*, near to *Gaser*, or *Gezer*, which *Joshua* took, and hang'd their king, a city of the *Levites*. It was afterwards taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*, the people all slain, and the city razed: *Solomon* rebuilt it.

To the east of this place, is the frontier city of *Jesseti*, of which *Josh. xvi. 3.* otherwise *Peletbi*, whence *David* had part of his pretorian soldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous mountain and city of *Silo*, whereon the ark of God was kept so many years, till the *Philistines* got it.

To this they join the city of <sup>m</sup> *Machmas*, or *Michmas*, in which *Jonathan Maccabeus* inhabited; a place often remembred in the scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Jerusalem*, and is now called *Byra*.

Then the village of *Najoth* where *Saul* prophesied; and near it <sup>n</sup> *Iphron*, one of those cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*, after the great

<sup>a</sup> *Judg. 12. 15.* <sup>b</sup> *Josh. 12. 18.* <sup>c</sup> *Acts 6. Luke 23. Niger. Comm. 4. Ashe fol. 503. 14.* <sup>d</sup> *Of this St. George see more above in this second book, c. 7. §. 3. & 5.* <sup>e</sup> *Lib. 22. c. 11.* <sup>f</sup> *Salig. Tom. 6. c. 4.* <sup>g</sup> *See in the tribe of Benjamin, c. 12. §. 1.* <sup>h</sup> *Ant. 13. 21. de bell. Jud. 1. 6.* <sup>i</sup> *Judg. 2. 9. it is called Thimnath-Chores, Josh. 19. 50.* <sup>k</sup> *Hieron in loc. Heb.* <sup>l</sup> *1 Mac. 7. 40.* <sup>m</sup> *See in Benjamin. 1 Mac. 9. v. ult.* <sup>n</sup> *1 Kings 4. And see Rama in Benjamin.*



## SECT. II.

Of the kings of the ten tribes, from Jeroboam to Achab.

overthrow given him. Then *Kibtsaim* of the *Levites*, of which *Josh. xxi. 22.* which *Junius* thinks to be the same with *Jokmeham*, of which *1 Chron. vi. 68.* As for *Absalom's Baalbazar*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it in the plain of *Chatsor*; and finds it in the tribe of *Juda*; as *Joshua xv.* we read of two *Chatsors* in that tribe, one near *Kadesb*, ver. 23. and the other the same as *Chetzron*, ver. 25. towards *Jordan*.

In this tribe also they find the city of *Mello*; whose citizens, they say, joined with the *Sichimites* in making the bastard *Abimelech* king: adding, that for the building thereof, with other cities, *Solomon* raised a tribute upon the people. But it seems that *Mello*, or *Millo*, is a common name of a strong fort or citadel: and so *Junius*, for *Domus Millo*, reads *incolæ munitionis*; and for *Salomo ædificabat Millo*, he reads, *ædificabat munitionem*; and so the *Septuagint* read τὴν ἀνείραν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Jerusalem*.

The other cities of note in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*; and *Janoach*; or *Janoab*, spoiled by *Teglatphalassar*: *Pekah* then governing *Israel*; with divers others, but of no great fame.

The mountains of *Ephraim* sometime signify the greatest part of the land of the sons of *Joseph*, on the west of *Jordan*; several parts whereof are the hill of *Samron*, or *Samaria*, *1 Reg. xvi. 24.* the hill of *Gabas*, *Judg. ii. 9.* the hill of *Tsalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg. ix. 48.* the hills of the region of *Tsuph*, or *Tsophim*, *Judg. ix. 5.* where *Rama Saphim* stood, which was the city of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitful vines upon the sides of these mountains, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the spirit of prophecy, *Gen. xlix. 22.* compared *Joseph's* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, to the branches of a fruitful vine planted by the well side, and spread her daughter-branches along the wall: which allegory also *Ezek xxii.* in his lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) prosecutes: as also in his lamentation for *Judah*, he followeth the other allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen. xlix. 9.* comparing *Judah* to a lion. Upon the top of one of the highest of these hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the plains on both sides of *Jordan*, they find the castle called *Dok*; which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Joseph. 1. bell. Jud. c. 2.* in which castle, as it is *1 Mac. xvi.* *Ptolemy* most traiterously, at a banquet, slew *Simon Maccabeus* his father-in-law.

Among the rivers of this tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembered in *2 Sam. xxiii. 30.* where tho' *Junius* reads, *Uiddai ex una vallium Gabasi*; yet the *Vulgar*, and *Vatablus*, read *Giddai* of the river of *Gaas*. Also in this tribe they place the river of *Carith*, by which the prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought, where he was fed by the ravens: and after that the river was dried up, he travelled (by the spirit of God) towards *Sidon*, where he was relieved by the poor widow of *Zarepta*, whose dead son he revived, and increas'd her pittance of meal and oil, whereby she sustained her life.

OF the first kings of *Israel*, I omit in this place to speak, and reserve it to the catalogue of the kings of *Judah*; of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the kings of the ten tribes; but briefly, beginning after the division from *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to speak. The first of these kings was *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite* of *Zereda*; who being a man of strength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overseer of the buildings of the *Millo* or munition of *Jerusalem*, for as much as belong'd to the charge of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time, as he went from *Jerusalem*, he encountred the prophet *Abijah*; who made him know that he was by God destined to be king of *Israel*, and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Solomon's* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Osochores*, whose daughter he married: the predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertain *Adad* the *Idumean*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his captain *Joab*; which *Adad*, the king of *Egypt* married to his wife's sister *Taphnes*; using both him and *Jeroboam* as instruments to shake the kingdom of *Judea*, that himself might the easilier spoil it, as he did: for in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sack'd the city of *Jerusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the spoils which *David* took from *Adadexer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tobu* king of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Jeroboam*, after the death of *Solomon*, became lord of the ten tribes: and tho' he were permitted by God to govern the *Israelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world, before the service and honour of God (as fearing that if the tribes under his rule should repair to *Jerusalem* to do their usual sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith *St. Ambrose*, or rather of *Aaron's calf* in *Horeb*;) further, he made election of his priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This king made his chief seat and palace at *Sichem*: he despised the warning of the *Judean* prophet, whom *Josephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas*, *Joel*: his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored; but continuing in his idolatry, and hardened, upon occasion that the prophet returning was slain by a lion, *Abijah* makes him know, that God purposed to root out his posterity.

He was afterward overthrown by *Abia* king of *Judah*, and died, after he had governed 22 years; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second year of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was slain, and rooted by *Baasha*, who reigned in his stead; so *Nadab* lived king but two years.

*Baasha* the son of *Abijah*, the third king after the partition, made war with *Asa* king of *Judah*: he seated himself in *Thersa*, and fortified *Rama* against *Judah*, to restrain their excursions. Here-

<sup>a</sup> *Judg. 9. 6, 20. 1 Reg. 11. 27.* *Vatablus* expounds *Millo* in this place, *Locum publicum necessarium civibus Hierosolymitanis atque Israelitis.* <sup>2</sup> *Kings 15. 20.* *Josh. 17. 15, 16.* <sup>b</sup> *Also the hill of Phineas, where Eleazar the high priest, the son of Aaron was buried, Josh. 24. 33. And the two tops of hills, Gerizzim, where the blessings, and Hebal where the cursings were to be read to the people, of which Deut. 11. and 27. Josh. 8.* <sup>c</sup> *It seemeth that Jacob in this prophecy the rather useth the word daughters for branches thereby the more plainly to signify colonies: which in the Hebrew phrase are called daughters of the metropolis; as in Joshua and elsewhere often.* <sup>d</sup> *1 Reg. 17. 5.* <sup>e</sup> *1 Reg. 14.* <sup>f</sup> *Ambrose on Rom. 1.* <sup>g</sup> *1 Kings 11. 12, 13, 14, 15.*



upon *Afa* entertained *Benbadad* of *Damascus* against him, who invaded *Nephtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while *Afa* carried away the materials; with which *Baasha* intended to fortify *Rama*; but being an idolater, he was threatened by *Jehu* the prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Jeroboam*; which afterwards came to pass. He ruled twenty-four years, and died.

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his son, who at a feast at his palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the prophecy of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

*Zambris* succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a king seven days: but *Ambri* in revenge of the king's murder, set upon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*; and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and forced him to burn himself.

*Ambri*, or *Homri*, succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the regal seat from *Thersa* to *Samaria*, which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambri* was also an idolater, no less impious than the rest; and therefore subjected to *Tabremmon* king of *Syria*; the father of *Benbadad*, according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*. But how this should stand, I do not well conceive; seeing *Benbadad* the son of *Tabremmon*, was invited by *Afa* king of *Juda*, to assail *Baasha* king of *Israel*, the father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambri*. This *Ambri* reigned 12 years, 6 in *Thersa*, and 6 in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab*, and *Athalia*.

### SECT. III.

Of *Achab* and his successors; with the captivity of the ten tribes.

*Achab*, or *Ahab*, succeeded *Omri*, who not only upheld the idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*; but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian*; and as *Jeroboam* followed the religion of his *Egyptian* wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*; and erected an altar and a grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Jezabel* to kill the prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*; *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the sacrifice, and killeth the false prophets, and afterwards flieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

*Benbadad*, not long after, besieged *Samaria*; and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which the prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproveth him: afterwards he caused *Naboth*, by a false accusation, to be stoned. Then joining with *Josaphat* in the war for the recovery of *Ramoth*; he was slain, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had 3 sons named in the scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*; besides 70 other sons by sundry wives and concubins.

*Ochozias* succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruised himself by a fall; he sent for counsel to *Beelzebub* the god of *Achabon*. *Elijah* the prophet meeteth the messenger on the way; and mistaking that *Ochozias* sought help from that dead idol, asked the messenger, if there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth 2 captains, and with each 50 soldiers to bring *Elijah* unto him; both which, with their attendants, were consumed with fire. The 3d captain besought mercy at *Elijah*'s hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the king; avowing it to the king that he must then die: which came to pass in the 2d year of his reign.

*Joram*, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, succeeded: he allured *Josaphat* king of *Juda*, and the

king of *Edom*, to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000 sheep. The 3 kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the deserts. The prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are overthrown; their king flieth to *Kirharaseth*; and being besieged, according to some expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, whereat the three kings, moved with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the text to speak of the son of the king of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the king of *Moab* shewed him over the walls, threatening, unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the king of *Edom* besought those of *Juda* and *Israel*, to break off the siege for the safety of his son: which when the other kings refused to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatening, had burnt the king of *Edom*'s son upon the rampire, that all the assailants might discern it: the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsook the party of the other kings; for want of whose assistance the siege was broken up.

After this the king of *Aram* sent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the captain of his army of the leprosy. The answer of *Joram* was; am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to heal a man from his leprosy? adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrel against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the king to send *Naaman* to him; promising that he should know that there was a prophet in *Israel*; and so *Naaman* was healed, by washing himself seven times in *Jordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*. But his servant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof; from whence the sellers of spiritual gifts are called *Gebazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*.

Afterwards *Benbadad*, king of *Aram* or *Damascus*, having heard that this prophet did discover to the king of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his most secret council, sent a troop of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* struck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria*; *Joram* then asked leave of the prophet to slay them; *Elisha* forbade him to harm them, but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own prince in safety.

The king of *Aram*, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*; and brought the citizens to extream famine. *Joram* imputeth the cause thereof to the prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha*, by prayer, caused a noise of chariots and armour to sound in the air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege; an act of great admiration, as the same is written in *2 Kings* vii. After this, when *Azael* obtained the kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his master; *Joram* entering upon his frontier, took *Ramoth Gilead*; in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezebel* to be cured. But whilst he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanded the army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprized and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of *Ahab*.

*Jehu*, who reigned after *Jezebel*, destroyed not only the race of his foregoers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupy the throne unto the 4th generation. Yet he upheld the idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous

\* 1 Kings 15. & 16.    b 1 Kings 16.    c 1 Kings 16.    d 1 Kings 15.    e *Beelzebub was the same with Belus and Pluto, saith*  
Vulgate upon *Livi*.    2 Kings 1.    f 2 Kings 3.    g 2 Kings 1. 5.    h 2 Kings 7.



war, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the countries to the east of *Jordan*; in which war he was slain (saith *Cedrenus*) whereof the scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28 years.

*Joachaz*, or *Jeboahaz*, the son of *Jehu*, succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him only 50 horse, 20 chariots, and 10000 foot; and as it is written in <sup>a</sup> the scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17 years.

After *Joachaz*, *Joas*'s son governed *Israel*; who, when he repaired to *Elisba* the prophet, as he lay on his death-bed, the prophet promised him three victories over the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow; and *Elisba* covered the king's hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was towards *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence-out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who smote it thrice, and ceased. The prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times; and then he should have had so many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battles, and recovered the cities and territory from *Benhadad* the son of *Azael*, which his father *Joachaz* had lost. He also overthrew <sup>b</sup> *Amazia* king of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the war; whereupon he entered *Jerusalem*, and sacked it, with the temple. This *Joas* reigned 16 years, and died; in whose time also the prophet *Elisba* exchanged this life for a better.

*Jeroboam*, the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an idolater as his predecessors: but he recovered all the rest of the land belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamatb*, which is near *Libanus*, to the *Dead sea*, and reigned 41 years.

*Zacharias*, the fourth and last of the house of *Jehu*, slain by *Shallum* his vassal, who reigned in his stead, governed six months. *Shallum* held the kingdom but one month, being slaughter'd by *Menabem* of the *Gadites*.

*Menabem*, who took revenge of *Shallum*, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him; ripping up the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menabem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with 10000 talents of silver; which he exacted by a tribute of 50 sheckles for every man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menabem* governed 20 years.

*Pekahiah*, or *Phaceia*, or, after *Zonaras*, *Phacefia*, succeeded; and after he had ruled two years, he was slain by *Phaca*, or *Pekab*, the commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekab*'s time, *Phulassar*, or *Tiglat-Phylassar*, invaded the kingdom of *Israel*, and won *Ijon*, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Janoach*, *Kedesb*, *Hasor*, and *Gilead*, with all the cities of *Galilee*, <sup>d</sup> carrying them captives into *Assyria*: he was drawn in by *Achas* king of *Judah*, against *Pekab* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekab* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the church riches, and therewith engaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed the monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*; and this inviting of the great *Assyrian*, was the utter ruin of both states, of *Israel* and of *Judah*. *Pekab* reigned 20 years.

Then *Hoshea*, or *Osea*, who slew *Pekab*, became the vassal of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, he sought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* king of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged Sa-

*maria*, and mastered it; carried the ten idolatrous tribes into *Nineveh* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other eastern regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted *Samaria* with divers nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a river in *Persia*, or rather in <sup>e</sup> *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Ava*; which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the land of the *Philistines* in *Abraham*'s time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphthorims* rooted out; and at this time they were of *Arabia* the desert, called *Havæi*; willing to return to their ancient seats. To these he added those of *Chamath* or *Iturea*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometimes the vassals of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Assyrian* advise himself better than the *Romans* did: for after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the cities of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, they carried the people away captive; but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their own thin garrisons, which soon decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Brabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the year of the world 3292, the 6th year of *Ezekiah*, king of *Judah*; and the 9th of *Hoshea* the last king of *Israel*.

#### A catalogue of the kings of the ten tribes.

1. <i>Jeroboam</i>	reigned	22 years
2. <i>Nadab</i>		2 years
3. <i>Baasha</i>		24 years
4. <i>Ela</i>		20 years
5. <i>Zambris</i>		7 days
6. <i>Omri</i>		11 years
7. <i>Achab</i>		22 years
8. <i>Ochozias</i>		2 years
9. <i>Joram</i>		12 years
10. <i>Jehu</i>		28 years
11. <i>Joachaz</i>		17 years
12. <i>Joas</i>		16 years
13. <i>Jeroboam</i>		41 years
14. <i>Zacharias</i>		6 months
15. <i>Shallum</i>		1 month
16. <i>Menabem</i>		10 years
17. <i>Pekahiah</i>		2 years
18. <i>Phaca</i>		20 years
19. <i>Hoshea</i>		9 years, about whose time writers differ.

#### CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of *Dan*, *Simeon*, *Judah*, *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the other half of *Manasseh*.

#### SECT. I.

Of *Dan*, whereof *Joppe*, *Gath*, *Accaron*, *Azotus*, and other towns.

NOW following the coast of the *Mediterranean sea*, that portion of land assigned to the tribe of *Dan*, joineth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which family there were num-

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 13. <sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 14. <sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 16. 19. <sup>d</sup> 2 Kings 15. 29. <sup>e</sup> Ptol. l. 5. Isa. 37.



bred at mount *Sinai*, 62700 fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the deserts, there entred the holy land of their sons 66400 bearing arms. The first famous city in this tribe on the sea coast was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in *Joshua* xix, 46. one of the most ancient of the world, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the port of *Jerusalem*. From hence *Jonas* embarked himself when he fled from the service of God, towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this city received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garrisoned in *Joppe*, having their fleet in the port, invited 200 principal citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Cestius* the lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Christ 1250, *Lodowick* the *French* king gave it new walls and towers: it is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain rocks in that port, whereunto it is reported that *Andromeda* was fastned with chains, and thence delivered from the sea-monster by *Perseus*. This fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Josephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus Scaurus*, during his office of *Edileship*, shewed the bones of this monster to the people of *Rome*. *St. Jerome* upon *Jonas* speaks of it indifferently.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the rest of the *Syrian* fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seen at *Jerusalem*, 240 furlongs off. It had sometimes a bishop's seat, saith *Will. of Tyre*; but there is no sign of it at this time that such a place there was.

After *Jamnia*, is the city of *Geth* or *Gath*, sometime *Anthedon*, saith *Volaterran*. And so *Montanus*, fol. 244. seems to understand it. For he sets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philistine* cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volaterran* gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolemy* sets *Anthedon* far to the south of *Joppe*: and *Geth* was the first and not the last (beginning from the north) of all the great cities of the *Philistines*: and about 16 miles from *Joppe*, where *St. Jerome* in his time found a great village of the same name. It was sometime the habitation and seminary of the *Anakims*: strong and giant-like men, whom *Joshua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him; nor any of the *Israelites*, till *David's* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his captains did divers others, not much inferiour in strength and stature unto *Goliath*.

*Reboboam* the son of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the son of *Amazia* destroyed it again. It was also laid waste by *Azael* king of *Syria*. *Fulk*, the 4th king of *Jerusalem*, built a castle in the same place out of the old ruins. Whether this *Geth* was the same that *Will. of Tyre* in the holy war calls *Ibijlin*, I much doubt; the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

Not far from *Geth*, or *Gath*, standeth *Bethsemes*, or the house of the *Sun*. In the fields adjoining to this city (as is thought) was the ark of God brought by a yoke of two kine, turned loose by the *Philistines*: and the *Bethsemites* presuming to look therein, there were slain of the elders 70, and of the people 50000, by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter, and the great lamentation of

the people, it was called the great *Abel*, saith *St. Jerome*. *Benedictus Theologus* finds three other cities of this name; one in *Nephtalim*, another in *Juda*; and another in *Issachar*; *Jerome* finds a fifth in *Benjamin*.

Keeping the sea-coast, the strong city of *Accaron* offereth it self, sometimes one of the five satrapies, or governments of the *Philistines*. *St. Jerome* makes it the same with *Cesaria Palestine*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: it was one of those that defended it self against the *Danites* and *Judeans*. It worshipped *Beelzebub* the god of hornets or flies. To which idol it was that *Abaziab* king of *Israel* sent to enquire of his health: whose messengers *Elijah* meeting by the way, caused them to return, with a sorrowful answer to their master. This city is remembered in many places of scripture.

*Christianus Schrot* placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron*, or *Ekron*. This *Azotus*, or *Asdod*, was also an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Joshua* failed to destroy, tho' he once possess'd their city. Herein stood a sumptuous temple, dedicated to the idol *Dagon*: the same idol which fell twice to the ground of it self, after the ark of God was by the *Philistines* carried into their temple: and in the second fall it was utterly broken and defaced. Near it was that famous *Judas Macchabæus* slain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterwards it was taken by *Jonathan*: and the rest of the citizens being put to the sword; all that fled into the temple of *Dagon* were, with their idol, therein consumed with fire: near which also he overthrew *Apollonius*.

*Gabinus* the *Roman* rebuilt it. It had a bishop's seat while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in *St. Jerome's* time it was yet a fair village. And this was the last of the sea-towns within the tribe of *Dan*.

The cities which are within the land east-ward from *Azotus*, and beyond the fountain of *Ethiopia*, wherein *Philip* the apostle baptized the eunuch, are *Tsorah*, or *Sarara*; and *Esbaol*, and between them *Castra Danis* near *Hebron*: tho' this place where *Sampson* was born, may seem by the words, *Judg.* xviii. 12. to be in the tribe of *Judah*, as the other also were bordering towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After these, within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*: or, as it is, *1 Macc.* xv. *Cedron*, which *Cendebeus* the lieutenant of *Antiochus*, fortified against the Jews, and near which himself was by the *Maccabees* overthrown.

Then *Modin*, the native city of the *Maccabees*; and wherein they were buried; on whose sepulcher the 7 marble pillars, which were erected of that height, as they served for a mark to the seamen, remained many hundreds of years after their first setting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witness.

There are, besides these, the city of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the city of the woods: seated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the ark of God remained 20 years in the house of *Ami-nadab*; till such time as *David* carried it thence to *Jerusalem*: of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the son of *Barachias*, or *Jehoida*, who was slain between the temple and the altar: also *Urias*, whom *Joachim* king of *Jerusalem* slaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they

<sup>a</sup> *Macc.* 2. 12. <sup>b</sup> *Lib.* 3. 1. 15. *de Bel. Jud.* *Solin.* c. 47. *Plin.* l. 5. c. 9. <sup>c</sup> *2 Macc.* 12. <sup>d</sup> *De Bell. sacr.* <sup>e</sup> *Hieron.* in *Miclaem.* <sup>f</sup> *Lib.* 21. c. 18. <sup>g</sup> *1 Sam.* 6. 18. <sup>h</sup> Or rather not the city it self, but the great stone in the field; upon which stone the *Philistines* set the ark, the change being easy from *Eben*, or *Aben*, which signifieth a stone, to *Abel*, which signifieth mourning. <sup>i</sup> *See* *Naph.* c. 7. *sect.* 4. <sup>k</sup> *2 Kings* 1. It was besieged by *Psammetichus* the father of *Pharaoh Neco* for 29 years together; whence *Jer.* 25. 20. speaks of the residue of *Asdod*, to wit, the greatest part having perished in this siege. <sup>l</sup> *1 Sam.* 5. 4. <sup>m</sup> *1 Macc.* 9. <sup>n</sup> *Macc.* 10. *Jos.* 19. 41. *Judg.* 13. 25. *Eccl.* 18. 2. <sup>o</sup> *1 Macc.* 15. 16. <sup>p</sup> *Alias Cariath-baal and Baal, or Baalphurosim* *1 Sam.* 7. 1. *2 Sam.* 6. 2. *2 Chron.* 24. 22. *Matt.* 23. 33. *Jer.* 26. 20.



place in this tribe, rather as I take it upon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin*, taken with great slaughter by *Judas Macchabeus*: and *Lachis*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*, in which also *Amazias* was slain: the same which *Senacherib* took, *Ezechias* reigning in *Juda*.

Of other cities belonging to this tribe, see in *Joshua* xix. from the 41st verse, where also it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of families: and therefore that they invaded *Leshem*, and inhabited it: which city, after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the metropolis of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was tetrarch: but of this city see more in *Nephtalim*. In this tribe there are no mountains of fame.

It hath two rivers or torrents: the northermost riseth out of the mountains of *Juda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the sea by *Sachrona*.<sup>b</sup> The other hath the name of *Sorek*, or *Sored*, whose banks are plentiful of vines, which have no seeds or stones: the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taste, and favour, &c. In this valley of *Sorek*, so called from the river, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loved.

## SECT. II.

### The tribe of Simeon.

THE tribe of *Simeon* takes up the rest of the sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*; who being the second son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that family, while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at mount *Sinai*, 59300 able men; all which ending their lives in the deserts, there entred the land of promise of their issues 22200 bearing arms, who were<sup>c</sup> in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small territory on the sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*; of which the first city adjoining to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

The *Reguli*, or petty kings thereof, were called *Ascalonitæ*; of which <sup>d</sup>*Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the history of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymeneus*: and that *Ascalus* being imploy'd by *Aciamus* king of the *Lydians*, with an army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young woman of that country, built this city, and called it after his own name: the same hath *Nicolaus* in his history, saith *Volaterran*.

*Diodorus Siculus*, in his third book, remembreth a lake near *Ascalon*, wherein there hath been a temple dedicated to *Derceto* the goddess of the *Syrians*; having the face of a woman, and the body of a fish: who, as I have said before, in the story of *Ninus*, was the mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this lake, and fed and relieved by doves. And therefore was the dove worshipped, both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the poet:

*Alba Palestina sancta columba Syro.*

The white dove is for holy held, in *Syria-Palestine*.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest cities of the *Philistines*. It bred many learned men (<sup>e</sup> saith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Sojus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the historian, and *Artemidorus* who wrote the story of *Bithynia*.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* born, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the male-children, of two years old and under, to be slain. In the Christian times it had a bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* king of *England*, while he made war in the holy land, gave it a new wall, and many buildings. <sup>f</sup>*Ejus muros cum Saladinus diruisset*, *Richardus Anglorum rex instauravit*, saith *Adrichomius*.

In *David's* time it was one of the most renowned cities of the *Philistines*; for he nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* only, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*; not speaking of the other three. <sup>g</sup>*Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon*; it is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinus* restored it, as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*; the *Syrians*, *Azon*, of *Azonus* (as they say) the son of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyfes* the *Persian*, because belike he rebuilt it; and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue, is as much as to say, treasure. This <sup>h</sup>*Gaza* was the first of the satrapies of the *Philistines*, and the south bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this city was far more ancient than *Cambyfes*, as it is proved by many scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*; but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as <sup>i</sup>*Alexander Macedon* invaded the empire of *Persia*, it received a garrison for *Darius*: in despite whereof, it was, by the *Macedonians*, after a long siege, demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the desert.

<sup>k</sup>*Alexander Janneus* king of the *Jews* surprised it, and slew 500 senators in the temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for sanctuary; but this *Gaza* was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat nearer the sea-side; tho' the other was but two miles off. It was a town of great account in the time of the *Maccabees*, and gave many wounds to the *Jews*, till it was forced by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to reside therein himself; and in his absence, left *John* his son and successor to be governor. In <sup>l</sup>*Brochard's* time it was still a goodly city, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

At the very out-let of the river *Bezor*, standeth *Majoma* the port of *Gaza*: to which the privilege of a city was given by the great *Constantine*; and the place called *Constance* after the name of the emperor's son. <sup>m</sup>But *Julian* the apostate, soon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza Maritima*.

On the other side of <sup>n</sup>*Bezor*, standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favourite of *Augustus*.

Then <sup>o</sup>*Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose torrent is known in the scriptures by the name <sup>p</sup>of the torrent of *Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*; to difference it, *Isaiab* xxvii. 12. giving the name of the city to the torrent that watereth it.

*Pliny* calls it *Rhinocolura*; and *Josephus*, *Rhinocorura*.

<sup>q</sup>*Epiphanius* reports it as a tradition, that at this

<sup>a</sup> 2 Macc. 12. 13. Jos. 12. 11. 2 Kings 14. 19. <sup>b</sup> Hieron. in Isai. & Micheam 1. Broch. Breid. Judg. 16. 4. <sup>c</sup> And therefore no marvel that divers places named Jos. 15. in the large portion of *Juda*, be reckoned in this tribe: see Jos. 19. 1, 9. where this much is expressly noted. <sup>d</sup> Volat. Geog. l. 11. fol. 244. <sup>e</sup> Volat. ut supra. <sup>f</sup> Adrich. in Trib. Simeon. <sup>g</sup> 2 Sam. 1. 20. <sup>h</sup> Volat. l. 11. <sup>i</sup> Steph. de Urb. Judg. 1. 6. 16. 1 Kings 6. & alib. <sup>k</sup> Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. <sup>l</sup> Macc. 1. 15. Broch. Itin. 7. <sup>m</sup> Hist. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. Hist. c. 4. <sup>n</sup> Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. 21. <sup>o</sup> Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. 21. 24. &c. <sup>p</sup> Junius calls the *Vallis Aegypti* the name of the stream seems to be *Shichor*. See in Assef, c. 7. sect. 3. § 8. in the margin. <sup>q</sup> Epiph. tom. 2. in relat. Manich. & in Anconato. Gen. 10. 19.



place the world was divided by lots; between the three sons of *Noah*.

Within the land, and upon the river of *Besor*, they place *Gerar*; which the scripture placeth between *Kadesb* and *Shur*, *Gen. xx. 1*. That it was near to the wilderness of *Beersheba*, it appears, *Gen. xx. 31*. and therefore no marvel that as elsewhere *Beersheba*, so sometimes *Gerar*, be made the south bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct kingdom from the *Philistine* satrapies; the kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*: *St. Jerome* saith, that afterwards it was called *Regio salutaris*; The health county: so that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Isaac* lived much in these parts. Of king *Asa*'s conquest of the cities about *Gerar*, see *2 Chron. xiv. 14*.

More within the land was <sup>a</sup> *Siceleg*, or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*; when *David*, in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistines*, had left his carriages there; but *David* followed them over the river of *Besor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next <sup>b</sup> *Dabir*, sometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the city of letters, the university, as they say, or academy of old *Palestine*. In *St. Jerome*'s time it seems it had the name of *Daema*: *Joshua xv. 49*. it is called *Urbs Sanna*, from the name, as it seems, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Ababi*. For even hence also were these giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by <sup>c</sup> *Othoniel*, encouraged by *Caleb*'s promise of his daughter in marriage: but that *Joshua* and the host of *Israel* were at the surprise, it appears *Joshua x. 39*. This city, *Josh. xxi. 15*. is named among those, which out of *Simeon* and *Juda*, were given to the *Levites*. And hence it seems they attribute it to this tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the tribe of *Simeon*, but of less fame; as *Haijn*, of which *Joshua xix. 7*. which also *Joshua xxi. 16*. is reckoned for one of the cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon* (for which *Junius* thinks *Hasbam* is named *1 Chron. vi. 59*. tho' <sup>d</sup> in the place of *Joshua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad* so named, *1 Chron. iv. 29*. for which *Josh. xix. 4*. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Susa*, so named, *Josh. xix. 5*. for which *Josh. xv*. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification; for *Gadda*, is *Turma*, and *Susa*, *Equitatus*.

In the same places of *Joshua*, and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named; which they think to be the same with that of which *Numb. xiv. 45*. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*. But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the mountains of *Edumea*. For *Israel* fled not that way, but back again to the camp, which lay to the south of <sup>e</sup> *Edumea*, in the desert.

The same places also name *Beersheba* in this tribe; so called of the oath between <sup>f</sup> *Abraham* and *Abimelech*; near unto which *Hagar* wandred with her son *Ishmael*.

It was also called the city of *Isaac*, because he dwelt long there.

While the Christians held the holy land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian* desert, and in the south bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*.

The other cities of *Simeon*, which are named in the places of *Joshua*, and of the *Chronicles*, above noted, because they help us nothing in story, I omit them.

In the time of *Ezekiah* king of *Juda*, certain of this tribe being streightned in their own territories, passed to <sup>g</sup> *Gedor*, as it is *1 Chron. iv. 39*. (the same place which *Josh. xv. 36*. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*; where they seated themselves: as also 500 others of this tribe, destroyed the reliques of *Amalek* in the mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

The mountains within this tribe are few; and that of *Sampson* the chiefest; unto which he carried the gate-post of *Gaza*. The rivers are *Besor*, and the torrent of *Egypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Affer*.

### SECT. III.

#### The tribe of *Juda*.

**O**F *Juda*, the 4th son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600; all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the deserts. And of their sons, there entred the land of *Canaan* 76500 bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatness of this number, was the greatest territory given, called afterwards *Judea*; within the bounds whereof, were the portions allotted to *Dan*, and *Simeon* included.

And many cities named in those tribes, did first, as they say, belong unto the children of *Juda*, who had a kind of sovereignty over them; as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethsemes*, *Tsiglag*, *Beersheba*, and others.

The multitude of people within this small province (if it be meted by that ground given to this tribe only) were incredible, if the witness of the scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found 500000 fighting men.

The cities of *Juda* were many: but I will remember the chiefest of them; beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judea* from *Idumea*: whose king first surprised the *Israelites*, as they pass'd by the border of <sup>h</sup> *Canaan* towards *Moab*; and took from them some spoils, and many prisoners: who being afterwards overthrown by the *Israelites*, the sons of *Keni*, the kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that territory: who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this frontier towards *Idumea* and the south, <sup>i</sup> *Ascensus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed, the next to *Arad*; so called, because of scorpions which are said to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Jerome* thinks that the name of the toparchy, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated; of which we have spoken in *Manasses*.

On the south side also of *Judea*, they place the cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Ashna*, *Yethnam*, and *Afor*, or *Chatfor*, most of them frontier towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the desert and forrest adjoining took name; where *David* hid himself from *Saul*.

After these are the cities of *Efron*, *Adar*, *Karkab*, and *Asemona*, or *Hatmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumea*, towards the north, we find the cities of *Danna*, *Shemab*, *Amam*, the other *Afor*, or *Chatfor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which, see *Josh. xv*. also *Carioth*, by *Josh. xv. 25*. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the traitor was called *Is-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then <sup>k</sup> *Hetham* the abode of *Sampson*,

<sup>a</sup> *1 Sam. 30*. <sup>b</sup> *Joseph. 10. 11. 12*. <sup>c</sup> *Josh. 11. 21*. <sup>d</sup> *And also 1 Chron. 4. 32*. <sup>e</sup> *Deut. 1*. <sup>f</sup> *Gen. 21. 31*. <sup>g</sup> *As it seems in the land of Juda. See in the first paragraph of this chapter, in the cities of Dan. Judg. 16. 3*. <sup>h</sup> *Numb. 21. 3*. *Josh. 12. 14*. *Judg. 1. 16*. <sup>i</sup> *Numb. 34. 3*. *Deut. 8. 15*. <sup>k</sup> *Judg. 15. 8*. <sup>l</sup> *1 Chron. 11. 6*. *Jun. out of the 1 Chron. 4. 32. notes, that this Hetham, tho' it were within the bounds of Juda, belonged to Simeon.*



which *Rehoboam* re-edified. Beyond these, towards the north-border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the city of *Jethar*, or *Jatthir*, belonging to the *Levites*. In <sup>b</sup> St. *Jerome*'s time it was called *Jethira*, and inhabited altogether with Christians: near unto this city was that remarkable battel fought betwixt *Asa* king of *Juda*, and *Zara* king of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a million of fighting men; and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not far from *Jethar*, standeth *Jarmuth*, whose king was slain by *Joshua*, and the city overturned. Next unto it is *Maresa*, the native city of the prophet *Michæa*: between it and *Odolla*, <sup>c</sup> *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*; and sent thence 10000 drachmas of silver to be offered for sacrifice.

<sup>d</sup> *Odolla*, or *Hadullam* it self, was an ancient and magnificent city, taken by *Joshua*, and the king thereof slain. *Jonathan Macchabæus* beatified it greatly. Then <sup>e</sup> *Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterwards *Echela*, where *David* sometime hid himself, and which afterwards he delivered from the assaults of the *Philistines*: near which the prophet *Abacuc* was buried; whose monument remained, and was seen by St. *Jerome*.

Near it is *Hebron*, sometime called *the city of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatbarbe*: the reason of this name they give, as if it signified the city of four; because the four patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried; but of *Adam* it is but supposed; and it is plain by the places, *Josh. xiv. 14. and xv. 13. and xx. 11.* that *Arbah* here doth not signify four, but that it was the name of the father of the giants, called *Anakim*, whose son, as it seems, *Anak* was: and *Achim*, *Skesbai*, and *Tulmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Josh. xv.*) were the sons of this *Anak*, *Numb. xiii. 23.* The name of *Anak* signifieth *torquem*, a chain worn for ornament: and it seems that this *Anak*, enriched by the spoils which himself and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got this name: and leaving the custom to his posterity, left also the name: so that in *Latin* the name of *Anakim*, may not amiss be expounded by *Torquati*.

The city *Hebron* was one of the ancientest cities of *Canaan*; built 7 years before *Tsoan*, or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief city of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given; to wit, the villages adjoining, and the rest to the *Levites*. It had a bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent temple built by *Heleen* the mother of *Constantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free city, remembered often by St. *Jerome*. Then *Egion*, whose king *Dahir* associated, with the other four kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of <sup>f</sup> *Jerusalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Joshua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next city of fame was *Emaus*, afterwards *Nicopolis*, one of the cities of government, or presidencies of *Judæa*. In the sight of this city, <sup>g</sup> *Judas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apolonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias* lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the year 1301, it was overturned by an earthquake, saith <sup>h</sup> *Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a bishop's seat, of the diocese of *Cæsaria* of *Palestine*.

From *Emaus* towards the west-sea there are the cities of *Nabama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, <sup>i</sup> *Josh. xv. 36, 41.* Then *Azecha*, to which *Joshua* followed the slaughter of the five kings before named, a city of great strength in the valley of <sup>k</sup> *Terebintb* or *Turpentine*: as the *Vulgar* readeth, <sup>l</sup> *1 Sam. xvii. 2.* whence (as it seems) they seat it near unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the *Levites*. It revolted from the subjection of the Jews, while *Joram* the son of *Josaphat* ruled in *Jerusalem*: and next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Joshua* utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emaus*, towards the east, standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethsor*; one of the strongest, and most sought for places in all *Juda*: it is seated on a high hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (*the house on the rock, or of strength.*) It was fortified by *Rehoboam*, and afterwards by <sup>m</sup> *Judas Macchabæus*. *Lyfias* forced it, and *Antiochus Eupator* by famine: *Jonathan* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* kings.

<sup>n</sup> *Bethlehem* is next unto it within six miles of *Jerusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*, sometime *Ephrata*; which name, they say, it had of *Caleb*'s wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen. xxxviii. 16.* Of this city was *Aheffan*, or *Ibzan*, *Judge of Israel*, after *Jephthah*, famous for the thirty sons, and thirty daughters, begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda*, in the time of the *Judges*, with whom <sup>o</sup> *Ruth*, the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethlehem*, and married *Boaz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *David*. It had also the honour to be the native city of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*: and therefore shall the memory thereof never end.

<sup>p</sup> In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a city of the same name; and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethlehem Juda*.

From *Bethlehem*, some four or five miles, standeth *Thecua*, the city of <sup>q</sup> *Amos* the prophet: and to this place adjoining is the city of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethsura* and *Jerusalem*; on whose hills adjoining the glorious gilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jews. The city of <sup>r</sup> *Bezek* was also near unto *Bethlehem*, which also *Adoni-bezec* commanded; who had, during his reign, tortured seventy kings, by cutting off the joints of their fingers and toes, and made them gather bread under his table: but at length the same end befel himself by the sons of <sup>s</sup> *Juda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* crested on a hill, mounting thereunto with 200 marble steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. <sup>t</sup> And towards the *Dead sea*, and adjoining to the desert of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Cli-vaus floridus*, where in the time of <sup>u</sup> *Jehosaphat*, the Jews stood and looked on the *Moabites*, *Amonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to join against *Juda*; near which place is the valley of blessing, where the Jews the fourth day after solemnly came and blessed God for so strange deliverance.

<sup>a</sup> *Josh. 15. 48.* <sup>b</sup> *Hieron. in loc. Hebr.* <sup>c</sup> *2 Macc. 12. 35.* <sup>d</sup> *Gen. 38. 1. Josh. 12. 15.* <sup>e</sup> *1 Sam. 23. 1.* <sup>f</sup> *Josh. 10. 11.* <sup>g</sup> *1 Macc. 3.* <sup>h</sup> *Euseb. in Chron. Broch. Itin. 6.* <sup>i</sup> *Also 1 Chron. 4. 39. as is above remembered in the tribe of Simeon.* <sup>k</sup> *Junius for in Valle Terebinti, Tath in valle Querceti. Vatablus keeps the Hebrew reading in valle Elah.* <sup>l</sup> *Joseph. 13. Ant. 9.* <sup>m</sup> *1 Macc. 6.* <sup>n</sup> *Gen. 38. 48.* <sup>o</sup> *Ruth 1.* <sup>p</sup> *Hieron. in Comm. super Matth. c. 2. Matt. 2. 1.* <sup>q</sup> *Amos 1. 1. 1 Macc. 6. 32.* <sup>r</sup> *Joseph. Ant. 12. 14. 1 Macc. 6. 36.* <sup>s</sup> *See in Manass. c. 7. sett. 7. 1.* <sup>t</sup> *Judg. 1. 6, 7.* <sup>u</sup> *Joseph. 14. Ant. 22.* <sup>v</sup> *2 Chron. 10. 10, 20.*



Now the cities of <sup>a</sup> *Judah* which border the *Dead* sea, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Reboboum*, and *Tsohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth <sup>b</sup> *Segor*; so called, because *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one; whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one; when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen. xiv. 2.* In the *Romans* time it had a garison, and was called, as they say, *Pannier*: In *Jerome's* time *Balexona*. The *Engaddi*, or *Hengaddi*, first *Asasenthamar*; near unto which are the gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which trees, *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, sent for out of *Judea*; and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her; which she replanted near *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This city was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable cities of *Judea*, and one of the presidencies thereof.

The rest of the cities are many in the in-land, and among them <sup>d</sup> *Jezrael*; not that which was the city of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the city of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon*, whom *Abolom* slew: also, as some think, the city of <sup>e</sup> *Amasa*, *Abolom's* lieutenant, and the commander of his army. But this seemeth to be an error, grounded upon the nearness of the words, *Israel* and *Jezrael*: and because *2 Sam. xvii. 25.* *Amasa's* father is called a *Jezraelite*, who *1 Chron. ii. 17.* is called an *Ismaelite*: indeed the *Hebrew* orthography sheweth, that *Amasa's* father is not said to be of the city *Jezrael*, but an *Israelite* in religion, tho' otherwise an *Ismaelite*.

In this tribe were many high hills, or mountains, as those of *Engaddi* upon the *Dead* sea, and the mountains of *Judah*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end near *Taphna*; and these part *Judah* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*: at the foot whereof was that oak of *Mamre*, where the three angels appeared to *Abraham*, which <sup>f</sup> *St. Jerome* calleth a fir-tree; and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that mountain, called *Collis Achillæ*, on the south side of *Ziph*; on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old castle, erected by *Jonathan Maccabeus*, and called it *Massada*, garnished it with seven and twenty high and strong towers; and therein left armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men, being, as it seemeth, a place inaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

In the valley afterward called the *Dead* sea, or the lake *Asphaltitis*: this country had four cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorrha*, destroyed with fire from heaven for their unnatural sins.

#### S E C T. IV.

The Tribe of REUBEN, and his borderers.

##### † I.

The seats and bounds of *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, part whereof the *Reubenites* won from *Sehon*, king of *Hesbon*.

ON the other side of the *Dead* sea, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacob's* sons inhabited, of whose children there were numbred at mount *Sinai*, forty six thousand, who dying with the rest in the desarts, were remained to possess the land forty three thou-

sand seven hundred bearing arms. But before we speak of these or the rest that inhabited the east-side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers, to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first, we are to remember, that out of *Abraham's* kindred came many mighty families; as by *Isaac* and *Jacob*, the nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jews*: by *Esau* or *Edom*, the *Idumeans*: by *Ismael*, the eldest son of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Keturah*, his last wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham's* brother's son, those two valiant nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the land of *Canaan* (formerly possess'd by the *Canaanites*, and by the families of them descended) these issues and alliances of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoining.

*Esau* and his sons held *Idumea*, which bounded *Canaan* on the south. *Ismael* took from the south-east part of the *Dead* sea: stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the desert, as far as the river *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

*Moab* took the rest of the coast of the *Dead* sea, leaving a part to *Midian*; and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the plains between *Jordan*, and the hills of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far north as *Essebon*, or *Ghesbon*.

*Ammon* sat down on the north-east side of *Arnon*, and possess'd the tract from *Rabba*, afterwards *Philadelphia*, both within the mountains of <sup>g</sup> *Gilead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, tho' in *Moses's* time he had nothing left him in all that valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him over the river of <sup>h</sup> *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As these nations encompassed fundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border between the river of *Jaboc* and *Damascus* was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mix'd nations: all which territory on the east-side of *Jordan*, and on the east-side of the *Dead* sea, was granted by *Moses* to the tribes of <sup>i</sup> *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasseh*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possess'd by the *Emims*, a nation of giants, weakned and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after expelled by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the territory, and ancient possession of the *Zamzumims*, or *Zuræi*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest; and by them an easy way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon*, or his ancestor, beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain countries, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them thence from *Hesbon* over *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses's* arrival upon that border, when *Vabeb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab*, when *Moses* pass'd *Arnon*, was not the son of *Vabeb*; but his name was *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*. And it may be, that those kings were elective, as the *Idumeans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far north as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan*, by *Amoreus*; and therefore did *Jephthab*, the judge of *Israel*, justly defend the regaining of those countries against the claim of the *Ammonites*;

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 11. <sup>b</sup> Some call it Balsalifa, and Vitula consternans. See in Gad. 10. §. 5. post principium in Haroher. Gen. 19. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Hieron in Ose. Heb. Chatiafon-thamar. 2 Chron. 20. 21. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 14. 7. <sup>e</sup> 1 Reg. 21. <sup>f</sup> 2 Sam. 17. 25. <sup>g</sup> Hieron.

<sup>h</sup> Heb. & quait. Heb. Joseph. 14. Ant. c. 20. <sup>i</sup> Josh. 13. <sup>j</sup> Numb. 21. 24. <sup>k</sup> Gen. 14.



because (as he alledged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*, who (saith <sup>a</sup>*Jephthab*) had three hundred years time to recover them, and did not: Whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And lest any should marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephthab*'s time should make claim to these countries; whereas *Moses* in the place, *Numb.* xxi. 26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the *Moabites* than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted, that *Deut.* iii. 11. when it is said, that the iron bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbath*, the chief city of the *Ammonites*; it is also signified, that much of the land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him, or his ancestors, got from the *Ammonites*, as much as *Sehon*'s was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the sons of <sup>b</sup>*Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief in *Jephthab*'s time: for sometimes the one nation, sometimes the other of all those borderers acquired the sovereignty: and again, that one part of the land which *Gad* held, namely within the mountains of *Galaad* or *Gilead*, and as far south as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought to recover it again. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jabaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites* all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*. *Sehon* and *Og*, two kings of the *Amorites*, having displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the mountains. For it is written *Numb.* xxi. 24. that *Israel* conquered the land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* to *Jaboc*, even unto the children of *Ammon*; so as at this time the river of *Jaboc* was the south bound of *Ammon*, within the mountains; when as anciently they had also possessions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* possess'd; as appears in *Joshua* xiii. 25.

#### † II.

Of the memorable places of the *Reubenites*.

THE chief cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, <sup>c</sup>*Kademoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Jethson*. The *Vulgar*, or *Jerome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two verses 36 and 37 of *Joshua* xxi. being wanting in the old *Hebrew* copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing, slipped into *Jethson*.

This city, which they gave to the *Levites*, imparts her name to the desert adjoining; from whence *Moses* sent his embassy to <sup>d</sup>*Sehon*. In the same place of *Joshua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Betser* & villa ejus, reads *Bozor* in solitudine *Misor*, without any ground from the *Hebrew*: whence *Atrichomius* makes a town called <sup>e</sup>*Misor*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the *Dead sea* (for the country between being mountainous, hath few cities) they place two towns of note, *Lasa*, or *Leshab*, of which *Genesis* x. 19. the <sup>f</sup>*Greeks* call it *Callirrhoe*; near

which there is a hill, from whence there floweth springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water, all which, soon after their rising, being joined in one stream, do make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was desperate of all other help, repaired; but in vain. <sup>g</sup>Others say, that these springs arise out of the hills of *Macherus* in this tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenees*, and in *Peru*, called, *The baths of the Inga's or kings*. The other town is *Macherus*, the next between *Lasa* and *Jordan*, of all that part of the world the strongest in-land city and castle, standing upon a mountain, every way inaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*; but it was demolished by *Gabinus* in the war with *Arístobulus*, saith <sup>h</sup>*Josephus*. It was thither, saith he, that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein he was slain: his army soon after being utterly overthrown by *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, and himself after this murder never prospering. Not far from *Macherus* was <sup>i</sup>*Bozor*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the *Levites*, and near it <sup>k</sup>*Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Cesar*.

To the north of *Livias* is *Setim*, or <sup>l</sup>*Sittim*, where the children of *Israel* embraced the daughters of *Midian* and *Moab*; and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, with his spear, bringing due vengeance upon them, when they were in the midst of their sin: And from hence *Joshua* sent the discoverers to view *Jericho*, staying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the *Torrent* <sup>m</sup>*Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel* iii. 18. *Irrigabit torrentem Setim*. The *Vulgar* hath *torrentem spinarum*; and *Junius* *vallem cedrorum*; expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*, but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the *cedars*, as it is *Psal.* xcii. 13.

The plain country hereabout, by <sup>n</sup>*Moses* called the plains of *Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the south, it had the great desert of *Paran*, where they had long wandered. On the east, it had *Chatseroth*, and *Dizabab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolemy* in *Palestina*; the latter was a tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petrea*, where was <sup>o</sup>*Mezahab*, of which *Gen.* xxxvi. 39.) by the geographers, called *Medava* and *Medaba*. On the west it had *Jordan*, and on the north it had *Laban* (in *Junius*'s edition by the fault of the print, *Lamban*, *Deut.* i. 1.) the same which the geographers call *Libias*; and some confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we spake.

Also on the same north side, towards the confines of *Cœlesyria*, it had *Thophel*, whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Cœlesyria* stood; which was in the region of *Decapolis*; and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be over-against, or near unto *Suph*, for which the *Vulgar* hath the *Red sea*; as also *Numb.* ii. 14. it translateth the word *Suphab* in like manner; whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy*, there is no addition of

<sup>a</sup> *Judg.* 11. <sup>b</sup> *Josh.* 13. 25. *Junius* notes, that he one half of the land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Joshua* is said to have been given to the *Gadites*, was taken first from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*; but the place *Deut.* 3. 11. proveth, that as well *Og* as *Sehon* had gotten lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*. <sup>d</sup> *Deut.* 2. 26. <sup>e</sup> It was a marginal note out of *Deut.* 3. where the seventy kept the word *Misor*, signifying a plain, which after crept into the text. <sup>f</sup> *Joseph.* 17. *Ant.* c. 9. & *Hieron.* in quest. *Heb.* in *Gen.* <sup>g</sup> *Acolta*, 1. 3. <sup>h</sup> *Joseph.* 13. *Ant.* c. 24. & 14. *Ant.* c. 10. & alibi. *Joseph.* bell. *Jud.* 1. 7. c. 25. <sup>i</sup> *Deut.* 4. 43. *Josh.* 20. 8. <sup>k</sup> *Euseb.* in *Chron.* *Hier.* in loc. *Heb.* <sup>l</sup> *Numb.* 25. 1. <sup>m</sup> *Josh.* 3. 1. <sup>n</sup> *Deut.* 34. 1. <sup>o</sup> The same as it seems which *Numb.* 21. 30. is called *Medeba*, whence we read of the plains of *Medeba*, *Josh.* 13. 9, 16. of which also we read in the wars of *David* against *Hanun* the *Ammonite* *1 Chron.* 19. 7. Also *1 Mac.* 9. 36. *Isaiah* 16. 2. See before, c. 5. §. 7.



any word in the *Hebrew* to signify the sea; and yet the scripture, when this word is so to be taken, useth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the region of *Suph*, or *Suphab*, which doubtless was about these plains of *Moab*, towards the *Dead sea*; where the country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as also the *Red sea* was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plains of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those divine exhortations, some say, was *Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the story of *Gideon*, is called *Beth-bara*. <sup>b</sup>*Josephus* says, it was where after the city *Abila* stood, near *Jordan*, in a place set with palm-trees; which sure was the same with *Abel-sittim*, in the plains of *Moab*, *Numb.* xxxiii. 49. that some call *Abel-sathaim*, and *Bel-sathim*, which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42, and last place of the *Israelites* encamping in the time of *Moses*. This place is also called *Sittim*; which word, if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from cedars than from thorns, with *Adichomitis* and others. It was the wood of which the ark of the tabernacle was made.

Toward the east of these plains of *Moab*, they place the cities of *Nebo*, *Baal-meon*, *Sibma*, and *Hesbon*, the chief city of *Sehon* and *Elhael*, and *Kirjathaima*, the seat of the giant *Emim*. Of the two first of these, *Moses* seems to give a note, that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the *Moabites* idolatry. For *Nebo*, (instead of which *Junius*, *Isa* xlvii. 1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their idol-oracle, and *Baal-meon* is the habitation of *Baal*. Of the same idol was the hill *Nebo* in these parts denominated; from whose top, which the common translators call *Phasgab*, *Moses*, before his death, saw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which story *Junius* does not take *Phasgab*, or *Pisgab*, for any proper name; but for an appellative signifying a hill: and so also *Vatablus*, in some places, as *Numb.* xxi. 20. where he noteth, that some call *Pisgab* that top which looketh to *Jericho* and *Hair*, as it looketh to *Moab*; which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of the city of *Reuben*, mentioned *Josh.* xiii. 20. called *Ashdodh-Pisgab*, which is as much as *Decursus Pisga*, to wit, where the waters did run down from *Pisgab*. In the same place of *Joshua*, there is also named *Beth-peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the hill *Peor*, from whence also *Baal*, the idol, was also called *Baal-peor*, which, they say, was the same as *Priapus*; the chief place of whose worship seems to have been *Bamoth-baal*; of which also *Josh.* xiii. in the cities of *Reuben*; for which *Numb.* xxii. 41. they read the high place of *Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balak* first brought *Balaam*, to curse the *Israelites*.

† III.

Of divers places bordering *Reuben*, belonging to *Midian*, *Moab*, or *Edom*.

THERE were besides these divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoined to *Reuben*; among which they place *Gallim*, the city of *Phalri*, to whom *Saul* gave his daughter *Michal* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this town to be in *Benjamin*; gathering so much out of *Isaiah* x. 29. where it is named among the cities of *Benjamin*. With

better reason, perhaps, out of *Numb.* xxi. 19. we may say, that *Marbana* and *Nahaliel* were in those confines of *Reuben*, thro' which places the *Israelites* pass'd, after they had left the well called *Beer*. Then *Diblathaim*, which the prophet *Jeremiah* threatned with the rest of the cities of *Moab*.

*Midian* also is found in these parts; the chief of the *Madianites* in *Moab*; but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the *Red sea*, wherein *Jethro* inhabited: for of the *Madianites* there were two nations, of which these of *Moab* became idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the plains of *Moab*, at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their daughters. Their five kings, with *Balaam* the soothsayer were then slain, and their regal city, with the rest, destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was prince, or priest, forgot not the God of *Abraham* their ancestor; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painful travels, thro' the deserts, and were in all that passage their guides. In the south border of *Moab*, adjoining to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chief city of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *Rupes* or *Petra*. It was also called *Jothheel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Reg.* xiv. It was built (saith <sup>i</sup>*Josephus*) by *Recem*, one of those five kings of the *Madianites*, slain, as before is said; after whom it was called *Recem*. Now they say, it is called *Crac* and *Mozera*.

The foldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; of which it is the first and strongest city: the same, perhaps, which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence also the province adjoining took name; which name seems to have been taken at first from *Nabaiorh*, the son of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*. For *Nabathea* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petraea* (at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that province which neighboureth *Judea*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ishmael*, whose people *Ptolemy* calleth *Pharanites*, instead of *Ishmaelites*, and all those territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ishmaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, the lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og* king of *Basan*, were parts of <sup>k</sup>*Arabia Petraea*; tho' it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the desert belonged to the *Amalekites* and *Ishmaelites*: all which nations the scriptures in 1 *Chron.* v. calleth *Hagarims* of *Hagar*.

This city *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the *Roman* army; and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content, by the persuasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of money and to quit it. Yet *Amasias*, king of *Judah* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) won also this city. *St. Jerome* finds *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be natural of this city. In the time when the Christians held the kingdom of <sup>l</sup>*Jerusalem*, it had a *Latin* bishop, having before been under the *Greek Church*. It is seated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died; and on the other side, towards the north, is the river of <sup>m</sup>*Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the thirty eighth station. *Adrichome* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*; and so he doth the valley of *Save*: but the waters of <sup>n</sup>*Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adri-*

<sup>a</sup> John 1. 28. <sup>b</sup> Judg. 7. 24. <sup>c</sup> Joseph. Ant. 4. 7. <sup>d</sup> Numb. 25. 1. <sup>e</sup> Exod. 25. 10. <sup>f</sup> Numb. 31. 37. <sup>g</sup> Gen. 14. 5. <sup>h</sup> Numb. 32. <sup>i</sup> Exod. 23. 13. <sup>j</sup> Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiat in ore tuo. <sup>k</sup> Psal. 16. 4. non assumpturus sum nomina eorum in labellis meis, <sup>l</sup> Hof. 2. 17. Amovebo nomina Bahalimorum ab ore ejus. <sup>m</sup> What name they used for *Nebo*, it doth not appear; <sup>n</sup> *Baalmeon* it seems they named sometime *Balith*, as *Isaiah* 15. 2. and sometime *Bethmeon*, *Isaiah* 58. 23. <sup>o</sup> 1 *Sam.* 18. <sup>p</sup> *Jerem.* 48. <sup>q</sup> *Isa.* 16. 1. <sup>r</sup> *Lib.* 4. Ant. 7. <sup>s</sup> 1 *Chron.* 5. 19, 20. <sup>t</sup> *Gul. Tyr.* 20. bell. fac. 3. <sup>u</sup> *Numb.* 20. <sup>v</sup> *Deut.* 2. 13. <sup>w</sup> *Numb.* 32. 3. <sup>x</sup> *Josh.* 13. 27. <sup>y</sup> *Isa.* 15. 21.



*Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh'd the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the south of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Affyrian* and *Persian* princes, the king of *Sodom* met him in the valley of *Save*, or *Shaveh*, which is the king's dale, where *Absalom* set up his monument, as it seems, not far from *Jerusalem*. And at the same time *Melchisedec*, king of *Salem*, also encountred him. But *Abraham* coming from the north, and *Melchisedec* inhabiting, either near *Bethsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the half tribe of *Manasseh*, or in *Jerusalem* (both places lying to the west of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was also called the *King's Dale*, could not be in these parts.

## † IV.

## Of the Dead sea.

NOW, because the sea of *Sodom*, or the *Dead* sea, called also the lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the salt-sea (in distinction from the sea of *Tiberias*, which was fresh water) also the sea of the wilderness, or rather the sea<sup>b</sup> of the plains, is often remembered in the scriptures, and in this story also; therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof: for it is like unto the *Caspian* sea, which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The length of this lake *Josephus* makes 180 furlongs (which make 22 miles and a half of ours) and about 150 in breadth, which make 18 of our miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deal less. But those that have of late years seen this sea, did account it (saith<sup>c</sup> *Weissenberg*) 8 *Dutch* miles (which is 32 of ours) in length, and 2 and a half of theirs (which is 10 of ours) in breadth. Of this lake, or sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report; *Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c.* That it is very great, and (as it were) a sea of corrupt taste; of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: It is neither moved, nor raised by the wind, nor endureth fish to live in it, or fowl to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilful of swimming, as well as the skilful, are born up by this water. At one time of the year it casteth up bitumen; the art of gathering which, experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses.

And then of the land, he speaketh in this sort:  
 “ The fields not far from this lake, which were  
 “ sometime fruitful, and adorned with great cities,  
 “ were burnt with lightning; of which the ruins  
 “ remain, the ground looking with a sad face, as  
 “ having lost her fruitfulness: for whatsoever doth  
 “ either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or  
 “ flowers, when they come to ripeness, have no  
 “ thing within them, but moulder into ashes:”  
 thus saith *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those pomegranates, and other apples, or oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this cursed lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the out-side; but being cut, have nothing but dust

within. Of the bitumen which this lake casteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Asphaltitis*. *Vespasian*, desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went on purpose to see this lake, and caused certain captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskilful in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them; and notwithstanding, they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.

## † V.

Of the kings of *Moab*, much of whose country within *Arnon*, *Reuben* possess'd.

OF the kings of *Moab*, whose country (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possess'd (tho' not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in *Numb.* xxi. 14. nameth *Vabeb*, which seemeth to be the ancestor, or predecessor of *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*, which *Balac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For, fearing to contend with *Moses* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, he hoped, by the help of *Balaam's* curfings, or enchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And tho' *Balaam* at the first, moved by the spirit of God, bless'd<sup>d</sup> *Israel*, contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*; yet being desirous in some sort to satisfy him, and to do him service, he advised *Moab* to send *Midianitish* women among the *Israelites*; hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the idolatry of the heathen; but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsel, and was slain among the rest of the princes of *Midian*.

After these times the kings of the *Moabites* are not named; saving that we find in 1 *Chron.* iv. that *Jokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joash*, and *Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Judah*, sometime had the dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the 22d verse, *These also are ancient things*, to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens governments are no where extant, or remaining: or as others, *hæc prius fuere*; these families of *Judah* were once thus famous: but now their posterity chuse rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be clay-workers to the king there.

Then we find *Eglon* king of *Moab*, who with the help of *Ammon* and *Amalek*, mastered *Israel*, and commanded them 18 years; which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his own house, and afterwards 10000 of his nation. What name the king of *Moab* had, unto whom *David* fled, fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear; or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made war, it is not manifest; for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him, knowing that *Saul* sought his life.

After this, *David* himself entred the region of *Moab*; but not likely in the same king's time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of *David*, *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shoe*; meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread down the *Idumeans*.

The next king, after *David's* time, of the *Moabites*, whose name liveth, was *Mesha*; who falling from *Judah* (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of *David*) fastened himself to the kings of *Israel*,

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 14. <sup>b</sup> So *Junius* reads for the Hebrew, *Harboth* every where, and so also the edition of *Vatablus*, *Deut.* 4. it hath made *harbothinus*, as also 2 *Kings* 14. 25. the reason of this name seems to be, because it joins to the plains of *Moab*, which are called *Harboth-Moab*, *Deut.* 34. 1. as also we have *Celuloth* in *Harboth*, that is in the plains, to wit, of *Zabulon*, 1 *Macc.* 9. 2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a city in *Zabulon*, called *Araba*. <sup>c</sup> *Defer.* *Ter. Sancta*. <sup>d</sup> *Numb.* 21. 22, 23, 24. *Josh.* 24. <sup>e</sup> *Judg.* 3. 1. *Sam.* 22. <sup>f</sup> 1 *Sam.* 14. <sup>g</sup> 2 *Sam.* 8. <sup>h</sup> 1 *Chron.* 18. <sup>i</sup> *Psal.* 60. 10.



and paid tribute to <sup>a</sup>*Ahab* 100000 lambs, and 200000 rams, with the wooll: who revolted again from *Israel*, after the death of *Ahab*; was invaded by *Jehoram*; with whom joined the kings of *Judab* and *Idumea*; and being by these three kings press'd and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is elsewhere shew'd. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the king's name; when that nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumeans* invaded *Jehosophat*. And by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumeans*, and slaughtered them; and then one against another, so as <sup>b</sup>*Jehosophat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of <sup>c</sup>*Jeremiah* the prophet, there was a king of *Moab*, which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* lived with *Jehoram* and this *Moabite* in *Zedekiah's* time, 14 kings of *Judab* coming between, who wasted 300 and odd years.

SECT. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THE territory adjoining to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*; whereof all that part which joined to the mountains, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as far to the south as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad*, the 7th son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of <sup>d</sup>*Leab*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the deserts 45550, and of their sons, there entered the land promised 45000 bearing arms: from the half tribe of *Manasseh*, the river of *Jabboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the cities of *Hesbon*, *Elbela* and *Aphec*.

The chief city of *Gad*, was *Aroer*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or <sup>e</sup>*Rabbath-Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius*, attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut. ii. 36. Ab Harabero, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipsa quæ est in flumine*; Where the city in the river is distinguished from the city upon the bank of the river (as also in like manner, *Josh. xii. 2. and xiii. 9.*) thinketh, that *Harober*, which doubtless belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb. xxxii. 34.* it is said, that they built it) was indeed seated near *Har* of the *Moabites*; but diverse from it. For that *Har* was never possess'd by *Moses*, it is plain, *Deut. ii. 9.* where God, forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith, he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the sons of *Lot*. Now that this city, which in divers places is said to be within and in the middle of the river of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Harober*, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*; the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numb. xxi. 15.* where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers streams, where, or among which, *Har* is seated: and the same is confirmed by the place of *Josh. xiii. 25.* where *Harober* is said to be seated before *Rabbab*; which *Rabbab*, as it seems, cannot be the *Rabbab* of the *Ammonites* (for they seat not *Harober* near it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbab*, here we must understand *Rabbab* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*; and so we must needs distinguish it from *Harober*. And as for <sup>f</sup>*Har* (which also gave the name

to the coast adjoining) it seems it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the giant-like people, called *Emims*, first weakened by <sup>g</sup>*Chedorlaomer*, and his associates: but *Harober*, by the interchange of times, suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*; and from them, as it seems in the story of *Jephtha*, by the *Ammonites*; and from the *Ammonites* again, by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Jephtha*. In *St. Jerome's* time, the greatest part of this city perished by an earthquake, as also *Zoar* in which *Lot* saved himself, in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not far hence: which they say was therefore called *Vitula consternans*, because as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice overthrown with earthquakes; for which cause also <sup>h</sup>*Jerome* seems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa* or *Bal-salissa*, as if *Bal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah* or *Belah* (of which *Gen. xiv. 2.*) and *Salissa* which hath a signification of the ternary number, had alluded to the three earthquakes.

*Brochard* takes *Harober* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the south border of *Moab*, adjoining to *Edom*, whereas *Harober* is in the north-east border. Between *Harober* and *Jordan* they seat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to have built it, *Numb. xxxii. 34.* tho' *Joshua xiii. 17.* it is said that *Moses* gave it the *Reubenites*. Of this city among the rest of *Moab*, both *Isaiah xv.* and *Jeremiah xlviii.* prophesied, that it should perish; and the lakes about it run with the blood of the inhabitants. It was a great village near *Arnon* in *St. Jerome's* time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next cities of fame to *Aroer* was *Beth-nimrab*, of which *Isaiah xv. 21.* prophesieth, *That the waters thereof should be dried up: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not far from *Beth-nimrab* in this tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeba*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which we read in the story of <sup>i</sup>*Gideon*; and that *Jogbeba* was in *Gad* built by the *Gadites*, it appears *Numb. xxxii. 35.* and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts: but whether in *Gad* or *Manasseh*, it is not certain; only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth; <sup>k</sup>*Nobach* also (saith he) *went and took Kenath with her towns, and called it Nobach of his own name*; where because the verses precedent speak of the *Manassites*, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would have severed this seat of the *Gadites* from the rest, of which he spake before, verses 34, 35, 36, therefore it may seem that this <sup>l</sup>*Nobach* was in that part of *Manasseh*, which was in the east of *Jordan*: tho' *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with *Nob*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speak <sup>m</sup> in the tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karker* where *Zebach* and *Zalmunna* rested themselves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched thro' this *Nobach* and *Jogbeba*, tho' some place it in *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-chares*, of which *Isaiah xv. and 2 Kings iii. 25.* yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-chares*, it is certain that it was a principal city held still by the *Moabites*, and not in the tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this tribe of *Gad* they place <sup>n</sup>*Hat-taroth*: of which name the scripture witnesseth,

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 3. <sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 20. <sup>c</sup> Jerem. 27. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 30. *Numb. 1. 26. 32. Josh. 13.* <sup>e</sup> Isa. 15. *Deut. 2.* <sup>f</sup> *Deut. 2. 9.* Out of which place the words *Numb. 21. 28.* are to be expounded; not that the city of *Har*, but the coast adjoining, was wasted by *Sehon*. <sup>g</sup> *Gen. 14. 5.* *Judg. 11. 35.* <sup>h</sup> Hier. in Epitaph. Paul & in quest. & loc. Hebr. see *Junius's* annotations upon *1 Sam. 9. 2.* where he makes *Shalisha* a plain country in *Benjamin*, and the same with *Bal-shalisha*, *2 Kings 4. 42.* where he expounds *Bal* or *Bahal* to be as much as *Planities*. <sup>i</sup> *Judg. 8. 11.* <sup>k</sup> *Numb. 32. 42.* <sup>l</sup> *Numb. 21. 30.* It is called *Nophach* and placed in the border of the kingdom of *Sehon* towards *Balan*, and therefore it is altogether improbable that it was in *Gad*. <sup>m</sup> Chap. 12. sect. 1. *Judg. 8. 10.* <sup>n</sup> *Numb. 32. 34, 35.*



that two cities were built by the *Gadites*; the former simply called *Hataroth*, the latter *Hathoth-Sophan*: for which latter the *Vulgar* makes two cities *Roth* and *Shophan*; the name *Hataroth* is as much as *Corona*.

In the valley of the kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Beth-nimrah*, of which we have spoken, *Josh.* xiii. 27. nameth *Beth-haram*, and *Succoth*: the former *Numb.* xxxii. 36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Beth-nimrah*, is said to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather because in *Joshua* it is called *Beth-haram*) some take to be *Betaramptha* (of which <sup>b</sup>*Josephus*) after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-haram*, or from *Beth-aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in <sup>c</sup>*Josephus*) or from *Beth-remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an idol of those countries, we read *Acts* vii. 43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the city *Rephan*, *1 Macc.* xxxvii.) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Josephus* sometimes *Betaramptha*) the same *Josephus* placeth it in the region of *Perea*, beyond *Jordan*; which *Regio Perea*, as the *Greek* word signifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterius*, the country beyond the river; and therefore they, which labour to set down the bounds of this *Perea*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to <sup>d</sup>*Josephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias* in honour of the adoption of *Livia*, *Augustus's* wife, into the *Julian* family: by which adoption she was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he <sup>e</sup>saieth, was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which he saith is the same as *Bethsaida*.

Upon the sea of *Galilee* near to *Julias* in *Perea* (that is, in the region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetazobra*, as it is called in <sup>e</sup>*Josephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hisfopi*. Of a noble woman of this city, which for safeguard in the time of war with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Jerusalem*, and was there besieged, *Josephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable history; how for hunger she eat her own child, with other tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Josh.* xiii. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the valley of the kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the story of <sup>f</sup>*Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as he was pass'd *Jordan*, with his 300, weary in the pursuit of *Zebab* and *Zalmunna*, he requested relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideon's* return were by him tortured, as it seems under a threshing-car, or *tribulum*, between which and their flesh he put thorns to tear their flesh as they were press'd and trod under the *tribulum*; and after which sort also *David* used some of the <sup>g</sup>*Ammonites*, tho' not with thorns, but with the iron teeth of the *tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such tabernacles as were made in haste, either for men or cattle, *Moses* *Gen.* xxxiii. 17. witnesseth, that the original of the name was from such harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the <sup>h</sup>*Red* sea, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Ramesses* in *Egypt*, had their first station, was upon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set up their first tabernacles or tents: which they used after for forty years in the wilderness. In remembrance

whereof, the feast of *Succoth*, or tabernacles, was instituted.

Other four cities of *Gad* are named *Josh.* xxi. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaim*, *Cheshon*, and *Jabzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the *Levites*; of which *Jabzer*, as *Cheshon* or *Heshon* was a chief city of *Sehon*, whence *Numb.* xxxii. r. his country is called the land of *Jabzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In the latter times (as it may be gathered by the prophecy of *Isaiab*, touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Isaiab* vi. 8. also *Jeremias* xlviii. 32. in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Macchabeus*: as it is *1 Macc.* v. 8. where *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Jabzer*, tho' the *Greeks* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Joshua* xvi. 3, 8. and *Judg.* i. 29.) was far from these countries of *Sehon*, seated in the west border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, until *Solomon's* time; for whom the king of *Egypt* won it from the *Canaanites*, and gave it him as a dowry with his daughter.

Of *Cheshon* it may be marvelled, that in the place of *Joshua*, and *1 Chron.* vi. 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites*, by the *Gadites*, seeing *Joshua* xiii. 17. it is reckoned for a principal city of the *Reubenites*. *Adrichomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Cashon*, *1 Macc.* v. 36. among the cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Judas Macchabeus*, makes two cities of one; as if this *Cashon* had been the *Cheshon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it; but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering city, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*: for so also it seemeth, that in like reason, *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another, given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaim*, which word signifieth a double army, we read *Genesis* xxxii. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another host, or company, to join with his for his defence; as also *Luke* ii. 13. we read of a multitude of the host of heaven, which appeared to the shepherds, at the time of our Saviour's birth; and so unto the godly king *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was soon after to join battel with the *Pagan Penda* of *Middle-England*. *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared; whence the field where the battel was fought in the north parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this city of *Machanaim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Abshalom*; and the same, for the strength thereof, *Abner* chose for the seat of *Ishbosheth*, during the war between *David* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we read often in the scripture; for the recovering of which, king *Achab* lost his life. *Junius* thinks, that *Ramatha-mitspa*, of which *Joshua* xiii. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the other, as it was called *Gileath*, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the heap of stones which *Laban* and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mitspah*, which signifieth over-looking (because there they called God to oversee, and be witness to their covenant) it is plain by the place, *Genesis*, xxxi. 49. that in these parts

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph.* i. *Ant.* 18. c. 3. <sup>b</sup> *Lib.* 7. *Ant.* c. 7. *Ubi* *Græcus* *Codex* legit *Αραμαδα*, *Latinus* *Rabatha* *Metropolis* *Hammonitarum*. <sup>c</sup> *Ant.* 20. 11. <sup>d</sup> *Joseph.* *Ant.* 18. 3. & *Bell.* *Jud.* 2. 8. <sup>e</sup> *Joseph.* *de* *Bell.* *Jud.* 1. 7. c. 8. <sup>f</sup> *Judg.* 8. 5. <sup>g</sup> *2 Sam.* 12. 31. <sup>h</sup> *Exod.* 12. 37. <sup>i</sup> *Levit.* 23. 43.



there was not only a town, but likewise a region called *Mitspah*, it appears *Josh. xi. 3.* where we read of the *Chivites* under *Herman*, in the country of *Mitspah*: the town of *Mitspah*, as it seems both by this place and in the 8th verse following, being not in the hill country, but in the valley. But seeing that *Jeptibba* the judge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in this town of *Mitspah*, who doubtless was of the tribe of *Manasseh*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren; it may seem that they do not well which place this town of *Mitspah* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manasseh*. By *Judas Macchabæus* this town of *Mitspah* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasseh*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it slain: for it was then possess'd of the *Ammonites*.

Between *Succath* (of which we have spoken) and the river *Jaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; <sup>a</sup> A place where the face of God was seen: so called for memory of the angel's appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishness of which city, in refusing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their tower, and slew the chief aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they add *Rogelim*, the city of that great and faithful subject <sup>b</sup> *Barzillai*, as it seems, not far from *Mahanaim*, where he sustained king *David* during *Abfalom's* rebellion. To these they add the towns of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi* being in *Hebrew* no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a town, but still of a river. *Alimis* *Adrichomius* frames of *ev' Alémois* *1 Macc. v. 26.* so that the name should rather be *Alema*; but *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Malla*, for this in *Alimis*: and understanding <sup>c</sup> *Malla* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sicemites*), he takes this *Malla* to be *Mitspah* *Moabitarum*, of which *1 Sam. xxii. 3.* As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moses* noteth to be as far as the farthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds this tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which *1 Macc. v. 10.* (which *Junius* takes to be <sup>d</sup> *Rithma*, of which *Numb. xxxiii. 18.* a place of strength in the territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith* and *Abel vinearum*, tho' by some they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Jeptibba's* pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated as it seems by that place of the book of *Judges*, the former of them in the south-border, and the other in the east-border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief city of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the scriptures sometime *Rabbath*, as *Deuteronomy iii. 11.* but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that <sup>e</sup> *Philadelphia* which *Ptolemy* finds in *Cœlesyria*. *Jerome* and *Callistus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it seems never possess'd by the *Israelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*; whereupon at length it became the

regal seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzumims*: which is as much as to say, men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Affyrans*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* were by the *Idumeans*. Yet did the races of *Emereus*, of whom these giants were descended, contend with the conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Heshan* had dispossessed *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Bassan* the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the valley, between the mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: and in the possession of the one or the other of these two, *Moses* and *Israel* found all those cities and countries, which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*. So that tho' it were 450 years since that the *Zamzumims* or *Raphaims* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having these two kings of one kindred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon* both *Amorites*, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of *Lot* over the mountains, and into the deserts. And as the kings, or captains of *Persia* and *Affyria* (remembered *Genesis xiv.*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; so by that great conquest which *Moses* had over those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into those plains, and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites* and *Manassites* forsook the worship of the living God, and became slothful and licentious, they taking the advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions; and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God; and according to the wisdom and virtue of their commanders.

In this city of *Rabba*, was the iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth, *Deut. iii.* The city was taken in *David's* time, and the inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof *Uriah* was shot to death, having been by direction from *David*, appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the army perished, and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success afterward even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich crown of gold, which the <sup>k</sup> kings of *Ammon* wore; or which, as some expound it, was used to be set on the head of their idol, weighing a talent, which is sixty pound weight after the common talent. In the time of the Christians it had a metropolitan bishop, and under him twelve others.

The mountains which are described within this tribe, and that of *Manasseh*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those which <sup>l</sup> *Ptolemy* calleth the hills of *Hippus*, a city of *Cœlesyria*; and <sup>m</sup> *Strabo*, *Trachones*, the same which contain from *Damascus* to near the de-

<sup>a</sup> Of other towns of this name, see in the tribe of Benjamin. <sup>b</sup> *Judg. 11. 36.* <sup>c</sup> *1 Macc. 5. 35.* <sup>d</sup> *Gen. 32. 30.* <sup>e</sup> *Judg. 8. 17.* <sup>f</sup> *2 Sam. 19. 33.* <sup>g</sup> *Deut. 3. 14. Josh. 12. 5.* <sup>h</sup> The letters D and R in the Hebrew are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and sometimes without mistaking one is put for another, as for Rodanim, *1 Chron. 7.* we have Dodanim, *Gen. 10. 4.* <sup>i</sup> Other names of this city according to *Stephanus* were Ammana and Allarte: but in this latter perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same Allaroth, one of the chief cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of *Manasseh*. *Adrichomius* says it was also called *Urbs aquarum*, because of the river *Jaboc's* winding about it, but in the place, *2 Sam. 27.* whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *intercepi ab urbe aquam*, if we must read with others *cepi ab urbe aquam*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it self, but of some fort adjoining. <sup>k</sup> *2 Sam. 12. Will. Tyr. bell. sac. 13. cap. 12.* <sup>l</sup> *Ptolemy* <sup>m</sup> *Strabo 1. 16.* *Τραχων* is locus asper & salebrosus: whence it appears, that *Trachonitis regio* in these parts was properly the hill country.



sarts of *Moab*, and receive divers names, as commonly mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers countries: for from the south part, as far northward as *Asteroth*, the chief city of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence northward, they are known by the name of *Hermon*; for so *Moses* calleth them: the *Zidonians* name them *Shirion*; but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others *Seir*; of which name all those hills also were called, which part *Judea* and *Idumea*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*; for so the prophet *Jer. xxii.* makes them all one, calling the high mountains of *Galaad* the head of *Libanus*. These mountains are very fruitful, and full of good pastures, and have many trees, which yield <sup>a</sup>*Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The river of this tribe are the waters of *Nimrah* and *Dibon*, and the river *Jaboc*: others do also fancy another river, which rising out of the rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

## S E C T. VI.

*Of the Ammonites, part of whose territories the Gadites won from Og the king of Basan.*

**T**HIS tribe of *Gad*, possess'd half the country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petraea* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the mountains of *Gilead*: tho' at this time when the *Gadites* won it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* over the mountains *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the first judge of *Israel*; the *Ammonites* joined with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrews*, and so continued long. <sup>b</sup>*Jephtha* judge of *Israel* had a great conquest over one of the kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel king of the *Ammonites*, called *Nabas*; who besieging <sup>c</sup>*Jabez Gilead*, gave them no other conditions than the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tender'd so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame upon *Israel*, because those *Gileadites* using to carry a target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nabas*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul's* time, tho' <sup>d</sup>*Josephus* thinks that this *Nabas* was slain in the battle, when *Saul* rais'd the siege of *Jabez*, who affirmeth that there were three kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

*Hanan* succeeded *Nabas*; to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaved the halt of their beards. But afterwards, notwithstanding the aids received from the *Aramites* subject to *Ahadazer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacab*, and from <sup>e</sup>*Isob*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were over-turned; their chief city of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*,

taken, the crown, which weighed a talent of gold, was set on *David's* head; all such as were prisoners *David* executed with strange severity; for with saws and harrows, he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into lime-kilns.

*Jehosaphat* governing *Judah*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* forc'd to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years.

The fifth king of the *Ammonites*, of whose name we read, was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedekiah*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael* of the blood of the king of *Judah*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

## S E C T. VII.

*Of the other half of Manasseh.*

**T**HE rest of the land of *Gilead*, and of the kingdom of *Og* in *Basan*, with the land of *Hus*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small territories of <sup>f</sup>*Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half tribe of *Manasseh* over *Jordan*, of which those three latter provinces defended themselves against them, for many ages. But *Batanea* *Ptolemy* setteth farther off, and to the north-east, as a skirt of *Arabia* the desert: and all those other provinces before named with *Perea* and *Iturea*, he nameth but as part of *Cœlesyria*, as far south as *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*; likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad* and *Reuben*, saving the land near the *Dead sea*, he makes part of *Arabia Petraea*: for many of these small kingdoms take not much more ground than the county of *Kent*.

*Basan*, or after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it self from the river of *Jaboc*, to the <sup>g</sup>*Machati*, and *Gessuri*; and from the mountains to *Jordan*, a region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of cattle. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world; especially of oaks, which bear mast (of which the prophet *Zacharias*, *Howl, O ye oaks of Basan*) and by reason hereof they bred so many swine, as <sup>h</sup> 2000 in one herd were carried head-long into the sea, by the unclean spirits which Christ had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it threescore cities, walled and defended: all which, after *Og* and his sons were slain, *Jair*, descended of *Manasseh*, conquered, and called the country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the cities of *Jair*.

The principal cities of this half tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these, *Pella*, sometimes <sup>i</sup>*Butis*, otherwise *Bernice*: by *Seleucus*, king of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*, in which both *Philip* the father, and his son *Alexander* the Great were born. It was taken, and in part demolished, by *Alexander Jannæus*, king of the *Jews*, because it refused to obey the *Jews* laws; but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the government of *Syria*. It is now but a village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the river *Jaboc*, taken by <sup>k</sup>*Judas Maccabeus*, where

<sup>a</sup> Hier. 8. & 9. <sup>b</sup> Judg. 10. <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. 11. <sup>d</sup> Joseph. 1. 6. Ant. c. 5. &c. 2 Sam. 10. 4. 18. <sup>e</sup> Isob, that is the men of Thob: Thob is a small territory under Arnon hills. Rehob is another between Hazor and Sidon, in the north bound of Canaan, Num. 13. 22. of which he is in the tribe of Aser, Hier. 40. and 41. <sup>f</sup> 2 Chron. 20. <sup>g</sup> 2 Chron. 36. <sup>h</sup> 2 Chron. 26. <sup>i</sup> 2 Chron. 27. <sup>j</sup> Another territory adjoining to Manasseh, whose limits were confounded with some of these, says that Thishbitis, the country of Elias, as it is 1 Kings 16. 1. and of Tobias, Tob. 1. 2. it lay on the east to the tribe of Nephthali on the right hand of it, as in Tob. 1. 2. and was possessed by colonies of Israelites in the time of Saul, after his victory over the Amalekites and Ishmaelites in those parts, as it is gathered out of 1 Chron. 5. 10. whence it appears that it was part of Iturea, of which Chap. 7. Sect. 4. 4. 5 and 6. <sup>k</sup> So they call them of Mahacath, of which Mahacath somewhat hath been spoken towards the end of the fifth paragraph of this chapter. See 1 Mac. 5. 36. and Deut. 3. 14. and Josh. 12. 5. <sup>l</sup> Mark 5. 13. <sup>m</sup> Alacently, as it seems, it was called Tophel. See above in the bounds of Moab, in this chapter, Sect. 4. 1. 2. <sup>n</sup> 1 Mac 5.



he set on fire the <sup>a</sup> temple of their idols, together with all those that fled thereunto for sanctuary; and near it they place the castle of *Carnion*, of which *2 Mac.* xii. 22. Then the strong city of <sup>b</sup>*Ephron* near *Jordan*, which refusing to yield passage to <sup>c</sup>*Judas Maccabeus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken, and burnt with great slaughter.

*Jabez Gilead*, or *Jabesus*, was another of the cities of this half tribe, which being besieged by <sup>d</sup>*Nabas*, king of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is <sup>e</sup> elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof, the citizens <sup>f</sup> recovered, embalmed, and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his sons, which hung despitefully over the walls of *Bethsan*, or *Scythopolis*. <sup>g</sup>*Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, seat by *Pliny* on a hill near the river *Hieromiace*, which river *Ortelius* seems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Jannæus*, after ten months siege, won it, and subverted it. *Pompey* restored it; and *Gabinus* <sup>h</sup> made it one of the five courts of justice in *Palestine*. *Jerusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Jericho* and *Sephora* in *Galilee* the fourth and fifth. The citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonita*, accused him to *Julius Cæsar* of many crimes; but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible <sup>i</sup> revenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves; some by strangling, others by leaping over high towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the east of *Gadara*, they place *Sebei* <sup>k</sup> in which *Josephus*, *Ant.* 5. 13. saith *Jephtha* was buried; whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* xii. 7. *Sepultus est in Civitate sua Gilehad* (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilead* to be the name of a city, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, *1 Mac.* v. 26. where it readeth *Casphor* for *Chesbon*: the same *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *Ampla & firma Gilehaditarum civitas*; so of one city *Hesbon*, or *Chesbon*, which they call *Essebon*, the chief city of *Sebon* in the tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more. This *Casphor* in *Manasses*, and a city in *Gad*, which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admonished the reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a camel) which *Josephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, over-against *Tarichea*, which is on the west-side of the sea or lake of *Tiberias*. See this in *Josephus*'s fourth book of the *Jewish war*, c. 1. 3. where he describes the place by nature to be almost invincible; and in the story of the siege, shews how *Vespasian*, with much danger of his own person, entering it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents; and how at length, after the coming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks, with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished; besides four thousand slain by the *Romans*; so that none escaped, save only two women that hid themselves.

About four miles west from *Gadara*, and as much east from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the lake) *Josephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence <sup>l</sup>*Ptolemy* gives the name to the hills that compass the plains in which it standeth: so that it may seem to have been of no small note. It is seated far from the hill country: on the east of the lake, as also

*Pliny* noteth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. it was restored by *Pompey*; after by <sup>m</sup>*Augustus* added to *Herod*'s tetrarchy: it was wasted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their nation, they were enraged against their borderers.

The next city of note, but of more ancient fame, is <sup>n</sup>*Edrebi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* king of *Basan* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: and near unto this his regal city, it was that he lost the battle and his life. It stood in *St. Jérôme*'s time; and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not far from these towns near *Jordan*, in this valley stood *Geraffa* or *Gergeffa*, inhabited by the *Gergesites*, descended of the fifth son of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergesites* we read *Mat.* viii. 28. that *Christ* coming from the other side of the lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coasts; where casting the devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of hogs: in which story, for *Gergesites* or *Gergesins*, <sup>o</sup>*St. Luke* and *St. Mark* have *Gadarens*; not as if these were all one (for *Gergeffa* or *Geraffa* is a distinct town in these parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This city received many changes and calamities, of which *Josephus* hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius* lieutenant to *Vespasian*; and 1000 of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the city burnt. In the year 1120 it was rebuilt by *Baldwin* king of *Damascus*; and in the same year recovered by *Baldwin de Burgo* king of *Jerusalem*, and by him utterly razed. Near unto *Geraffa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the *Syriak*, *Magedu*, or after the *Greek*, *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, *Matt.* xv. desired of our Saviour a sign from heaven; the same place, or some adjoining to it, which <sup>p</sup>*St. Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumstances of which story it appears, that this coast lay between the lake of *Tiberias*, and the country of *Decapolis*. <sup>q</sup>*Brochard* makes both these places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the fountain of *Jordan* according to *Josephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the story, not far hence towards the north, was the desert of *Bethsaida*, <sup>r</sup> where *Christ* filled 5000 people with the five barley loaves and the fishes.

On the north of this *Bethsaida* they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the region *Trachonitis* toward the south. It was sometimes a village, and not long after the birth of *Christ* it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the tetrarch of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*; and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias* called *Julias*, as hath been farther spoken in the tribe of *Gad*, where it is noted that <sup>s</sup>*Josephus* makes this *Julias* to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Upon the east-side of the same lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ* in *Matthew*; *Wo be unto the Corazim*.

But the principal city of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*, sometime peopled with the giants *Raphaim*; and therefore the country adjoining called the land of giants, of whose race was *Og* king of *Basan*. In *Genesis* xvi. 5. this city is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence *1 Mac.* v. 26. is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Josh.* xiii. 21. it is cal-

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph.* 12. *Ant.* 12. <sup>b</sup> *Mac.* 5. <sup>c</sup> *2 Mac.* 12. 27. <sup>d</sup> *1 Sam.* 11. <sup>e</sup> *Joseph.* 6. *Ant.* 5. <sup>f</sup> *1 Sam.* 31. <sup>g</sup> *1 Chron.* 19. <sup>h</sup> *Joseph.* 13. *Ant.* 13. <sup>i</sup> *Joseph.* 15. *Ant.* 13. <sup>k</sup> *Of Mithpa in Gilead, the city of Jephtha. See in the tribe of Gad.* <sup>l</sup> *In vita tua.* <sup>m</sup> *Joseph.* bell. *Jud.* 2. c. 19. <sup>n</sup> *Of another Edrebi in Nephtalim. See Josh.* 19. 37. *Deut.* 3. 1. and 15. Item *Josh.* 13. 31. <sup>o</sup> *Mark.* 5. *Luke.* 8. <sup>p</sup> *Mark.* 8. <sup>q</sup> *Broch.* *Itin.* 2. *Of this Phiale, see in Naph.* c. 7. *Secl.* 4. 1. <sup>r</sup> *Mat.* 14. *Mark.* 6. *Luke.* 9. *John.* 6. <sup>s</sup> *Joseph.* 8. *Ant.* 3. & alibi



led *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a pair of horns, which agree well with the name of their idol *Astoreth*, which was the image of a sheep, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Astaroth*, in *Deut.* signifieth sheep. Others from the ambiguity of the *Hebrew* take *Karnaim*, to have been the name of the people which inhabited this city, and expound it *Heroes* <sup>b</sup> *radi-entes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this city, *Gen.* xiv. 5. were giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.* iii. 11. *Og ex residuo gigantum*, with the words *Josh.* xiii. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*; but if the *Karnaim*, or *Karnaim*, were those *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the dual number; neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* have said the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but rather the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or some other way fittest for perspicuity; for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth the one from the other.

Not far from *Asteroth*, *Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, four miles from *Corazin*. This city, saith he, is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this city understand *David* in *Psalms* 120, and here the sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be seen, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the texts which he citeth, it is so, that the *Greek* hath *Galaad* instead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth use in that place of *Judith*, and joineth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles*, and the 120th *Psalms* do rather prove, that *Kedar* was not hereabout, than any way help *Adrichomius*. For that they speak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *decolores*, much more than any under the *Climates* of the land of *Canaan*; whence *Junius* out of *Lamprideus* and *Pliny*, placeth them in *Arabia Petrea*, far from these parts. Touching the sepulchre of *Job* it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding those places) feign many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many, if not all, the historical circumstances of *Job* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his country seek to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded upon him, infer what his country was, and build unto him a city by conjecture.

Of *Job* himself, whether he were the same *Jobab* remembred in *Genesis* xxxvi. descended from *Esau*, and king also of *Idumea*, tho' <sup>c</sup> *Rupertus*, *Lyrannus*, *Oleaster*, and *Bellarmino* are of another opinion, yet *St. Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregory*, with *Athanasius*, *Hippolytus*, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius Emisenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Eustachius* and others, cited by *St. Jerome* in his 126th epistle to *Evagrius*, take him for the same.

The land of *Hus* or *Hus* wherein *Job* dwelt is from the *Greek* <sup>d</sup> *Ἡς*, which the *Septuagint* use for the word *Huts*, translated by the *Vulgar* sometimes *Hus*, as *Job* i. 1. sometimes *Ausitis*, as *Jer.* xxv. 20. This land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæstina* and *Cælesyria*, beside *Chamatba*, or *Hamatba*, under *Palmyrene* in the country called by *Ptolemy*, *Trachonitis* or *Bathanea*, the bounds of which countries are confounded with *Basan* in this half tribe of *Manasseb*. And that this land of

*Hus* was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jeremiah* xxv. 20. where he reckons the *Hushites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiscuous or *miscellaneam turbam*, because their bounds were not only joined but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the words of *Jeremiah*, *Lam.* iv. 21. speaking of the same prophecy, of which he speaketh in the five and twentieth chapter, must needs be expounded; as *Junius* reads them, distinguishing the land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, o quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; *O daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the land of Hus*. Now because the *Vulgar* doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the land of Hus*: Hence, as it seems, some of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have said, and king of *Edom*; which if they understand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, so called in *Moses's* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this land of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*, *Deut.* iii. 9. For it is very probable, that *Esau*, when he first parted from *Jacob*, did not seat himself in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the south border of *Judea*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the east of *Jordan*, and held a part of those mountains otherwise called *Galaad* and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir* for *Seir*, and from this his habitation did *Esau* encounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esau's* abiding. It is true, that at such time as *Moses* wandred in the desarts, that the posterity of *Esau* inhabited *Seir* to the south of *Judea*. For it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also drive the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thenceforward seated themselves to the south of *Judea*, bordering the desert *Paran*, and stretched their habitations over the desarts as far as *Hor*, where *Aaron* died.

Now for this *Hus*, which gave the name to a part of the land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the son of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* x. 23. or rather *Hus* the son of *Nachor*, *Abraham's* brother, the question is doubtful. For my part I rather incline to think, that it was *Hus* the son of *Nachor*; partly because these families of *Aram* seem long before to have been lost; and partly because in *Job.* xxxii. 2. *Elibu* the fourth of *Job's* friends, which seems to be of *Job's* own country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz*, the brother of *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*; as also *Jer.* xxv. in the same continuation (tho' some other nations named between) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* xxxii. *Elibu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the family of *Ram* (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the family of *Aram*;) for that by this *Aram* we are not to understand *Aram* the son of *Shem*, *Junius* himself maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he saith that one of *Job's* friends (which must needs be this *Elibu*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly) and in as much as he readeth not, *o familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *o familia Syra*; like as elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

<sup>a</sup> See chap. 7. Sect. 3. <sup>b</sup> Because horn when it is polished shineth; hence it is that the verb of this noun is sometime *lucere*; as it were *cornu esse*; see upon the *Vulgar*, *Exod.* 34. 19. reading *cornutam carneam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gave occasion to the fabulous painter to paint *Moses* with horns, *Judith* 1. 8. <sup>c</sup> *Rup. Lyrann. Oleast. in Gen. bell. in Com. lib. 1. de verb. Dei.* <sup>d</sup> *Amb. sup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 4. Chryl. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job.* <sup>e</sup> For so and so are often changed one into the other; whence they used *Ausitis* for *Outitis*, &c. Hence also by *Junius* and others it is called *Ausitis*, and so it seemeth to be in the *Septuagint*. *Jun. in Gen.* 10. 23. <sup>f</sup> Whence the *Septuagint* calls him, *ex regione Ausitide*.



As for the <sup>a</sup>other three of *Job's* friends (of whom by this note of *Elibu's* being of the *Syrian* family, or the family of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as also by the *Septuagint's* addition, that this *Elibu* was of the land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implied that they thought only *Elibu* to have been of *Job's* own country.

*Franciscus Brocard* the monk, in his description of the holy land in the journey from *Acon* eastward, findeth *Suetba*, and *Theman* on the east of the sea of *Galilee*, both very near to the land of *Hus*; whereof the one may seem to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*; two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job* ii. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the desert, descended of *Shuach* the son of *Abraham* and *Ketura*; of whom *Genesis* xxv. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Pliny* calls *Sacchæi*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom *Eliphaz* was, to have been of *Arabia* the desert; and *Eliphaz* himself to have been of the posterity of *Theman* the son of *Eliphaz*, which was the son of *Esau*. And so also *Nabamah* whence *Tsophar* the third of *Job's* friends (which in this place of *Job* ii. 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned expositor thought either to be named of *Thimnab* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnab*, *Gen.* xxxvi. 40. is named among the sons of *Esau* that gave denomination to the places where they are seated) or else to be the same *Nabamah*, which *Josh.* xv. 41. is reckoned for a city of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not, but that near to the land of *Hus*, in *Basan*, as it seems, in the tribe of *Manasses*, there is a region which at least in latter times was called *Suitis*, or of some like name. For this is evident by the history of <sup>b</sup>*Gulielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a fort in this region of *Suita* or *Suitis* (as he calls it diversly) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole country: which in the time of *Baldwin* the 2d king of *Jerusalem*, was with great digging thro' rocks recovered by the Christians; having not long before been lost to the great disadvantage of the country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this fort is by *Tyrius* described to be 16 miles from the city *Tiberias*, on the east of *Jordan*, by *Adrichomius* 4 miles northward from the place where *Jordan* enters the lake *Tiberias* at *Corazim*.

Other cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the scripture are these; *Golan*, *Behesthera*, *Mitspah* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspah* of <sup>c</sup>*Gilead*, we have spoken by occasion among the cities of *Gad*: the two other were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the cities of refuge; from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis superior* & *inferior*, oft in *Josephus*. *Behesthera* is accounted the chief city of *Basan* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betsar* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a region in this tract, and hence *Jerome* hath *Arga*, a name of a city placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Joshua*) which make the lake *Samachonitis*, as *Josephus* calls it. This lake being as it were in the midst between *Cæsaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half tribe on the west. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brocard*; otherwise more contract, leaving the

marsh ground on both sides, for lions and other wild beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adjoining to this lake in this country of *Manasses*, *Josephus* names two places of strength fortified by himself in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the north side of this half tribe of *Manasseh*, and in the north-east, the scripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damascus*, as *Tsedad Chauran*, and *Chatsar Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the west; of which three cities we read *Ezek.* xlvii. 16. with which also agrees the place *Numb.* xxxiv. 8. where for *Chauran*, between *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-benan*, *Zipbron* is named. From this *Chauran* is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Josephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mabachath* or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* towards the north-east) are unknown; only that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married <sup>d</sup>*Mahaca* the daughter of *Tholmay* king of *Gessur*; by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked, and unfortunate *Abshalon*.

## CHAP. XI.

*The history of the Syrians, the chief borderers of the Israelites, that dwelt on the east of Jordan.*

## SECT. I.

*Of the city of Damascus, and the divers fortunes thereof.*

**D***amascus* of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the city of joy or gladness, and the house of pleasure; and is not only remembered in many places of scripture, but by the best historians and cosmographers. The *Hebrews*, saith <sup>e</sup>*Josephus* i. 14. think it to have been built by *Hus* the son of *Aram*; of which opinion *St. Jerome* upon *Isaiah* xvii. seemeth to be; tho' in his *Hebrew* questions he affirmeth that it was founded by *Damascus*, the son of *Eliezer* <sup>f</sup>*Abraham's* steward, a thing very unlikely, seeing the city was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abraham's* calling this his steward *Eliezer* of *Damasco*. *David* was the first that subjected it to the kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their king; but in *Solomon's* time, *Rezon* recovered it again, tho' he had no title at all or right to that principality: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* king of *Sophena* (otherwise *Syria*, *Soba* or *Zobab*) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken army, invaded <sup>g</sup>*Damascena*, and possess'd *Damascus* it self, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

The next king of *Damascus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from <sup>h</sup>*David*, and *Joab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the king of *Egypt's* wife's sister, of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning again became an enemy to *Solomon*, all his life, and (as some writers affirm) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence out. In the line of *Adad* that kingdom continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those kings of *Syria*) to whom

<sup>a</sup> See *Sextus Senensis*.

<sup>b</sup> De Bell. Sacri. l. 22. c. 15. & 21.

<sup>c</sup> Josh. 21. 27. Deut. 4. 43.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Chron. 3. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. 15. 2. <sup>g</sup> 1 Kings 11. 40. <sup>h</sup> 1 Kings 11.



the *Affyrians* and then the *Grecians* succeeded. This city was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the rivers of <sup>a</sup> *Abanah* and *Parphar*; whereof one of those prophane writers call *Chrysorrhoas*, the golden river. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The country adjoining is very fruitful of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong castle built, as it seems, by the <sup>b</sup> *Florentines* after it became Christian: the lilies being found cut in many marbles in that citadel. Against this city the prophets <sup>c</sup> *Amos*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth king of the *Damascenes*, *Teglatphalassar* invited by *Achaz* king of <sup>d</sup> *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the east, leaving of his own nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, said *Jerome* upon *Isaiab* xvii. which thing was performed by *Salmanasar* according to *Junius*, in his note upon that place, 5 years after the prophecy. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolemies*; but long after when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by <sup>e</sup> *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the Christians it had an archbishop: *St. Jerome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the metropolis of the *Saracens*, being taken by *Haomar* their king from the *Romans*, in the year of our redemption 636. And in the year <sup>f</sup> 1147, *Conrad* the third, emperor of *Rome*, *Lewis* king of *France*, *Baldwin* the third king of *Jerusalem*, *Henry* duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, <sup>g</sup> *Frederick Barbarossa* afterwards emperor, *Theodorick* earl of *Flanders*, and other princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recover *Damascus*; but being betray'd by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

In the year 1262, *Halon* the *Tartar* encompass'd it, and having formerly taken the king, brought him under the walls, and threatened extream torture unto him, except the citizens surrendred the place; but they refusing it, the <sup>h</sup> king was torn asunder before them, and in fine the city taken, *Agab* the son of *Halon* was by his father made king thereof.

In the year <sup>i</sup> 1400, *Tamberlain* emperor of the *Parthians*, invaded that region, and besieged the city with an army of 1200000 (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred it and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners, those that retired into the castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he over-topped with another castle adjoining; he forbore the demolishing of the city in respect of the beauty of the church, garnished with 40 gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000 lanterns of gold and silver; but while he invaded *Egypt* they again surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three months siege he forc'd it; the *Mahometans*, prostrating themselves with their priests, desired mercy: but *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000, and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by their foundations. And as a trophy of his victory, he raised three towers with great art, built with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repossessed by the foldan of *Egypt*, with a garrison of *Mammalukes*. And in the year 1517, *Selim* emperor of the *Turks* wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*; in whose possession it now remain-

eth inhabited with *Mahometans* and *Christians*, of all neighbouring nations.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the first kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.*

NOW be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus* the son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the son of *Eliezer*, *Abraham's* steward, we find no relation of their kings, or common-wealth till *David's* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*; and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Judges*, as impertinent to that story: but were it so that it had some *reguli*, or petty kings over it, as all the cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*; the same nation which <sup>k</sup> *Pliny* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting between *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to understand the story of those *Syrian* princes, whom soon after the kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the reader may inform himself, that on the north-east parts of the holy land there were three chief principalities whereof the kings or commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the state or commonwealth of <sup>l</sup> *Israel*, namely *Damascus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*, of which these were the princes in *David's* and *Solomon's* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that *Damascus* was one of the cities subject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, tho' when *Saul* made war against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Josephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were levied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battle slain with <sup>m</sup> 22000 *Aramites* of *Damascus*; whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon* the commander of his army, taking advantage, made himself king of *Damascus*: *Adadezer* and <sup>n</sup> *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slain. About the same time *Tobu* king of *Chamath* or *Iturea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presented him with rich gifts, but in dolo, saith *St. Jerome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the north of the holy land, and to the west of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited; but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judeans* and *Israelites*. But to return to the kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Iturea*, to which I may add *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in <sup>2</sup> *Sam.* xv. as joining in the territory to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Palestina* it self is but a province, as I have noted in the beginning of this tract. It is not agreed among the historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumea*: of whom it is written in the 1st of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that region, and left *Joab* therein to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the king's seed, fled into *Egypt*, and was there married to *Taphnes* the queen's sister as before; who hearing of *David's* death, and the death of his captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the border-

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 5. <sup>b</sup> Herold. 6 Bell. Sac. <sup>c</sup> 1. 3. 8. 10. & 17. 49. & 9. <sup>d</sup> 2 Kings 16. <sup>e</sup> Joseph. Ant. 4. <sup>f</sup> Onuphrius in Chron. <sup>g</sup> Vitr. c. 46. Will. Tyr. Bell. Sac. 1. 17. c. 1. 23. 4. 5. <sup>h</sup> Herold. Bel. Sac. 4. c. 14. <sup>i</sup> Herold. 1. 6. c. 4. <sup>k</sup> Plin. 1. 6. c. 28. <sup>l</sup> 1 Sam. 14. 47. <sup>m</sup> 2 Sam. 8. <sup>n</sup> 1 Kings 11.



ing nations feared) he turned again, and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damascus*, and was the first of the Syrian kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For as I take it, *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that principality; and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his father's name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the style of *Adad*, the great god of the *Affyrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signifieth oneness or unity. I also find a city called *Adada* in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these princes took the name or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adjoined. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth, first because it is against him, that *David* undertook the war; secondly, because he levied 22000 *Aramites* out of the territory of *Damascus*; as out of his proper dominions: for had the *Damascenes* had a king apart, it is probable that the scriptures would have given us his name; thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was king, was an exceeding large territory, and contained of *Arabia* the desert as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Pliny*, and the greatest part of *Arabia Petraea*, according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadezer* or *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezon* was the second: *Who was an enemy to Israel all the days of Solomon*. Besides, the evil that *Adad* did seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumea*, lately returned out of *Egypt*, to wit, 23 years after he was carried thither.

The third king of *Damascus*, and of *Zobab* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabrimmon*, or *Tabremmon*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in *1 Kings* xv. 18. For *Asa* king of *Juda*, the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Roboam*, the son of *Solomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baasha*, the successor of *Nadab*, the son of *Jeroboam*, sent to *Benhadad*, the son of *Tabrimmon* the son of *Hezion* king of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Baasha* fought to fortify *Rama* against *Asa*; thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Asa*, having received his presents, willingly invaded the country of *Nephtalim*, and took divers cities, and spoils thence: *Asa* in the mean while carrying away all the materials, which *Baasha* had brought to fortify *Rama* withal, and converted them to his own use.

This *Benhadad*'s father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his father *Hezion*; for *Asa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his son; tho' it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his son *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad*, when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spoke as followeth. *The cities which my father took from thy father, I will restore; and thou shalt make streets or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus; as my father did in Samaria*. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it self were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Baasha*, at the request of *Asa*. But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the son of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than

the son of *Tabremmon*. For between the invasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baasha*'s time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there pass'd 49 years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30 years of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baasha*, and after that 49 years, ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make 79 years, it is unlikely that *Benhadad*, at such an age, should make war. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pomp, but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32 kings; and therefore I resolve that *Benhadad* the son of *Tabremmon* invaded *Baasha* and *Omri*, and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrows; the first at *Samaria*, by a fall of 700 *Israelites*; the second at *Aphec*, where with the like number in effect the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000 of the *Aramites*, besides 27000, which were crush'd by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad* again setteth at liberty; to whom he rendreth those towns, that his father had taken from the predecessor of *Achab*; but being returned, he refused to surrender *Ramoth-Gilead*, a frontier town, and of great importance. Now three years afters (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invadeth *Gilead*, and besiegeth the city, being assisted by *Jehoshaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight, in which *Achab* is wounded, and died that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commander of his forces *Namman*, to *Joram* the son of *Achab*, to be healed of the leprosy; and tho' *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh quarrel against *Joram*: and when *Joram* by *Elizeus*'s intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men and chariots to take the prophet, as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besiegeth *Samaria* again; and being terrified thence from *heaven*, he departeth home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate, if he might live. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad*, *Adar*, the son of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Jeremiah* mention the towers of *Benhadad*. *Josephus* writeth, that *Benhadad* and his successor *Azael*, were worshipped for gods, by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1100 years are compleat, since their wars with the *Israelites*.

*Hazael* or *Azael*, the first king of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was anointed by *Elisba*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* should recover his present fit of sickness. He waged war with *Joram*, who received divers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*; from whence returning to be cured at *Jesrael*, he and the king of *Juda*, *Ahaziah*, or *Ochozias*, are slain by *Jehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued the war against *Jehu*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasseh*, over *Jordan*. He then invadeth *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas*, he was averted from attempting *Jerusalem*: for he presented him with all the *hallowed things which Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Juda had dedicated, and which he himself had dedicated; and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord, and in the king's house*. This was the second time that the temple was spoiled, to please the *Adads*

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. 8. 3, 12. <sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. 14. 47. <sup>c</sup> Plin. l. 6. c. 18. <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 11. <sup>e</sup> 1 Kings 15. 18. <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings 20. 34. <sup>g</sup> 1 Kings 15. <sup>h</sup> 1 Kings 20. <sup>i</sup> 1 Kings 22. <sup>j</sup> 2 Kings 5. <sup>k</sup> 2 Kings 6. <sup>l</sup> 2 Kings 7. <sup>m</sup> Amos 1. Jer. 49. <sup>n</sup> Ant. 1. 8. c. 8. <sup>o</sup> 2 Kings 12. 17. <sup>p</sup> 2 Kings 12.



of *Damascus*: for <sup>a</sup>*Afa* did present *Benbadad* with those treasures, when he invited him to war upon *Baasha*, king of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his army spoiled the other provinces of *Judea*, and slaughtered many principal persons. Lastly, <sup>b</sup>*Azael* vexed *Joahas* the son of *Jebu*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen of all his people.

## S E C T. III.

*Of the later kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.*

**A**FTER *Hazael*, *Benbadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damascus*, who fought against *Israel* with ill success: for <sup>c</sup>*Joas*, king of *Israel*, the son of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as as he was foretold by <sup>d</sup>*Elisha* the prophet, beat *Benbadad* in three several battles; and he lost all those cities to *Israel*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

Afterwards this *Benbadad*, the son of *Hazael*, there succeed 3 others of the same name, of whom the stories are lost; only *Nicholaus Damascenus*, cited by <sup>e</sup>*Josephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these king's times it was, that *Jeroboam* the 2d, the son of <sup>f</sup>*Joas*, recovered *Damascus* it self, to *Judah*, saith the *Geneva*; but better in *Junius*, *utque recuperabat Damascus, & Camatham Jebude, pro Israele*; that is, And how he recovered for *Israel*, *Damascus*, and *Camatha* of *Judea*: for these cities, sometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the tribe of *Juda*.

And it is likely that this conquest upon the *Adads* was performed; the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no story. For when as *Jeboas* the king of the ten tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benbadad*, the son of *Hazael*, and had recovered the cities which *Hazael* had won from *Israel*; and so left his kingdom to his son *Jeroboam* the 2d: it seemeth, that this *Jeroboam*, without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his father's good fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

*Razin*, or *Rezin*, after *Josephus Rases*, after *Zonaras Raason* the 10th, *Adad*, making league with *Pekab*, or *Phacas*, king of *Israel*, against *Achaz*, king of *Juda*: both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Jerusalem*; but in vain. Then <sup>h</sup>*Adad* alone invadeth *Elatb*; and beating out the Jews, maketh it a colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought <sup>i</sup>*Teglatphalassar* against *Razin*, who took him, and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*; with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the kingdom of *Damascus*; the *Assyrians* becoming masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads*, as they reigned in order, are thus reckoned:

1. *Adadezer*, the son of *Rebob*.
2. *Rezin*, the son of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3. *Hezion*.
4. *Tabremmon*.
5. *Benbadad*, who invaded *Baasha*.
6. *Benbadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.

7. *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold with tears, of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Jo-ram*, king of *Israel*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael*, which preceded *Benbadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which took *Getb*, and compounded

the war with *Joas*, made the expedition thirty years, and perhaps more, after the first *Hazael*, which stifled his master *Benbadad*, and had slain *Joram* the son of *Achab*, king of *Israel*. For *Joas* began to reign in the seventh year of *Jebu*, king of *Israel*; and after he had reigned twenty three years, the temple was not yet repaired; after which (and how long we know not) it is said, that *Hazael* took *Getb*, and turned his face towards *Jerusalem*. It is also some proof, that *Hazael* which took *Getb*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benbadad*, because he could not at that time but be of good years, being, as it seemeth, the second person in the kingdom, and commander of *Benbadad*'s men of war. To this *Hazael*, be he the first or second, succeeded,

8. *Benbadad* the 3d, whom *Joash*, king of *Israel*, thrice overthrew.

9. *Rezin*, or *Rezin* the last, who joined with *Pekab*, king of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz*, king of *Juda*, waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now between *Benbadad* the 3d, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholaus Damascenus* finds 3 other kings of the *Adads*, which make 12 in all.

For the rest of the princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as those of <sup>j</sup>*Emath*, and *Gessur*, we find that *Tobu* was king of *Emath*, or *Chamath* in *David*'s time, to whom he sent his son *Joram* with presents, after *David*'s victory against *Adadezer*. Also <sup>k</sup>*Sennackerib* speaketh of a king of *Emath*, but nameth him not.

## S E C T. IV.

*Of other lesser kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.*

**O**F *Gessur* we find two kings named, to wit, *Talmi*, and his father *Ammibur*. To *Talmi*, whose daughter *David* married, it was that *Abalom* fled, who was his maternal grandfather. Of the kings of *Sophena*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cele-syria*, there are two named, *Rebob*, or *Rechob*, the father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himself; and it is plain, that after his death, the seat of the kings of *Soba*, was transferred to *Damascus*, a city better fitting their greatness. After, *Rezin* became lord of both principalities. And the race of these kings of *Syria* (which became so potent, and joined *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the desert of *Arabia*, with other provinces, into one, under *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, so it ended at once with the kingdom of *Israel*. For *Abaz* king of *Juda*, waged the *Assyrian Teglatphalassar* against *Pekab*, king of *Israel*, and against *Rezin*, the last king of *Damascus*; which *Teglatb* first invaded *Damascena*, and the region of *Soba*, and took *Damascus* it self; and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the inhabitants captive. This was the second time that the *Assyrians* attempted *Israel*: for first, *Phul Belochus* entered the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Israel*) who stop'd the enterprize of *Phul*, with a thousand talents of silver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warm as yet in his seat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*; having besides this king of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings 15. <sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 13. 7. <sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 13. <sup>d</sup> Joseph. Ant. c. 9. <sup>e</sup> Joseph. Ant. l. 7 c. 6. <sup>f</sup> 2 Kings 14 25.  
<sup>g</sup> 2 Kings 16. 5. <sup>h</sup> 1st. 7. Joseph. Ant. l. 9 c. 12. <sup>i</sup> 2 Sam. 8. 9. <sup>j</sup> 1st. 37.



prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the king of *Israel*, for that present time. But his son *Teglath*, following the purpose of his father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the war begun between *Israel* and *Judah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that war, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* king of *Judah*, his impress and entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possess'd himself of the cities of *Nephtalim*, leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his son *Salmanassar*, whom *Ptolemy* calleth *Nabonassar*, after the revolt of *Hosea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that kingdom asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and monarchy of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* slaughtered, the kingdom of *Israel* in *Hosea*, whom *Salmanassar* overturned, happened near about a time; that of *Ninus*, in the days of *Belochus*, and the other two in the days of *Teglathphalassar*, and *Salmanassar* his son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osia* ruling *Judah*; and the other two kingdoms were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly, The kingdom of *Judah* itself being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the son of *Salmanassar*, in vain, and preserved for the time by God, miraculously, was at length utterly overturned. *Jerusalem* and the temple burnt, an hundred thirty-two years after the captivity of *Israel* and *Samaria*; the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth year of *Hosea*; that of *Judah* in the 11th of *Zedekiah*. Now the emperors of *Affyria* and *Babylon*, held also the kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labyntus*; in all about two hundred years. After these, the *Persians*, from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last king, held *Syria* about two hundred years.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other provinces of the *Persian* empire; and his successors the *Seleucide* reigned therein, till it became subject to the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turk*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering upon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to do, both in war and peace, being the only people, whose history in those antient times carried an assured face of truth.

## CHAP. XII.

*Of the tribe of Benjamin, and of Jerusalem.*

### SECT. I.

*Of divers memorable places in the tribe of Benjamin, whereof Jericho, Gilgal, Mitspah, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.*

**O**F the tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngest son of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at mount *Sinai*, 35000 able bodies; all which perishing in the deserts, there entered the *Holy Land* of their issues, 45600 fit to bear arms: and these had their

territory on this side *Jordan*, between *Judab* and *Ephraim*. The cities within this tribe, nearest *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*; of which *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed*, a *Benjamite*, 1 *Chron.* viii. 12. they were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the return out of captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* xi. 35. and *Esdras* ii. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemiah*, a city called *Lodbadid*. This *Hadid*, or *Chadid*, was rebuilt by *Simon Macabees*, 1 *Mac.* xii. 38.

*Samarim*, or *Tsemaraim*, named of *Tsemary*, one of the sons of *Canaan*, was another of their cities; and further into the land standeth *Jericho*, one of the toparchies, and the last of *Judab*; seated in a most fruitful valley, adorned with many palm-trees, and therefore elsewhere called the city of *Palms*, 1 *Kings* xvii. 36. From the time of <sup>a</sup> *Joshua*, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the time of *Achab*; in whose days *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it in the loss of *Abiram* his eldest son, and built the gates of it in the loss of his youngest son *Segub*, according to the curse of *Joshua*; in which, and other respects, *Hosea* xii. 14. calleth *Joshua* a prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the south-east of *Jericho*, stood <sup>b</sup> *Halmon* of the *Levites*, of which *Josh.* xxi. 18. to the south, *Beibabara*, of which *Josh.* xv. and xviii. then that *Gilgal*, of which there is so much mention in the scripture, where *Joshua* first eat of the fruits of the land; circumcised all those born in the deserts, and celebrated the passover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the etymology of this name (for it seems by the place, *Deut.* xi. 30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Josh.* v. 9. *Ob devolutionem probri Aegyptiaci*, because their foreskins (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled down the hill; which from thence was called *Collis praeputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Gelilotb*, as appears by comparing the places, *Josh.* xv. 7. and xviii. 17. For it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Josh.* xxii. 13. and *Gelilotb* signifieth borders. It stood (tho' in some distance) directly eastward, over-against the two hills *Garzim* and *Hebal*, *Deut.* xi. 29. upon the one of which, the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it and *Mitspah* of *Benjamin* (of which also we read oft in the scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the land of *Canaan*; for which reason <sup>c</sup> *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgment to the *Israelites*; of which two *Gilgal* (as is said) was near *Jordan* on the east-side of this tribe, and *Mitspa* near the west sea, towards the land of the *Philistines*.

The third place which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* used yearly to come, is <sup>d</sup> *Bethel*; which also was seated in this tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal* which was the first place, where the ark resided, after they pass'd over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*; and thence to *Kirjath-jeharim*, and at length to *Jerusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Joshua* pitched up the twelve stones which were taken out of the

<sup>a</sup> *Josh.* 6. 29. <sup>b</sup> 1 *Chron.* 6. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new city *Almath*, as if this tribe had given five cities to the *Levites*. <sup>c</sup> 1 *Sam.* 7. 15. <sup>d</sup> *Junius* in this place for *Bethel*, reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it *Kirjath-jeharim*, where the ark abode: For, saith he, by the law, *Exod.* 23. 17. the greatest meetings in their annual feasts, were to be where the ark was; but this place doth not speak of festival, but of judicial meetings: and besides, the priests did use to bring the ark to their great meetings, whereforever they were, as appears 1 *Sam.* 12. 11. and c. 14. 18. neither is it easy to expound *Bethel*, otherwise than for the city *Bethel*, tho' *Junius* also takes it for the place where the ark was, 1 *Sam.* 10. 3.



channel of *Jordan* when it was dry, that the *Israelites* might pass over it; by which story, as it is set down *Josh. iv.* it appears, that the same day that they passed over *Jordan* they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the king of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitspa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to give judgment, there also were often the greatest meetings held, as that for the revenge of the *Levite's* wife against *Gibba*, and the *Benjamites*, *Judg. xxi. 1.* and another against the *Philistines*, *1 Sam. vii. 12.* Thither also *Judas Maccabeus* gathered the *Jews* (when *Jerusalem* was possess'd by the heathen) as it is *1 Mac. iii. 47.* in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitspæ antea Israeli.* Touching this *Mitspa*, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembred, that the scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Judah*, of which *Josh. xv. 38.* <sup>a</sup> *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we have spoken already in the tribe of *Gad*: *Mitspa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himself, commending his parents to the king of *Moab*, *1 Sam. xxii. 3.* and lastly, this chief *Mitspa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held, both before *Jerusalem* was recovered from the *Jebusites*, and also in the time of the *Maccabees*, as we have said, when *Jerusalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Jeremy*, after the destruction of the temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah*, whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Jewry*, as governour over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place; until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was slain by the treason of *Ishmael*, one of the royal blood of *Judah*, as it is *Jeremiah xli.*

Near unto this *Mitspa*, the scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, *1 Sam. vii. 11.* after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the pillar or stone, for a trophy against the *Philistines*.

Touching *Bethel*, which, as it seems, was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of justice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Joseph* (tho' it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehemiah xi. 31.* and *Joshua xviii. 22.*) and how another city called *Luz*, *Josh. xvi. 2.* near adjoining to it, was built by the man of the city, which shewed the entrance to the spies, as it is *Judges i.* and of the occasion of the name from *Jacob's* vision; and how *Jeroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it <sup>b</sup> *Beth-aven*, that is, the house of vanity, *I Hosea iv. 15.* and *x. 5.* as also other memorable things of this place; they are so well known out of the histories of the scripture, that we may well pass them over.

The territory of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* against *Jeroboam* (of which *2 Chron. xiii.*) was taken from them, and adjoined to the kingdom of *Judah*; and so it continued, as appears by the story of *Jesiah*, which performed the prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, *2 Kings xxiii.* whence those coats, *1 Mac. xi. 34.*

are called *Aphærema*, which *Greek* word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten tribes. It was one of the three *Seignories*, or *Prefectures* which *Demetrius*, in his epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan* country. A part of it, as appears *2 Chron. xiii. 19.* was *Hephraim*, which *Josh. xviii. 23.* is called *Hophram*, belonging to this tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this tribe, we find three other cities often mentioned in the scriptures, *Rama*, *Gibba*, and *Gebab*. Of the name *Rama*, <sup>c</sup> it is noted already in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many towns so high called, because of their high situation: but whereas they find out *Rama* in the tribe of *Judah* (as it seems, because *Matthew ii.* it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*, make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three have no warrant in the scripture. Of *Rama*, in the tribe of *Asher*, as it seems, we have testimony, *Josh. xix. 29.* and of another in *Nephtholim*, *Josh. xix. 36.* of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in mount *Ephraim*, *1 Sam. xxv. 1.* which more often is called <sup>d</sup> *Ramatha*, and *1 Sam. i. 1.* *Ramathaim Tophim*; for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaim-sophim*, taking the article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, *Matth. xxvii. 57.* was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama*, we read *2 Kings viii. 29.* which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, seated, as we said, near *Bethel*, the uttermost south border of the kingdom of the ten tribes; for which cause *Baasha*, in the time of *Asa*, king of *Judah* fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I should rather think *Joseph* was, that buried Christ, because it was nearer to *Jerusalem*, and after the captivity belonged to *Judah*, as it appears, *Esd. ii. 26.* wherein that it is joined with *Gebab*, it is plain, that he speaketh of that *Rama*, with whose stones (after *Baasha* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is *1 Kings xxv. 22.*) built *Gebab* adjoining to it, both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the south border of the ten tribes, so was *Gebab* the north border of the kingdom of *Judah*; whence *2 Kings xxiii. 8.* we read, that *Josiah*, thro' all his kingdom, even from *Gebab*, which was the north border to *Beer-sheba*, which was the south border, destroyed the places of idolatry.

The third city *Gibba*, which was the city of *Saul* (the wickedness of which city, in the time of the judges, had almost utterly rooted out this tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebab*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Isaiah x. 27.*) of which word <sup>e</sup> *Gibba*, in another form *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibaath*, another city in this tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this city also to *Rama* of *Benjamin*, appears, *Judg. xix. 13.* where the *Levite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibba*. By that place of *1 Sam. xxii. 6.* it seems, that there was in this *Gibba* some tower or citadel, called *Rama*, where *Junius* reads, *in excelsa*, for *in Rama*:

<sup>a</sup> There is no other than this *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which *Josh. ii. 8.* as appears by that which is added, *versus orientem*: for *Joshua* notes the three quarters, north, west, and east, to which he followed the *Canaanites*; tho' *Adrichomius*, and others, out of this place, imagine a *Mitspa*, or *Mispha* (as they write it) in the tribe of *Asher*. <sup>b</sup> Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*, between *Ilai* and *Bethel*, *Josh. 7. 2.* and *18. 12.* <sup>c</sup> See *c. 9. text. 1.* <sup>d</sup> Of this *Ramatha*, I understand the place *1 Mac. vii. 34.* where it is named for one of the three prefectures, which *Demetrius* yields to the *Jews* out of the country of *Samaria*; this long town and the east to *Jericho*, and *Lydda* toward the west; and *Aphærema* (of which even now we speak) lying in the midst, between the two other. A fifth *Rama* it seems there was in the tribe of *Siméon*, toward the south, and which *Josh. 19. 7, 8.* called *Ramah* of the south, and likewise *Bahalath-beer*. <sup>e</sup> *Gibba* in construction, that is, governing a genitive case, is *Gibbath*, whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* read *Josh. 24. 33.* *Gabaath Phinees*; for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phineasi* (for this word is oft times an appellation, signifying a hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his city *Gabaath* upon this text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoined note that this hill was in the mountains of *Ephraim*



but it may be, that the name of the king's palace in this city was *Rama*, as it seems, that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the college of *prophets* abode, was *Nai-oth*. The great city of *Hai*, overthrown by *Joshua*, which *Josh. vii. 2.* is placed near *Beth-aven*, upon the east of *Bethel*, was in this tribe, as is proved, *Nehemiah vii. x. xxx.* tho' it be not named by *Joshua xviii.* for it was burned by him, and laid desolate, as it is, *Josh. viii. 28. In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum.* Another city of chief note, reckoned *Josh. xviii. 25.* in this tribe, was *Gibbon*, the chief city of the *Hivites*, whose cunning, to bind the *Israelites* by oath to save their lives, is set down, *Josh. ix.* whence they were reckoned among the *Nethinæi*, or proselytes, and were bound to certain publick services in the house of God; which oath of saving these *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, *2 Sam. xxi. 1.* This *Gibeon*, or *Gibbon*, which *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have spoken) and with *Hanotboth*, the native place of *Jeremiah* the prophet, were said, *Josh. xxi. 28.* to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites*. Near to this *Hanotboth* was *Nob*, as appears *1 Kings ii. 26.* where *Abiathar* the priest, which was of *Nob*, before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanotboth*. It is reckoned in the tribe of *Benjamin*, *Nehemiah ix. 31.* and tho' in the time of *Saul*, the residing place of the ark was in *Kirjath-jearim*, yet by the the lamentable tragedy of bloodshed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set down, *1 Sam. xxi. and xxii.*) in the judgment of *Junius*, it is proved, that the tabernacle was there for a time.

*Micmas* also in this tribe, *Nehemiah ix. 31.* was a place of fame, of which *Isaiah x. 28.* where also he nameth *Gallim* and *Migrom* in this tribe. In *Micmas*, *Saul* had his camp, *1 Sam. xiii. 2.* (when he left *Gibba* to *Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan Maccabeus's* abode, *1 Mac. ix. 73.* Of *Giscala* in *Galilee*, *Josephus* often maketh mention; but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the native place of *St. Paul*, whence, they say, when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his parents to *Tharsis*: Of this I find no good warrant. Other places of less importance I omit, and come to the city of *Jerusalem*, and the princes and governors of this city; a great part whereof was in the tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Josh. xviii. 28.* it is named among the cities of *Benjamin*.

## SECT. II.

*Of divers memorable things concerning Jerusalem.*

AT what time *Jerusalem* was built (which afterwards became the princess of all cities) it doth not appear. Some there are, who imagine, that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abraham's* time. But according to others, that city out of which *Melchisedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Affyrian* and *Persian* kings or captains, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the river of *Jordan*, in the half tribe of *Manasseh*, bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the *Greeks*, *Solima*.

*Jerusalem* (whensoever, or by whom built) was a principal city in *Joshua's* time; yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the metropolis (in those days and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek*, whom *Joshua* slew, was then king of *Jerusalem*. That it

was belonging to the *Jebusites* it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before *Moses's* time, they were masters and lords thereof almost four hundred years after him; even till *David* won it; and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebusæi* (the children of *Jebuseus*, the son of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus*. And so much did that nation rely on the strength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragg'd, that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it.

*David*, after he had, by God's assistance, possess'd it, and turned out the *Jebusites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit; strengthened it with a citadel or castle, and beautified it with many palaces, and other buildings; changing the name from *Jebussalem*, the city of the *Jebusites*, to *Jerusalem*, which the *Greeks* call *Hierosolyma*. After *David's* time, *Solomon* amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly: for, besides the work of the temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all nations; the palaces, gates and walls, could not any where in the world be exampled: and besides that, it had an hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had sixty foot of depth, cut out of the very rock, and two hundred fifty foot of breadth, whereof the like hath seldom been heard of either since or before.

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the kingdom of the *Jews* was cut asunder, *Shishac* king of *Egypt*, and his predecessor, having bred up for that purpose *Adad* the *Idumean*, and *Jeroboam*, *Solomon's* servant; and both married to *Egyptians*; the state by the one disturbed, by the other broken, *Shishac* first invaded the territory of *Judah*, entered *Jerusalem* and sack'd it; and became master, not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all those spoils which *David* had gotten from *Adadazer*, *Tubu*, the *Ammonites* and other nations. It was again sack'd, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* king of *Israel*, while *Amaziab* the twelfth king thereof governed *Judah*.

Not long after, *Achaz*, the 15th king of *Juda*, impoverished the temple, and presented *Teglaiphallassar* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasseh* the son of *Ezekiah*, the son of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah* to the ambassadors of *Meredach*, lost the remain, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Jakim* then reigning. But this ungrateful, idolatrous, and rebellious nation, taking no warning by these God's gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kind of impiety, filling the city even to the mouth with innocent blood, God raised up that great *Babylonian* king, *Nabuchodonosor*, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious city and temple, with all the palaces therein, and the walls and towers which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoils with the princes and people, and crush'd them with the heavy yoke of bondage and servitude full seventy years; insomuch, as *Zion* was not only become as a torn and plowed up field, *Jerusalem* a heap of stone and rubble, the mountain of the temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars; but (as *Jerome* speaketh) even the birds of the air scorned to fly over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soil.

\* The word *Nethinim* or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were à Deo dati) or as *Junius* expounds it, *deducti*, is used, *1 Chron. 9. 2.* and in *Eldras* and *Nehemiah* often. b Set in the latter half of *Manasseh*. c *2 Sam. 5. 6.* d *Jol. cont. App. 1. 1. Sura-bo, Geog. 1. 16.* e *2 Chron. 12.* f *2 Kings 14.* g *2 Kings 16.* h *1 Chron. 5. 16.* i *2 Kings 25.* j *2 Kings 19.* k *2 Par. 18.* l *Mich. 3.* m *Hier. 25. 26. 29.*



Then seventy years being expired, according to the prophecy of <sup>a</sup>*Daniel*, and the *Jews*, by the grace of *Cyrus*, returned, the temple was again built, tho' with interruption and difficulty enough, and the city meanly inhabited, and without walls, or other defences, for some sixty and odd years, till <sup>b</sup>*Nehe-miah*, by the favour of *Artaxerxes*, rebuilt them. Then again was the temple and city spoiled by *Bago-fes*, or *Vagofes*, lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*; after, by <sup>c</sup>*Ptolomeus* I; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and again by *Apollonius* his lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed; tho' *Craffus*, in his *Parthian* expedition, took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industry or bounty of good princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the land, thro' the exhortation of godly kings, made many and large offerings to repair the temple of *Solomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomeus Lagi* to the second temple, was requited by the bounty of his son *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Jerusalem* out of other nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the city or temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the reign of <sup>d</sup>*Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent king, who amplified the city, new built the temple, and with many sumptuous works, did so adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious, than they had been in the days of *Solomon*.

### SECT. III.

*Of the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Romans.*

**I**N this flourishing estate, it was, at the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus*; and after his death and ascension it so continued about forty years: but then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of *Christ's* death, and to punish the *Jews* sinful ingratitude, encompass it with the *Roman* army, and became lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Jews*, from all parts, were come up to the celebration of the passover; so as the city was then filled with many hundred thousands of all sorts, and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil dissension, oppress'd them within the walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumeans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the *Jews* kingdom, thrust themselves into the city, on purpose to betray it, who also burnt the temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* took it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging, to the consummation of the victory, <sup>e</sup>eleven hundred thousand souls; and the city was so beaten down, and demolished, as those which came afterwards to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such place or habitation: only the three *Herodian* towers (works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* garisons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and state remaining, after-ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining that there-over became victorious.

After this, such *Jews* as were scattered here and there in *Judea*, and other provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the city; and by degrees to rebuild it, and to strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* state; but after sixty-five years, when they again offered to revolt, and rebel, *Ælius Adrianus* the emperor, slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three *Herodian* towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himself had foretold; *That there should not stand one stone upon another*, of that ungrateful city. Afterwards, when his fury was appeased, and the prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Calvary*, and the sepulchre of *Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a city of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he caused a fow to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which he did in despite of the *Jews* nation; making an edict, that they should not from thenceforth ever enter into the city, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place overtopping it.

But the Christian religion flourishing in <sup>f</sup>*Palestina*, it was inhabited at length by all nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued five hundred years.

It was afterwards in the 636th year after *Christ*, taken by the <sup>g</sup>*Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400 and odd years.

In the year 1099, it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*, which <sup>h</sup>*Godfrey*, when he was elected king thereof, refused to be crowned with a crown of gold, because *Christ*, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the successors of *Godfrey* eighty eight years: till in the year 1197, it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and lastly, in the year 1517, in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* cast out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzum-barec*, or the Holy city. Neither was it *Jerusalem* alone, that hath so oftentimes been beaten down and made desolate, but all the great ages of the world have with their inhabitants, in several times and ages, suffered the same shipwreck. And it hath been God's just will, to the end others might take warning, if they would; not only to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places they possess'd; of the walls and building; yea, of the soil, and the beasts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertility, and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands, which it fed in the days of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not only to consume with fire from heaven, the cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soil it self hath felt, and doth feel, the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any small number of them, to be sacrificed to himself; neither was it enough that *Achan* himself was stoned, but that his moveables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

<sup>a</sup> Hier. 12. 3. trad. Heb. <sup>b</sup> Nehem. 12. 34, &c. <sup>c</sup> The first of the Egyptian kings after Alexander Macedon, who dissenting from his religion, came up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice. Joseph. 12. Ant. 1. <sup>d</sup> M. T. C. pro Sylla. <sup>e</sup> Ed. 1. c. 4. 45. <sup>f</sup> Gul. Tyr. bell. sac. 1. 14. c. 12. <sup>g</sup> Onuph. Chron. <sup>h</sup> Gul. Tyr. 1. 8. c. 5. 18. 19, &c.



SECT. IV.

*Of the vain and malicious reports of heathen writers, touching the ancient Jews.*

OF the original of the Jews, prophane writers have conceived diversly and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Isis* governed *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Jerosolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that nation, with whom they planted the neighbour regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But *Justin*, of all others most malicious, doth derive the Jews from the *Syrian* kings; of whom *Damascus*, saith he, was the first; and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He again supposeth (somewhat contrary to himself) that *Israel* had 10 sons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of *Israel* he calleth *Joseph*; who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in magical arts, and in the interpretations of dreams, and signs prodigious, and this *Joseph*, saith he, was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foul diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the desarts they suffered extream thirst and famine, and therein found relief the 7th day, for this cause ever after observed the 7th day, and kept it holy; making it a law among themselves, which afterwards became a branch of their religion. He addeth also, that they might not marry out of their own tribes, lest discovering their uncleanness, they might also be expelled by other nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. These and such like fables hath *Justin*.

*Cornelius Tacitus*, doth as grossly belie them in affirming, that in the inmost oratory of their temple, they had the golden head of an ass, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himself, having in the 5th book of his own history truly confessed of the Jews, that they worshipped one only God: and thought it most prophane to represent the Deity by any material figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their temples, no image or representation, no not so much as in any city by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Judas* with *Idumea*, the first parents of the Jews.

*Claudius Iolans* draws them from *Judeus*, whose parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedemonians*, challenged kindred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Josephus*. Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine letters; tho' wrested and perverted according to the custom of the heathen. For so they obscured and altered the story of the creation, of paradise, of the flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age; to *Noah* and his sons, in the second; and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrews*; all which feignings, as touching the Jews and their originals, *Josephus* against *Appion*, and *Tertullian* have sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad*

and *Heber*; no man doubteth: and so *Chaldeans* originally taking name either of *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, or else, saith *Montanus*, of wandering, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the *Greek* grammarian, derive the *Hebrews* or *Jews*, from *Arabon*; having mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the son of *Heber*, in the 6th descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*; for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chief part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the son of *Jacob*, and became *Judeans* or *Jews*; as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the son of *Joseph*, the chief of the patriarchs of the ten tribes; the rest of the ten tribes were comprehended, but were first rooted out when the kingdom of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonosor*.

The government which this nation underwent, was first paternal: which continued till they served the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their captains and leaders, *Moses* and *Joshua*, by a policy divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to judges. Fourthly, they desired a king, and had *Saul* for the first: of whom and his successors, before we intreat, we are first to speak of their government under judges, after the death of *Joshua*; with somewhat of the things of fame in other nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

*Of the memorable things that happened in the world, from the death of Joshua, to the war of Troy; which was about the time of Jephtha.*

SECT. I.

*Of the Inter-regnum after Joshua's death: and of Othoniel.*

WHEN *Joshua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70 elders, and the high priest, held authority over the people, and ordered that common-wealth: it pleased God to direct the tribe of *Juda* (in whom the kingdom was afterwards established) to undertake the war against the *Canaanites*, over whom (with God's favour, and the assistance of *Simcon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew 10000, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner; the greatest and cruellest commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*. This tyrant's cruelty, as elsewhere hath been signified, they returned in the same kind upon his own head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his own person (before no otherwise known unto him, but by his malicious imagination) made him confess and acknowledge God's just judgment against himself.

The tribes of *Juda* and *Simcon* did also master and possess, during this *Inter-regnum* (or, as some think, before the death of *Joshua*) the cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Eckron*, and *Jerusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebusites* afterwards re-edified. They took also the cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriath-sepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And altho' it be not set down in express words, that any

<sup>a</sup> Justin. l. 36.

<sup>b</sup> Cited by Stephanus in Judea.

<sup>c</sup> Tert. in Apol.

<sup>d</sup> Caleb. f. 63



one person commanded in chief over the people, as *Moses* and *Joshua* did; yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority amongst them, and that he with the advice of *Phinees* directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a chief, the good success which followed their undertakings witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Joshua* governed, as appears *Josh. x. 39.* that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the captains; for the performance of which enterprize, he promised his daughter *Achsah*: which he performed to *Othniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and it may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they only recovered the mountainous countries (for they could not drive out the inhabitants of the vallies, <sup>a</sup> *because they had chariots of iron.*) The rest of the tribes fought also to enlarge and establish their own territories; in which war they laboured with variable success; for as the house of *Joseph* recovered <sup>b</sup> *Bethel* or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain countries; and forc'd them to save themselves in the mountains. And now the *Israelites* unmindful of God's benefits, and how often he had miraculously afore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only join themselves in marriage with the heathen nations; but (that which was more detestable) they served the idols of *Baal*, and *Asteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God whom they had provoked with their idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*; whom *Chusban Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of God's displeasure against them 8 years, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up <sup>c</sup> *Othniel* to be their judge and leader; who by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and inforc'd the *Aramites* to return into their own desarts, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoining; after which the *Israelites* had peace 40 years, during all the time of *Othniel's* government. This *Othniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to have been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of *Judges* he is twice called *Othniel* the son of *Cenaz*, *Caleb's* younger brother. Others do rather interpret those words (*Caleb's* younger brother) as if they signified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Caleb's* daughter should marry with her own uncle; yet it follows not therefore, that *Othniel* should have been the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better think, that he was the nephew of *Caleb* (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of scripture seem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the son of *Jephunneh*, and *Othniel* the son of *Cenaz*, *Caleb's* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brother's son; to whom it was not only lawful, but commendable, to marry with his cousin german *Caleb's* daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Joshua*, to the government of *Othniel*, it cannot be found; but it seems to have been no short time: for many wars were made in that space against the people of the land. *Laiſh* was then taken (as is thought)

by the *Danites*; and the best writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Joshua* and *Othniel*, that civil war broke out between the *Benjamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Levite's* wife. For it is written, that in those days there was no king in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes. And as <sup>d</sup> *Juda* led the people against the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a judge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to have been when *Joshua* was dead, and before the government of *Othniel*; especially, considering, that all other times wherein they wanted governours, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attended such a civil war; if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action, wherein they so weakned the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers, as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

## SECT. II.

*Of the memorable things of this age, of other nations; and of the difficulty in the computation of times.*

There lived in this age of *Othniel*, *Pandion*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homero*, the 5th king of *Athens*; who began to rule in the 20th year of *Othniel*, and governed 40 years. He was father to *Erietheus*: his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

*Cadmus* also about this time obtained *Thebes*; of whose daughter *Semele* was born, *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater*; under whom *Linus* the musician lived. In his time also the cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharsus* were built.

*Ida* and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of iron: but *Genesis* hath taught us the contrary, and that <sup>e</sup> *Tubal-Cain* wrought cunningly both in iron and brass. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*; whom divers chronologers find in *Ehud's* time. But *St. Augustine* making a repetition of these fables, which were devised among the *Grecians*, and other nations, during the government of the judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives*, upon the 13th chapter of *St. Augustine de Civitate Dei*, and the 18th book, hath gathered all the opinions of this man's progeny, where he that desires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica*, and the son of *Eleusius* king of *Eleusina*: which *Eleusius*, by careful industry, had fed the people of that territory, in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by sea in a kind of galley or long boat, which carried in her prow an engraven or carved serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return, and to relieve his people with corn, from some neighbour nation; it was leignd by the poets, that his coach was carried by serpents through the air.

Whether the times of these kings, which lived together with *Othniel*, and after him with the rest of the judges, and kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which,

<sup>a</sup> *Judg. i. 19.*    <sup>b</sup> *Judg. i. 25.*    *Judg. i. 32.*    <sup>c</sup> *Judg. 3. 10.*    <sup>d</sup> *Judg. 17, 18, and 19.*    <sup>e</sup> *Gen. 4. 22. If he came*  
the name of *Vulcan* by *Apharetiſ* of the two first letters.    would



would require the whole time of a long life; and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I err with others of better judgment. For whether *Eusebius*, and all that follow him, or his opposites (who made themselves so conversant with these ancient kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off, and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the authors themselves, from whom the ancientest chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture: secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder days, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any man's understanding, save his own, but that he is greatly distracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reigns of heathen kings and princes; but even in the computation of those times, which the indisputable authority of holy scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abraham's* birth; and after in the times of the judges, and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression, to the building of *Solomon's* temple, in the *Persian* empire, the 70 weeks; and in what not? Wheresoever the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many ways to uncover the sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condens'd than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations; and therefore that such and such kings and kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwise, than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least a private opinion; which I submit to better judgments. *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem querenda*; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, says *Diodore*.

### SECT. III.

*Of Ehud's time, and of Proserpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, and others that lived about these times.*

**A**FTER the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell back to their former idolatry, God encouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them; to perform which, he joined the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalek* unto his own, and so (as all kind of misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time withdrawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his displeasure) these heathen neighbouring nations, had an easy conquest over *Israel*; whom God himself exposed to those perils; within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen years, under *Eglon* king of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance; but raised up *Ehud* the son of *Gera* to deliver them; by which weak man, tho' maimed in his right-hand, yet confident in the justice of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers, to contend with the head of those valiant nations; he resolved to attempt upon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following victory; especially giving his nation no time to re-establish their government, or to choose a king to command, and direct them in the war. According to which resolution, *Ehud*

went on as an ambassador to *Eglon*, laden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed; he pierced his body with a poniard, made on purpose, with a double edge; and shutting the doors of his closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did repass *Jordan*, and invading the territory of *Moab*, overthrew their army consisting of 10000 able and strong men; whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his successor had miraculously slain 600 *Philistines* with an ox goad; the land and people of *Israel* lived in peace, unto the end of 80 years, from the death of *Othoniel*; which term expired in the world's year 2691.

In the days of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sons, travelled into *Moab*; and so the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the 80 years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* king of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*; or (according to *Pausanias* in *Att.*) by the river *Cephissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemus*, if he mean not two distinct rivers. This stealth being made known to *Pyrrhous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joined themselves, they agreed together to recover her; but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had, as they say, a very huge dog, which fastned on *Pyrrhous*, and tore him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him; and by strength took and mastered the dog *Cerberus*; whereof grew the fable of *Hercules's* delivering of *Theseus* out of hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this story, somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrhous*, saith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* daughter to *Aidonius*, king of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to wife, the mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a general name also for all fair women. This purpose of theirs being known to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrhous* were both taken; and because *Pyrrhous* was the principal in this conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius's* great dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner; till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Euristheus* delivered him by a strong hand. The *Molossi* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the mountains of *Pindus*; of which mountains, *Oeta* is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The river of *Acheron* (which the poets describe to be in hell) riseth out of the same hills. There is another nation of the *Molossi* in *Thesaly*; but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopei*, saith *Plutarch* in his *Greek questions*.

The rape of *Orithya* the daughter of *Erichonius*, king of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The poets ascribe this rape to the north-wind, because *Thrace* is situate north from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, tore'd her in the passage, and withal cut out her tongue that she might not complain; persuading *Progne's* wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way, all which her brother-in-law's merciless behaviour towards her, *Philomela* express'd by her needle upon



on cloth, and sent it to *Progne*. In revenge whereof *Progne* caused her only son *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so dress'd as it appear'd to be some other ordinary food; of which when he had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands, and feet, to be presented unto him; and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens*, where her father *Pandion* yet lived, as the poets feigned, that she was turned into a swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*; and the tomb of *Tereus*, <sup>a</sup> *Pausanias* hath built near the rocks *Mergi*, in the territory of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to have been done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his <sup>b</sup> *Peloponnesian* war, that this *Tereus* was not king in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odrysæ* (as the poets call him *Odrysus*) but that *Phocis*, a country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a city whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandion's* time inhabited by *Thracians*; of which this *Tereus* was king: whence *Pandion*, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his son-in-law; as it is good to believe, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* king of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour king from whom he might have succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the kingdom of *Odrysæ*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the poets chose a swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seem to have been, partly because, as *Pausanias* says, *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione hirundines*; As if a swallow remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for ever after hate that place.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is said to have understood the voices of birds and beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent physician. He restored to their former health the daughters of <sup>c</sup> *Prætus* king of the *Argives*, who (as the poets please) were made mad by *Juno*; and thinking themselves to be kine, fled into the woods, fearing to be constrained to the plough; for in those countries, where the ground was light, they did use often to plough with kine.

In the 47th year of *Ebud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Phemone*, the chief priest of <sup>d</sup> *Apollo* in *Delphos*, devised the heroical verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, king of *Lydia*; whom *Eusebius* makes king of *Phrygia*; and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the fable, that some poets have applied to the passion of love, and some to the covetous that dare not enjoy his riches. <sup>e</sup> *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the son of *Jupiter*, by the nymph *Pleta*; *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zeze*, give him another mother. He was said to be the son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it; because he had that planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his own son to be slain and dress'd for the banquet; of whom *Ceres* eat part of one of the shoulders; whereby was signified, that those men which seek after divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it; no not the care of their own children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was devised, that he had always water and fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that tho' he abounded (by reason of his riches)

in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoy'd no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ovid*:

*Querit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat  
Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water seeks  
for water, and doth miss,  
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at,  
his long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and virtue to mortal men; which story *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly express'd in verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, that *Tantalus*, tho' he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against covetousness:

*Tantalus a labiis sitiens fugientia captat  
Flumina. Quid rides? mutato nomine de te  
Fabula narratur.*

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch  
at streams that from him flee.  
Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd,  
the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*.

*Immortalitatem quod furatus,  
Coetaniis convivis  
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.*

Because that stealing immortality,  
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* give  
To guests of his own age to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of divinity, ought not to be imparted to the unpure *Vulgar*. For as the cleanest meats in a foul stomach, are therein corrupted; so the most high and reserved mysteries are often perverted, by an unclean and defiled mind.

To you it is given (saith Christ in *St. Mark* iv. 11.) to know the mystery of the kingdom of God, but unto them that are without all things be done in parables. So is it said of him in *Mark* iv. 34. that he expounded all things to his disciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzen* infer upon a place of *St. Paul*; <sup>f</sup> *Quod si Paulo licuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem cælum tertium & usque ad illud progressio suppeditavit, fortasse de Deo nobis aliquid amplius constaret*; If *Paul* might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heavens, and his going thither, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know somewhat more of God.

*Pythagoras*, saith *Renclin*, thought it not the part of a wise man, *Asino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta scarabeus*; quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo divinarum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur; To set an ass to a harp, or to learn mysteries, which he would handle as a swine doth a trumpet, or a jay a vial, or scarabees and unclean flies sovereign ointment: wherefore he commanded silence to his disciples, that they should not disclose divine

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 9. *Paus.* in *Att.*    <sup>b</sup> *Thuc.* l. 2.    <sup>c</sup> *Paus.* l. 1. *Homer.* *Odyss.* 11.    <sup>d</sup> *Paus.*    <sup>e</sup> *Euseb.* prep. *Evang.* l. 2. *Zeze* hist. 10. *Chil.* 5.    <sup>f</sup> *Greg.* in *Orat.* de recta ratione diff. de Deo. 2 *Cor.* 12.



mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by meditation, than by babling. And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their mysteries among their priests in certain hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the vulgar ; and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the cotemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ebud*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* lived whom *Apollo* slew, because he sought to force his mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the son of *Elara*, the daughter of *Orchomenus* ; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno's* revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where she was delivered of *Tityus* ; whose mother dying, and himself therein nourished, he was therefore called the son of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the grave of this giant, affirms that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*.

*Porrectusque novem Tityus per jugera terræ,  
Assiduas atro viscere pascit aves.*

Nine furlongs stretch'd lies *Tityus*,  
who for his wicked deeds  
The hungry birds with his  
renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound ; that *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked tyrant of *Panopea*, a city in *Phocis*, it was feigned by the poets to the terror of others, that he was still eaten in hell by birds, and yet still lived, and had his flesh renewed.

*Admetus* king of *Theffaly* lived also in this age, whom, it is said, that *Apollo* first served as a herdsman, and afterwards for his excellent wit was by him advanced ; but having slain *Hyacinthus*, he cross'd the *Hellepont*, and fled into *Phrygia* ; where, together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in brick, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leap into their places by playing on his harp ; according to him in *Ovid* which faith :

*Ilion aspicias, firmataque turribus altis,  
Maenia Apollineæ structa Canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou shalt see  
with walls and towers high,  
Built with the harp of wise  
*Apollo's* harmony.

Thus the poets ; but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megarians* witness, faith *Pausanias*.

In these days also of *Ebud*, or (as some find it) in the days of *Deborah*, lived *Perseus* the son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whose soldiers (as they sailed out of *Peloponnesus* to seek their adventure on *Africa* side) *Medusa* the daughter and successor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as she hunted near the lake *Triton*, was surpriz'd and slain ; whose beauty when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be embalmed, and carried into *Greece* : the beauty whereof was such, and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa's* head, were turned into stones.

*Cecrops*, the second of that name, and 7th king of *Athens*, and *Alerisus* the 13th, or after *Ensebus* the 14th king of the *Argives*, began also their

reigns, as it is said, in the time of this judge ; of which the first ruled 40 years, and the second, 31 years. Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the son of *Glaucus*, the son of *Sisyphus* ; who incited by *Antea* or *Sthenobia* the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband that he offered to force her : whereupon *Prætus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affairs of weight, between him and his son-in-law *Jobates* ; giving secret order to *Jobates* to dispatch him : but *Jobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, employed him against *Chymæra*, a monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pitying his innocency, sent him the wing'd horse *Pegasus*, sprung up of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slain by the soldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport ; a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva* : upon which beast *Bellerophon* overcame *Chymæra*, and performed the other services given him in charge ; which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to have slain him ; but being victorious also over all those, he arrived to *Jobates* in safety ; whom *Jobates* for his eminent virtues honoured, first, with one of his daughters, and afterward with his kingdom : after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to fly up to heaven upon his *Pegasus* ; whose pride *Jupiter* disdaining, caused one of his stinging flies so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind, of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven ; and being fed in *Jupiter's* own stable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the sun. This tale is diversely expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieve men in their innocent, and undeserved adversity, and to cast down those which are too high-minded : according to that which is said of *Bellerophon* ; that when he was exposed to extremum hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour ; but waxing over-proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of sorrow and ever-during misery. Secondly, By others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel pirate of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow a lion, a goat in the mid-ship, and a dragon in the stern, of which three beasts this monster *Chymæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kind of galley of such swiftnefs, that it was called the flying horse ; to whom the invention of sails (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other authors ; but it is not unlikely, that *Chymæra* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Æneas*.

*Ion* also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent *Javan*) derive their name from *Iones*, is said to have been about *Ebud's* time : *Homer* calls them *Iaones*, which hath a near resemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be so, that *Ion* himself took name from *Javan* ; it being a custom observable in the histories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a forefather, in some of the principal of his issue.

The invasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age : But *St. Augustine* makes him far more ancient ; placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Joshua*.

About the end of the 80 years, ascribed to *Ebud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished : who gave name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

<sup>a</sup> Hom. Odyf. 11. <sup>b</sup> Pauf. in Att. <sup>c</sup> Triton a lake of Africa, <sup>d</sup> which Pliny calleth Pallantias. Didym. in perieg. hist. <sup>e</sup> En-  
sch. in Chron. <sup>f</sup> Plutarch. in claris mulier. <sup>g</sup> L. 5. Æneid <sup>h</sup> Homer in hymno ad Apoll. Lib. 18. c. 12. de Civ. Dei. l.  
18. c. 15.



## SECT. IV.

Of Deborah, and her cotemporaries.

AFTER *Israel* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80 years, they again began to forget the Giver of all goodness, and many of those being worn out, which were witnesses of the former misery, and of God's deliverance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to return to their former neglect of God's commandments. For as plenty and peace are the parents of idle security; so is security as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subversion; of which all estates in the world have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore, when their sins were again ripe for punishment, *Jabin* king of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the territory of *Israel*, and having in his service 900 iron chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twenty years, till it pleased God to raise up *Deborah*, the prophetess, who encouraged *Barac* to levy a force out of *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephtalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to have proceeded, partly from the authority that *Barac* had among them, being of the same tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievances, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nephtalim*. So in the days of *Jephtha*, the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites*, with whom the war was, press'd most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Moabites*; and by the counsel and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kenite's* wife: so was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty *Assyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a king of kings, and resistless, he overthrew by his own imaginations the causers of his brutish melancholy; and changed his matchless pride into the base humility of a beast. And to prove that he is the Lord of all power, he sometimes punisheth by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the army of *Sennacherib* by his angel; or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moses's* time: sometimes by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the sea, and the *Canaanites* by hail-stones in the time of *Joshua*: sometimes by the ministry of men, as when he overthrew the four kings of the east, *Chedorlaomer* and his companions, by the household servants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set upon their own confederates the army of the *Edomites*; and having slain them to kill one another in the sight of *Jebo-saphat*; and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the prophetess speak unto *Barac* in these words: <sup>b</sup> *But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hand of a woman.* In which victory all the strength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which war, it seemeth that *Jabin* himself also perished, as appeareth by *Judges* iv. 24.

After all which *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulness, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate

whereunto *Israel* was brought for their idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering nations in these words: <sup>c</sup> *Was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand in Israel?* She also sheweth how the *Israelites* were severed and amazed, some of them confined over *Jordan*, and durst not join themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*; that the *Asherites* kept the sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the land; and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the sea, crept into their ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She then curseth the inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battle (belike fearing the success) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesteth *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her tent; shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For tho' the family of *Heber* were enforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondence with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*; yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, She derideth the mother of *Sisera*, who promised her son the victory in her own hopes; and fancied to herself, and described the spoils both of garments and maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praises and thanks to God only victorious.

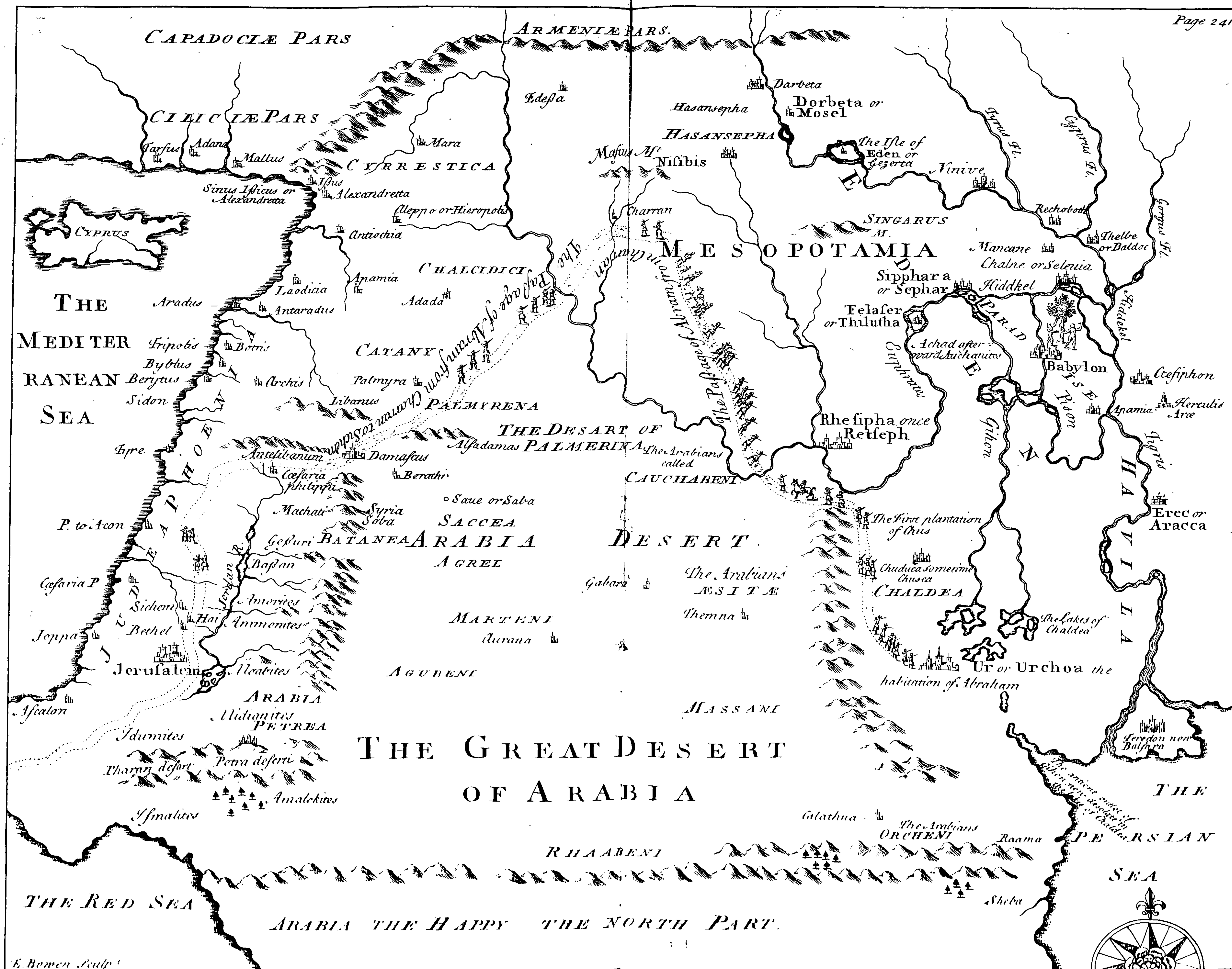
From the beginning of *Jabin's* oppression, to the end of that peace which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased unto *Israel*, there passed 40 years. In which time the kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544 years was translated to *Mycenæ*. The translation of this kingdom, *Vives*, out of *Pausanias*, writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the son of *Lynceus* divided the kingdom; of which *Acrisius*, being eldest, held *Argos* itself: *Prætus* his brother possess'd *Ephyra* or *Corinth*, and *Tyrinthos*, and other cities, with all the territory towards the sea, there being many monuments in *Tyrinthos* which witness *Prætus's* possession, saith <sup>d</sup> *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an oracle, that he should be slain by the son of his daughter *Danae*; whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the lady being exceeding fair, it is feigned that *Jupiter* turned himself into a golden shower, which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some king's son, or other worthy man, corrupted her keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perseus* was born; who, when he grew to man's estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grandfather the invention of the *Discus*, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this, *Perseus*, to avoid the infamy of parricide in *Argos*, changed kingdoms with his uncle *Prætus*; and built *Mycenæ*. This imprisonment of *Danae* *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise; and says, that she was enclosed in a brazen vault, under the king's hall, with her nurse and keepers. Upon this close custody *Horace* hath this witty observation.

*Inclusam Danaen, turris abenea,  
Robustæque fores, & vigilum Canum  
Tristes excubie, munierant satis  
Nocturnis ab adulteris:  
Si non Acrisium virginis abdite  
Custodem pavidum Jupiter & Venus  
Risissent, fore enim tutum iter & patens,  
Converso in pretium Deo.*

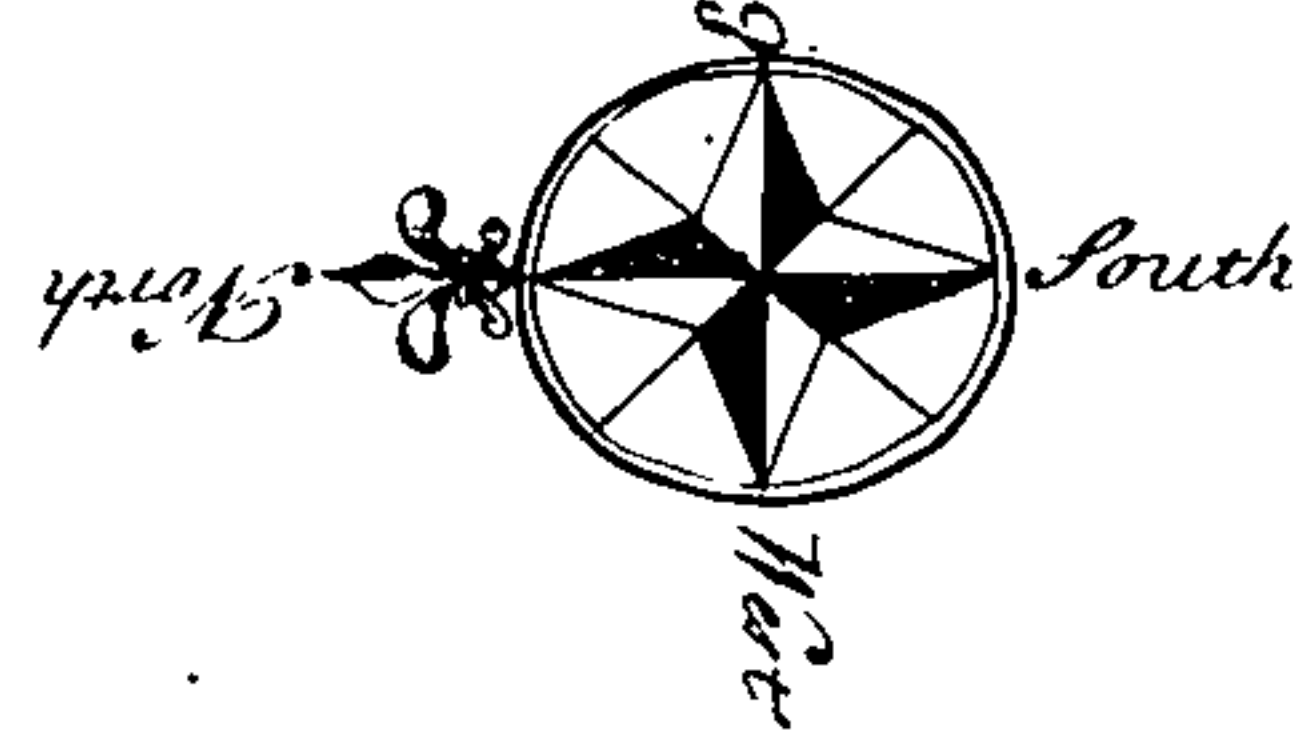
<sup>a</sup> Chron. 20.<sup>b</sup> Judg 4 9.<sup>c</sup> Judg 5 18<sup>d</sup> Pausan in Corinthiacis.







Agubeni



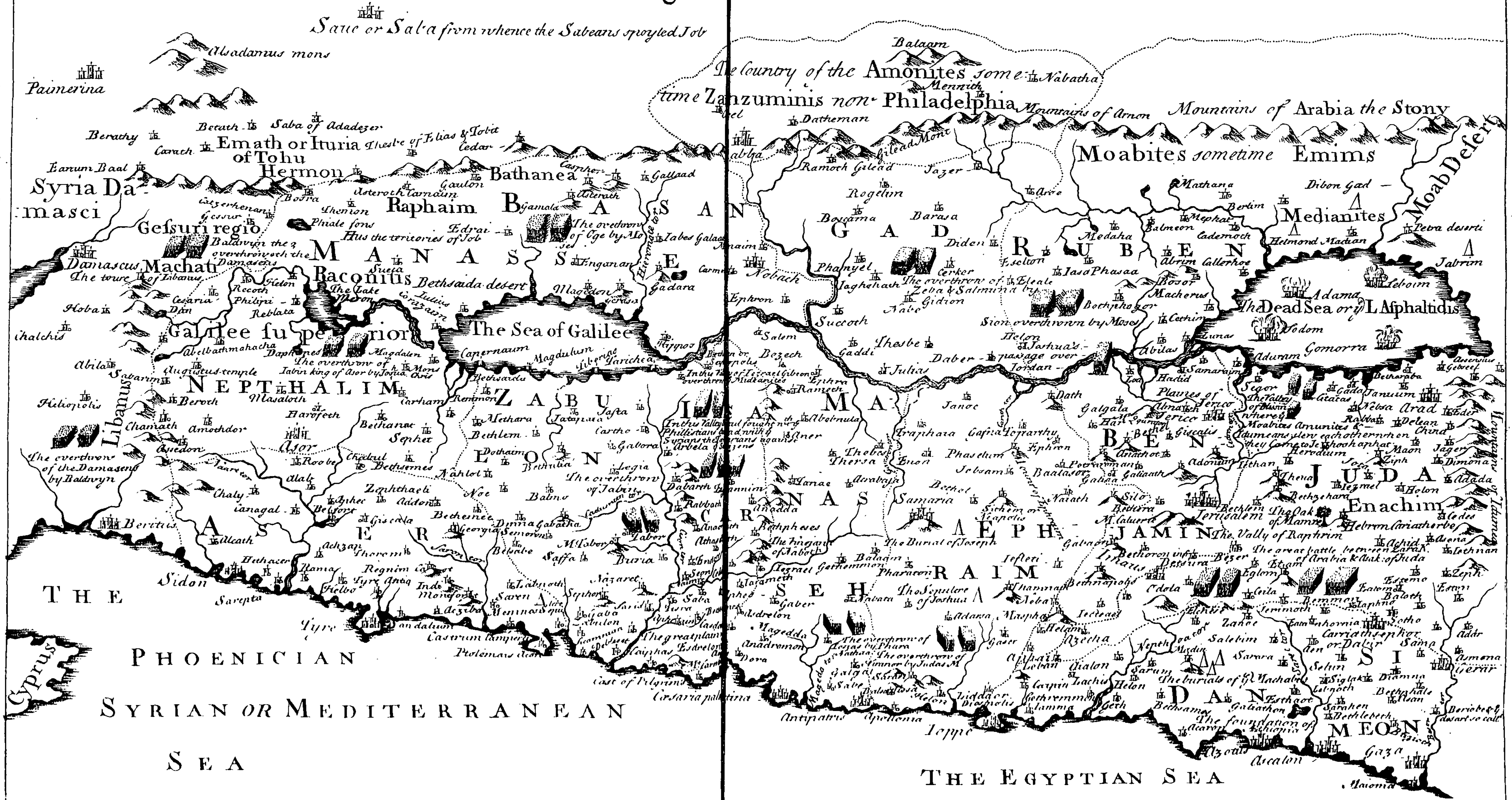
THE DESERT OF ARABIA

ARABIA THE STONY

Saccæa

Agræi

Saua or Sal'a from whence the Sabæans spoiled Job





*Aurum per medios ire satellites,  
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius  
Ictu fulmineo.*

The brazen towers with doors close bar'd,  
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,  
Kept safe the maidenhead  
Of Danae from secret love :  
Till smiling *Venus*, and wise *Jove*  
Beguil'd her father's dread.  
For chang'd into a golden shower,  
The God into her lap did pour  
Himself, and took his pleasure.  
Thro' guards and stony walls to break,  
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,  
Than is a golden treasure.

*The first kings of the Argives were these :*

*Inachus* the first king, who began to reign in the first year of *Jacob*, and the sixty-first of *Isaac*; from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Castor* mis-reckoneth 400 years. This kingdom before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to have stood 544 years, others but at 417. *Io* was the daughter of this *Inachus*, whom the *Egyptians* called *Isis*.

*PHORONEUS,*  
*APIS,*  
*ARGUS,*  
*PIRASUS,*  
*PHORBAS,*  
*TRIOPAS,*  
*CROTOPUS,*  
*STHENELUS,*  
*DANAUS,*  
*LYNCEUS.*  
*ABAS,*  
*ACRISIUS,*  
*PELOPS.*

After the translation to *Mycæna*, *Mar. Scotus* finds these kings:

*PERSEUS,*  
*STHENELUS,*  
*EURISTHEUS.*

*Atræus* } The sons *Pelops* by *Hippodamia* ;  
and } *Atræus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and  
*Thyestes*, } *Menelaus*.

*AGAMEMNON,*  
*ÆGISTHUS,*  
*ORESTES,*  
*TISAMENUS,*  
*PENTHILUS,* and  
*COMETES.*

Of these kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two first, and the last; beginning with *Euristheus*; and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tisamennus's* time the *Heraclide* returned into *Peloponnesus*, of which hereafter.

The cotemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas*, who reigned in *Phrygia*; and *Ilus*, who built *Ilium*; with others mentioned in our chronological table, as cotemporaries with *Debora*.

#### SECT. V.

Of *Gideon*, and of *Dædalus*, *Sphinx*, *Minos*, and others that lived in this age.

**D**E *BORAH* and *Barac* being dead; the *Midianites* assisted by the *Amalekites* infested *Is-*

*rael*. For when under a judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity; the judge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring nations did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to save themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitful vallies; and in harvest time by themselves, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying all that grew up, covering the fields as thick as grasshoppers; which servitude lasted seven years.

Then the Lord by his angel stirred up <sup>b</sup> *Gideon* the son of *Joash*, afterwards called *Jerubaal*; whose fear and unwillingness, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, <sup>c</sup> namely 300 out of 32000 men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of hosts: each of these 300, by *Gideon's* appointment, carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gave the great army of their enemies an alarm; who hearing so loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the army of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken with a sudden fear, they all fled without a stroke stricken; and were slaughtered in great numbers, two of their princes being made prisoners and slain. In his return the *Ephraimites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, because he made war without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten; who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with travel, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end that (his men being refreshed) he might overtake the other two kings of the *Midianites*, which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four princes of the nations which had invaded and wasted *Israel*; to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* which fled.

*Gideon* being denied by them of *Succoth*, sought the like relief from the inhabitants of *Peniel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatned therefore the revenge, which in his return from the prosecution of the other two princes he performed; to wit, that he would tear the flesh of those of *Succoth* with thorns and briars, and destroy the inhabitants and city of *Peniel*. Now why the people of these two cities should refuse relief to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victory, it I may presume to make conjecture; it seems likely, first, that those cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Midianites* into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them; or else they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were escaped with a great part of their army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, It may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men, as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For their are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the wars, that both envy and malign others, if they

<sup>a</sup> Judg. 6. <sup>b</sup> Judg. 6. 8. <sup>c</sup> Judg. 6. and 7.



perform any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their own country, tho' themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their prince and country should suffer hazard and want, than that such men as the mil-like, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or wheresoever it were that he refreshed himself, and his weary and hungry foldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the utmost: and finding *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* in <sup>b</sup> *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt upon them) he again surprized them, and slaughtered those 15000 remaining; having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000, and withal he took *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* prisoners; whom, because themselves had executed *Gideon's* brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused to be slain: or (as it is written) at their own request slew them with his own hands: his son, whom he first commanded to do it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the elders of *Succoth*, and of the citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers or by his brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unsatisfied; for as he slew the seventy elders of *Succoth*, with great and unusual torments, so were his own seventy sons, all but one, murdered by his own bastard *Abimelech*. The like analogy is observed by the *Rabines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having caused the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, others of them to be cast into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own first-born by his angel, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his army in the *Red* sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given, both out of the scriptures, and other histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the present for this victory, and their own deliverance, as they offered him the sovereignty over them, and to establish him in the government; which he refused, answering, *I will not reign over you, neither shall my child reign over you, but the Lord shall*, &c. But he desired the people, that they would bestow on him the golden ear-rings, which every man had gotten. For the *Isbmaelites*, neighbours, and mix'd with the *Midianites*, used to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred shekles of gold, which makes of ours, 2380 pounds, if we follow the account of the shekle vulgar. And because he converted that gold into an ephod, a garment of gold, blew silk, purple, scarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the high priest only, and set up the same in his own city of *Ophra*, or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to idolatry, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kind of ephod besides this of the high priests which the *Levites* used, and so did *David* when he danced before the ark; and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linen only.

Now if any man demand, how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300 men to destroy 120000 of their enemies; and afterwards 15000 which remained, we may remember, that altho' *Gideon* with 300

gave the first alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the army came into the slaughter, and pursuit; for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtali, and out of Asher, and out of Manasseh, pursued after the Midianites*: for this army *Gideon* left in the tents behind him, when he went down to view the army of his enemies, who with the noise of his 300 trumpets came after him to the execution.

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus* the son of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*; *Euristheus* king of *Mycenæ*, *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euristheus* the kingdom of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus* who holding his brother in jealousy, as an attempter both of his wife and crown, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be dress'd did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his son *Agamemnon* were slain by a base son of *Thyestes*, yea the grand-children, and all the lineage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideon's* time also those things were supposed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they say, having slain his nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos* king of *Crete* for succour, where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for *Minos* a labyrinth like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterwards he was said to have framed an artificial cow for *Pasiphaë* the queen, that she, being in love with a fair bull, might, by putting herself into the cow, satisfy her lust, a thing no less unnatural than incredible, had not that shameless emperor *Domitian*, exhibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the people of *Rome* in his amphitheatre; on purpose as may seem to verify the old fable. For so it appears by those verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering poet magnifieth the abominable shew as a goodly pageant in those vicious times.

*Junctam Pasiphaën Diſteo credite tauro  
Vidimus, accepit fabula priſca fidem.  
Nec ſe miratur Cæſar, longæva vetuſtaſ  
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphaë*, *Servius* makes a less dishonest construction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counsel, and her pandar for the enticing of a secretary of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a bull, who begat her with child, and that she being delivered of two sons, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that she was delivered of the monster *Minotaur* half a man, and half a bull. But this practice being discovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be slain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* king of *Sicily*; in which passage he made such expedition, as it was feigned that he fashioned wings for himself, and his son to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats, which had oars only, *Dædalus* framed sails both for his own boat, and for his sons, by which he out-went those that had him in chase. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himself overbold, was over-borne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dædalus*, that he made images that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could only present the body and head of those men, whom they carved to

<sup>a</sup> *Judg. 8. 23* <sup>b</sup> *Judg. 8. 23* <sup>c</sup> *Exod. 28* <sup>d</sup> *Judg. 8. 23*

<sup>e</sup> *Judg. 8. 23*

<sup>f</sup> *Exod. 28*

<sup>g</sup> *Judg. 7. 23*



counterfeit, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seen some of those that were called the images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With <sup>a</sup> *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the creation, of the sun and moon's course, and of the generation of living creatures, but in the end he was slain by *Hercules* his scholar with his own harp.

Again, in this age those things spoken of <sup>b</sup> *Sphinx* and *Oedipus* are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Corinthian* army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her pounding of riddles to those whom she mastered, was meant by the rocky and inaccessible mountain near *Thebes* which she defended, and by *Oedipus* dissolving her problem, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a lion for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx* were more probable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*; who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightful part, with her own troop she held the mountain by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharp war upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He possess'd himself of *Megara* by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the king. He was long master of the sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every year seven of their sons; which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed when I come to the time of the next judge *Thola*. In the end he was slain at <sup>c</sup> *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia* by *Cocalus* the king, while he pursued *Dædalus*; and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giver to those islands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the giant, who was said to have 60 and odd cubits of length, which tho' *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman* in *Libya*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*; yet for my self I think it but a loud lye. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, <sup>d</sup> *Eusebius* affirmeth; and because he cast so many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the son of the earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited near the gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. <sup>e</sup> *St. Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*; but of *Libya*; and the <sup>f</sup> *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtil sophister.

#### SCET. VI.

##### *Of the expedition of the Argonauts.*

ABOUT the 11th year of *Gideon*, was that famous expedition of the *Argonauts*; of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this.

*Pelias* the son of *Neptune*, brother by the mother's side to *Aeson*, who was *Jason's* father, reigning in *Iolcus*, a town of *Theffaly*, was warned by the oracle of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but

one shoe. This *Pelias* afterwards sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brook: Whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he was able) against one of whom an oracle should advise him to take heed? To which question when *Jason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchos*, to fetch the golden fleece: *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therefore *Jason* prepared for the voyage, having a ship built by *Argus*, the son of *Phryxus*, by the counsel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the bravest men of *Greece* to sail with him: as *Typhis* the master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* sons of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two-winged sons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great sooth-sayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great wild boar, *Ascalaphus* and *Jalmenus* or *Almenus* the sons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last war of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the sons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor* and wounded *Pollux*, but were slain themselves, *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Jason* in the ship *Argo*; in whose prow was a table of the beech of *Dodona*, which could speak. They arrived first at *Lemnos*; the women of which island, having slain all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the country about *Cyzicus*, where dwelt a people called *Doliones*, over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same haven, nor being known by the *Doliones*, to be the same men; but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies, by which means they fell to blows, insomuch that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their king *Cyzicus*; which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they solemnized his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the son of *Elates*, who went to seek *Ilyas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the nymphs.

*Polyphemus* built a town in *Mysia*, called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*: from *Mysia* the *Argonauts* sailed into *Bithynia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryces* the ancient inhabitants of the country, over whom *Amycus* the son of *Neptune* was then king. He being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him, at whorl-batts, in which kind of fight he had slain many, and was now himself slain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death slew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to *Salmydessus*, a town in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a sooth-sayer dwelt, who was blind and vexed with the harpyes. The harpyes were said to be a kind of birds, which had the faces of women and foul long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greatest part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured.

<sup>a</sup> Herod. Plat. Paul. l. 9. <sup>b</sup> Strab. l. 6. <sup>c</sup> Arill. pol. 1. <sup>d</sup> Euseb. in Chr. <sup>e</sup> Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 19 c. 12. <sup>f</sup> Id. ib. Chr.



When therefore the *Argonauts* craved his advice and direction for their voyage: you shall do well (quoth he) first of all to deliver me from the harpyes, and then afterwards to ask my counsel. Whereupon they caused the table to be covered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set down, than that presently in came the harpyes, and played their accustomed pranks; when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them thro' the air; some say, that both the harpyes and the young men died of weariness in the fight, and pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith, that the harpyes did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advertised them withal of the dangerous rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did shut up the passage; wherefore he willed them to put a pigeon before them in the passage; and if that passed safe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, and perceiving that the pigeon had only lost a piece of her tail, they observed the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed thro' safe, only the end of the poop was bruised.

From thenceforward (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have stood still; for the Gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the king entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a sooth-sayer of their company was slain by a wild boar; also here *Typhis* died, and *Anceus* undertook to steer the ship. So they passed by the river *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the river *Phasis*, which runs thro' the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the haven, *Jason* went to *Æetes* the king of *Colchos*, and told him the commandment of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming; desiring him to deliver the golden fleece, which *Æetes*, as the fable goeth, promised to do, if he alone would yolk together two brazen-hoof'd bulls, and ploughing the ground with them, sow dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sow at *Thebes*. These bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire; *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whilst *Jason* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa*, the daughter of *Æetes*, fell into a most vehement love of him, so far forth, that being excellent in magic, she came privily to him, promising her help, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Jason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine, wherewith she bad him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preserve him from their violence; further she told him, that armed men would arise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sow, and set upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, she bid him throw stones amongst them, as soon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Jason* followed her counsel; whereto when the event had answered, he again demanded the fleece. But *Æetes* was so far from approving such his desire, that he devised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their ship; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jason*, and brought him by night to the fleece, which hung upon an oak in the grove of *Mars*, where they say it was kept by a dragon, that never slept. This dragon was by the magic of *Medæa* call in-

to a sleep: so taking away the golden fleece, she went with *Jason* into the ship *Argo*: having with her, her brother *Abfyrtus*.

*Æetes* understanding the practices of *Medæa*, provided to pursue the ship; whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding some, was fain to seek out the rest, and suffer his daughter to pass: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the Greek word signifieth division. Afterwards he sent many of his subjects to seek the ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they should suffer in her stead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the seas, and were come to the river *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italy*.

*Jupiter* offended with the slaughter of *Abfyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the islands *Abfyrtides*, there the ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this fable) spake to them, and said, that the anger of *Jupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Circe* from the murder of *Abfyrtus*. Now they thereupon sailing between the coasts of *Libya*, and *Gallia*, and passing thro' the sea of *Sardinia*, and along the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the isle of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sailed by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sung to allure them into danger; but *Orpheus* on the other side sung so well that he stay'd them. Only *Butes* swam out unto them, whom *Venus* ravished, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having pass'd the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoak. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, convey'd them safe thro' at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coasted *Sicily* where the beeves of the sun were, and touched at *Corcyra* the island of the *Phæaces*, where king *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the men of *Colchos*, that had been sent by *Æetes* in quest of the ship *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his will, betook themselves to new habitations; some of them dwelt in the mountains of *Corcyra*, others in the islands *Abfyrtides*, and some coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*, whereunto *Alcinous* made answer, that if she were not *Jason's* wife they should have her, but if she were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos* not daring to return home, stay'd with the *Phæaces*; so the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this island *Minos* reigned, who had a man of brass given to him (as some of the fablers say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was closed up with a brazen nail, his name was *Talus*, his custom was to run thrice a day about the island for the defence of it. When he saw the ship *Argo* pass by, he threw stones at it; but *Medæa* with her magic destroy'd him. Some say, that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortal, she drew out the nail that stop'd his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died; others there are that say, he was slain by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* sailed to *Agina*, where they were fain to fight for fresh water. And lastly from *Ægina* they sailed by *Eubœa* and *Le-*



*cris* home to *Iolcos*, where they arrived, having spent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are, that by this journey of *Jason*, understand the mystery of the philosopher's stone, called the golden fleece; to which also other super-fine chymists draw the 12 labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks, that by the golden fleece, was meant a golden book of parchment, which is of sheep's-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metals might be transmuted. Others would signify by *Jason*, wisdom, and moderation, which overcometh all perils; but that which is most probable is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Jason* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucasus* there are certain steep falling torrents, which wash down many grains of gold, as in many other parts of the world, and the people there inhabiting use to set many fleeces of wool in those descents of waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water passeth thro'; which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and currents, in the passage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are poetically converted into those fiery bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the dragon cast asleep, and the like. The man of brass, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterranean* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, under poetical morals; all which *Homer* afterwards used (the man of brass excepted) in the description of *Ulysses's* travels on the same inland seas.

SECT. VII.

Of *Abimelech*, *Tholan*, and *Jair*, and the *Lapythæ*, and of *Theseus*, *Hippolytus*, &c.

**A**FTER the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech's* base son, begotten on a concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembering what offers had been made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetual princes; and, as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his father's religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the sovereignty, practised with the inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himself, who being easily moved with the glory, to have a king of their own, readily condescended; and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70 pieces of silver of their idol *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hired a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70 brethren the sons of *Gideon*, begotten on his wives, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but *Jotham* the youngest, who hid himself from his present fury; all which he executed on one stone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is human ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (tho' all-powerful, and whose revenges are without date and for everlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of every being; but it rageth also against her, tho' garnished with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other passions and affections, by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it self the child and darling of

*Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it self set down, forgetting nothing (how fearful and inhuman soever) which may serve it; remembering nothing, whatsoever justice, piety, right or religion, can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weakness of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure than feareth the like success. It was the first sin that the world had, and began in angels, for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the devil, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one, as out of date, and to practise the other, as besitting every age and condition.

*Jotham*, the youngest of *Gideon's* sons, having escaped the present peril, sought by his best persuasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this merciless tyrant, letting them know, that those which were virtuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive as unlawful, what others had not power to give, without direction from the King of kings; who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the olive, which contented it self with its fatness, the fig-tree with sweetness, and the vine with the good juice it had; the bramble only, who was most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted the sovereignty. He also foretold them by a prophetic spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the bramble, and consume the cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easy matter to call those men back, whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the son of *Ebed* withdrew the citizens of *Sechem*, from the service of *Abimelech*; who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the town, wherein their idol *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the castle or tower of *Teber*, himself was wounded in the head with a stone thrown over the wall by a woman, and finding himself mortally bruised, he commanded his own page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slain by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* usurped the government, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made war against the *Thebans*. These nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that devised to manage horses, to bridle and to fit them: inasmuch as when they first came down from the mountains of *Pindus*, into the plains, those which had never seen horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the Spaniard first invaded that empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Issachar* governed *Israel* 23 years, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22 years, who seemeth to be descended of *Jair*, the son of *Manassah*, who in *Moses's* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his own name, *Manaboth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty of those cities, which his ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these judges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument, that during all

<sup>a</sup> Judg. 9. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Judg. 9. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Palephatus, l. 1. de incredib.

<sup>d</sup> Deut. 3. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Numb. 32. 41.

<sup>f</sup> Judg. 1. 1.



their times, *Israel* lived without disturbance and in peace.

When *Jair* judged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sack'd *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterwards redeemed for ransom, he rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned *Troy*; and so far enlarged his dominions, as he became the supream lord in effect of all *Asia* the less. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Cisseus* king of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith<sup>a</sup> *Cicero*) fifty sons, whereof seventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his aunt *Hesione*, took *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the war which followed.

*Theseus*, the 10th king of *Athens*, began likewise to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: some writers call him the son of *Neptune* and *Æthra*; but *Plutarch*, in the story of his life, finds him begotten of *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* sea between it and *Asia* the less took name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forced them to pay him seven of their sons every year for tribute, whom he inclosed within a labyrinth, to be devoured by the monster *Minotaur*; because belike the sons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the queen, had the charge of them: among these seven *Theseus* thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free his country of that slavery, occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos*'s son.

And having possess'd himself of *Ariadne*'s affection, who was *Minos*'s daughter, he received from her a bottom of thread, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the labyrinth, made in all like that of the city of crocodiles in *Egypt*; by means whereof having slain the *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should use a white sail in sign thereof, and not that mournful black sail, under which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* descrying the ship of *Theseus* with a black sail, cast himself over the rocks down into the sea, afterwards called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage between *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmus*, and threw all whom he mastered into the sea, from the high rocks. Afterwards he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who used by that art to kill others. He also rid the country of *Procrustes*, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees, and fastened by cords such as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by their springing up tore them asunder. So did he root out *Periphetes*, and other mischievous thieves and murderers. He overthrew the army of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the territory of *Athens*. *Theseus* having taken their queen *Hippolyta* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterwards his mother-in-law *Phædra* falling in love, and he refusing to abuse his father's bed, *Phædra* persuaded *Theseus* that his son offered to force her; after which it is feigned, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his son's, by some violent death. *Neptune*, taking a time of advantage, sent out his sea-calves, as *Hippolytus* passed by the sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces; which miserable and

undeserved destiny, when *Phædra* had heard of, she strangled her self. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* entreated *Æsculapius* to set *Hippolytus*'s pieces together, and to restore him to life; which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his father sought his life, thinking to escape by sea, was affronted thereat, and received many wounds in forcing his passage and escape, which wounds *Æsculapius*, to wit, some skilful physician or chirurgeon, healed again; after which he pass'd into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which he most delighted. But of those ancient profane stories, *Plutarch* saith well, that as cosmographers in their descriptions of the world, where they find many vast places, whereof they knew nothing, fill the same with strange beasts, birds, and fishes, and with mathematical lines; so do the *Grecian* historians and poets imbroider and intermix the tales of ancient times with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made his pattern, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians* from being dispersed in thin and ragged villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them laws to live under, and in order, he was, by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished. Some say per ostracismum, by the law of lots, or names written on shells, which was a device of his own.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was 15 years old, from *Aphidna*, which city *Caster* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theseus*, to recover their sister. <sup>a</sup> *Enastiratus* and *Pausanias* write, that *Theseus* begat her with child at *Argos*, where she erected a temple to *Lucina*; but her age makes the tale unlikely to be true, and so doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex factis fructum tulit ille petutum*, &c. The rape <sup>c</sup> *Eusebius* finds in the first of *Jair*, who governed *Israel* 22 years, to whom succeeded *Jephia* or *Jepte* 6 years, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled 7 years, and then *Habdon* 8 years; in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So as, if *Theseus* had a child by her in the 1st of *Jair* (at which time we must count her no less than 15 years old; for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now) she was then at least 52 years old, at the destruction of *Troy*; and when she was stolen by *Paris* 38; but herein the chronologers do not agree. Yet <sup>e</sup> *Eusebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnassens* do in effect consent, that the city was entred, and burnt in the first year of *Demophon* king of *Athens*, the successor of *Mnesibius*, the successor of *Theseus*, 17 days before the summer tropick; and that about the 11th of *September* following, the *Trojans* cross'd the *Hellepont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there; and in the next spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second year, the next summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But <sup>f</sup> *St. Augustine* hath it otherwise, that when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*, *Mnesibius* *Athens*, *Tautanes* *Affyria*, *Habdon* *Israel*, then *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in 20 ships the remainder of the *Trojans*; but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyona* *Phæstus* the two and twentieth king, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Ibola*. His successors, *Adraflus*, who reigned four years, and *Polyphides*, who

<sup>a</sup> In *Tule*. <sup>b</sup> *Strab.* l. 9. *Paul.* in *Con.* <sup>c</sup> In *Epist.* *Helen*. <sup>d</sup> *Judg.* 10. 3. <sup>e</sup> *Bunt. Chron.* *Euseb. Chron.* *Hal.* l. 1. <sup>f</sup> *Aug. de Civitate Dei*, l. 18. c. 19.



reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; so is also *Mnestheus* king of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Assyria*, during the government of these two peaceable judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tautanes*, reigned. In *Egypt* *Amenophis*, the son of *Ramses*, and afterwards *Annemenes*.

SECT. VIII.

*Of the war of Thebes which was in this age.*

IN this age was the war of *Thebes*, the most ancient that ever *Greek* poet or historian wrote of. Wherefore the *Roman* poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection.

— *Si nulla fuit genitalis origo  
Rerumque & mundi, semperque æterna fuere;  
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojæ,  
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere poetæ.*

If all this world had no original,  
But things have ever been as now they are:  
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troy's* last fall,  
Why did no poet sing some elder war.

It is true, that in these times *Greece* was very savage, the inhabitants being often chased from place to place, by the captains of greater tribes; and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt, his own, longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they used little, neither did they plant many trees, or sow more corn than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the value of gold and brass by the worth in cattle; saying, that the golden armour of *Glaucus*, was worth 100 beeves, and the copper armour of *Dionides* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steal horses or kine was the usual exercise of their great men. Their towns were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principal city in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought, that the rest were proportionable; briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and tho' in some small towns of that half isle of *Peloponnesus*, the inhabitants might have enjoyed quietness within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians*, because their country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them; yet that the land in general was very rude, it will easily appear to such as consider what *Thucydides* the greatest of their historians hath written to this effect, in the preface to his history. Wherefore, as in these latter times, idle chroniclers use, when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to read; so did they, who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*; or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adultery committed by their Gods, and the mighty men which they begat; without writing ought that favoured of humanity, before the time of the war of *Thebes*; the brief whereof is this.

*Oedipus* the son of *Laius* king of *Thebes*, having been cast forth when he was an infant, because an oracle foretold what evil should come to pass by him,

did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his own father, not knowing either then, nor long after, who he was. Afterwards he became king of *Thebes*, by marriage of the queen *Jocasta*, called by *Homer*, *Od. 11. Epicasfe*; on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two sons; *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in process of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, he understood the grievous murder and incest he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the city. His wife and mother did hang herself. Some say, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sons, because they suffered their father to be cast out of the town, and aided him not. Howsoever it were, his two sons made this agreement, that the one of them should reign one year, and the other another year, and so by course reign interchangeably; but this appointment was ill observed. For when *Polynices* had, after a year's government, resigned the kingdom to his brother; or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first year, he refused to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the son of *Talaas* then reigned, unto whose palace coming by night, he was driven to seek lodging in an out-house on the back-side.

There he met with *Tydeus* the son of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*; with whom striving about their lodging, he fell to blows. *Adrastus* hearing the noise, came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the shield of *Tydeus* a boar, in that of *Polynices* a lion, he remembered an old oracle, by which he was advised to give his two daughters in marriage to a lion and a boar; and accordingly he did bestow his daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their countries. To this purpose levying an army, and assembling as many valiant captains as he could draw to follow him, he was desirous, among others, to carry *Amphiaras*, the son of *Oicleus*, a great soothsayer and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaras*, who is said to have foreseen all things, knowing well that none of the captains should escape, save only *Adrastus*, did both utterly refuse to be one in that expedition, and persuaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the wife of *Amphiaras*, offering unto her a very fair bracelet, upon condition that she should cause her husband to assist him. The soothsayer knowing what should work his destiny, forbade his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eyes so precious a jewel, that she could not refuse it. Therefore, whereas a great controversy, between *Amphiaras* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put unto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemn oath to stand to her appointment: she ordered the matter so, as a woman should, that loved a bracelet better than her husband. He now finding that it was more easy to foresee than avoid destiny, sought for such comfort as revenge might afford; giving in charge to his sons, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother, and make strong war upon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his forces, of which the seven chief leaders were, himself, *Amphiaras*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (instead of whom some name *Mecisteus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Aetolian*, and *Parthenopæus* the *Arcadian*, son of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the army came to the *Nemean* wood, they met a woman, whom they desired to help them to some water, she having a child in her arms, laid



laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a spring ; but ere she returned, a serpent had slain the child. This woman was *Hypsipyle* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom she would have saved when the women of the isle slew all the males by conspiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For such her piety, the *Lemnian* wives did sell her to pirates, and the pirates to *Lycurgus* lord of the country about *Nemæa*, whose young son *Opheltus*, or *Archemorus*, she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When upon the child's death she hid herself for fear of her master, *Amphiaraus* told her sons where they should find her ; and the *Argives* did both kill the serpent which had slain the child, and in memory of the chance, did institute solemn funeral games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adrastus* won the prize with his swift horse *Arion*, *Tydeus* with whorlbats, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoining, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopæus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are who think, that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus*, a *Lacedæmonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slain the *Nemæan* lion : but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set down.

From *Nemæa*, the *Argives* marching onwards, arrived at *Cithæron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent ambassador to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of covenants between him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolved to hold what he had, as long as he could : which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambush, to intercept him at his return to the army, of which fifty he slew all but one, whom he sent back to the city, as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the *Argives* understood how resolved *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the city, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to have had at that time seven gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far stronger could scarce muster up more thousands than *Thebes* had gates) did compass the town. *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proctis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electra*, and *Polynices* at *Hypsista*. In the mean season, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed commanders unto them, took advice of *Tiresias* the soothsayer, who promised victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menæcius* the son of *Creon*, a principal man of the city, would vow himself to be slain in honour of *Mars* the God of war. So full of malice and pride is the devil, and so envious at his Creator's glory, that he not only challengeth honours due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifices, with all divine worship, but commandeth us to offer our selves, and our children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded mens understandings, and bewitched their wills with ignorance and blind devotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maids, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all nations, when thro' ignorance or fear they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he wax less impudent in cunning, tho' not less malicious in desiring the continuance of such

barbarous inhumanity. For king *Diphris* in *Cyprus*, without advice of any oracle, made the idol of that country rest contented with an ox instead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade human sacrifices in *Africa* ; and crucified the priests in the groves where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay instead of the living, yet among the savages in the *West-Indies*, these cruel offerings have been practised of late ages ; which as it is a sufficient argument, that *Satan's* malice is only covered and hidden by this subtilty among civil people : so may it serve as a probable conjecture of the barbarisms then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as soon as he understood that his death might purchase victory to his people, bestowed himself (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himself before the gates of the city. Then was a battle fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed so far at the first, that *Capaneus* advancing ladders to the walls, got up upon the rampart ; whence, when he fell, or was cast down, or (as writers have it) was stricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were slain in this battle, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in single fight ; where the two brethren accordingly slew each other.

Another battle was fought after their deaths, wherein the sons of *Astacus* behaved themselves very valiantly : *Ismarus*, one of the sons, slew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the seven princes ; *Parthenopæus* being another of the seven (who was said to have been so fair, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slain by *Amphidicus*, or, as some say, by *Periclymenus* the son of *Neptune* ; and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus* ; yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas* who had brought from *Jupiter* such remedy for his wounds, as should have made him immortal, refused to bestow it upon him ; whereby, perhaps, was meant, that his honour, which might have continued immortal, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argives* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiaraus* fled ; of whom *Amphiaraus* is said to have been swallowed quick into the earth, near to the river *Ismenus*, together with his chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carcasses or drowned in the river ; and his body never found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens* ; where sitting at an altar, called the altar of mercy, he made supplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes*, after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried ; but caused *Antigona*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, because she had sought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creon's* edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an army under the conduct of *Theseus*, which took *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argives* to sepulchre ; at which time *Evadne* the wife of *Capaneus*, threw herself into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her husband. But it little contented the sons of those captains which were slain at *Thebes*, that any less revenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruin of the city ; wherefore ten years after having levied forces, *Agamemnon* the son of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*,  
Pro-



*Promachus of Parthenopæus; Sthenelus of Capaneus, Thersander of Polynices, and Euripylus of Mécistæus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmeon* the son of *Amphiaraus*; with whom also went his brother *Amphiloctus*. *Apollo* promised victory if *Alcmeon* were their captain, whom afterwards by another oracle he commanded to kill his own mother.

When they came to the city, they were encountered by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*, then king of the *Thebans* (for *Creon* was only tutor to *Laodamas*) who tho' he did valiantly in the battel, and slew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Alcmeon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the mean time they convey'd themselves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander up and down, till at length they built the town called *Esiæa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the town, entering into it, sacked it, threw down the walls, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the town was saved by *Thersander*, the son of *Polynices*, who causing the citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he saved the city from utter destruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the war of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

#### SECT. IX.

*Of Jephtha, and how the three hundred years which he speaketh of, Judg. xi. 28. are to be reconciled with the places, Acts xiii. 20. 1 Kings vi. 1. together with some other things touching chronology about these times.*

After the death of *Jair* (near about whose times these things happened in Greece, and during whose government, and that of *Thola*, *Israel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the law and service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Aseroth*, they now became followers of all the heathen nations adjoining, and imbraced the idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moaabites*, and *Ammonites*; with those of the *Philistines*. And as it before pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*; so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterwards by the *Philistines*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppress'd, because they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were forc'd to seek *Jephtha*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base born; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of devilish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the war, upon condition that they should establish him their governour after victory. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the land, disproved *Ammon's* right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them; and did not only beat them out of the plains, but forc'd them over the mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, cities express'd heretofore in the description of the holy land. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vain vow, which

he made; to sacrifice the first living creature he encountered, coming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted herself; and only desired two months time to bewail her virginity on the mountains of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her father ended; but the other opinion that she was not offered, is more probable; which *Boræus* and others prove sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephtha's* victory, otherwise making way to their future calamity, and to the most grievous slavery that ever *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Jephtha*, that they were not called to the war; as before-time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Jephtha* hereupon forc'd to defend himself against their fury, in the encounter slew of them 42000, which so weaken'd the body of the land, as the *Philistines* had an easy conquest of them all not long after: *Jephtha*, after he had judged *Israel* 6 years died; to whom succeeded *Ibzan*, who ruled 7 years: after him *Elon* was their judge 10 years: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of *Jephtha's* account of the times *Judg. xi. 28.* (where he says that *Israel* had then possess'd the east side of *Jordan* 300 years) to speak somewhat of the times of the judges, and of the differing opinions among the divines and chronologers: there being found three places of scripture, touching this point, seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *St. Paul*, *Acts xiii.* the third is that which is in the 1st of *Kings*. *Jephtha* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300 years: *St. Paul* giveth to the judges, as it seems, from the end of *Joshua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450 years. In the 1st of *kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon's* temple, there were consumed 480 years. To the first, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephtha's* 300 years to be but 266 years, to wit, 18 of *Joshua*, 40 of *Othniel*, 80 of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40 of *Deborah*, 40 of *Gideon*, 3 of *Abimelech*, 23 of *Thola*, and 22 of *Jair*: but *Jephtha* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certain number, for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecentessimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Israeli*; So he speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about or well nigh the three hundredth year, since *Israel* possessed those countries, no man making question of their right. *Codoman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephtha* named by 65, to wit, 365, whereof 71 were spent in *Israel's* captivity, at several times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephtha* forbore to repeat the whole sum, or any great part, lest the *Ammonite* should have justly objected, that 71 of those years, the *Israelites* were in captivity and vassals to their neighbour princes, and therefore knowing that to name 300 years, it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

To justify this account of 365 years, besides the 71 years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus's* 266, he addeth also 28 years more, and so maketh up the sum of 365. These 28 years he findeth out thus; 20 years he gives to the seniors between *Joshua* and *Othniel*; and where

<sup>a</sup> *Judg. xi.* <sup>b</sup> *The persecution of the Ammonites lasted 18 years, and ended in the year of the world 2820, in which year Jephtha began Judg. xi.* <sup>c</sup> *Judg. xi. 33.* <sup>d</sup> *Bor. in Judg.* <sup>e</sup> *Judg. 12.* <sup>f</sup> *Id facit numero certo pro incerto proposito.*



*Beroaldus* alloweth but 18 years to *Joshua's* government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26 according to *Josephus*; whereas *St. Augustine* and *Eusebius* give him 27, *Melanchthon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28 years is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But tho' we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the years of affliction (to wit, 34 years of the 71) if we add them to the 266 years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300 years. Neither is it strange, that *Jephtha* should leave out more than half of these years of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against these 71 years, and say, that during these years, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300 years remembred by *Jephtha*, to be 306, which odd years, saith he, *Jephtha* omitteth. But because the years of every judge as they reigned, cannot make up this number of 306, but do only compound 266, therefore doth *Luther* add to this number, the whole time which *Moses* spent in the deserts of *Arabia Petraea*; which 40 years of *Moses*, added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266, make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the text to warrant *Luther's* judgment herein; for in the dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon* for the land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon* in these words: <sup>a</sup> *Because Israel took my land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc, &c. now therefore restore those lands quietly or in peace.* So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses's* departure out of *Egypt*; but from the time that the land was possess'd. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam*; *Because Israel took my land*; and therefore the beginning of this account, is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephtha's* answer also confirmeth in these words; <sup>a</sup> *When Israel dwelt in Heibon and in her towns, and in Aroer and in her towers, and in all the cities that are by the coast of Arnon, 300 years: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* So as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the cities of *Gilead* 300 years; and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

*Junius* nevertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and says, that this time of 300 years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephtha's* narration; when he makes a brief repetition of *Moses's* whole journey; to wit, at the 10th verse of the xith chapter of *Judges* in our translation in these words; <sup>b</sup> *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* And therefore *Moses's* 40 years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305 years; and not only the time in which *Israel* possess'd *Gilead*, according to the text, and *Jephtha's* own words; of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480 years, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the temple, even from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of *St. Paul's* and *Jephtha's* account with this

reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephtha's* 300 years of possession of the east side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had possessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof; so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession, which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Jephtha* might say, that they had possessed those countries 300 years, reckoning 266 years of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of *St. Paul*, *Acts* xiii. that from the end of *Joshua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there pass'd 450 years. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter, as I find his opinion cited by *Funkius*, *Krentseuius*, and *Beza*, for I have not read his commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last year of *Heli*, but 357 years; and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the temple, which in *1 Kings* vi. is said to be 480 years.

Now for as much as *St. Paul* (as it seems) finds 450 years from the death of *Joshua*, to the last of *Heli*, and leaves but 30 years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40, for *David* who ruled 40, and for *Solomon* who wore the crown three whole years ere the foundation of the temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was an error in the scribe, who wrote out this piece of scripture of *St. Paul*, to wit, <sup>d</sup> *Then afterwards he gave unto them judges about 450 years, unto the time of Samuel the prophet*; the words *then afterwards*, being clearly referred to the death or after the death of *Joshua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where *St. Luke*, rehearsing the words of *St. Paul*, wrote 350 years (saith *Luther*) the scribe in the transcription being deceived, by the affinity of those two *Greek* words, whereof the one signifieth 300, and the other 400, wrote *Tetracosiois* for *Triacosiois* 400 years for 300 years, and 450 for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments; to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman*; where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses's* death, he takes his account from the death of *Joshua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430 years, to wit, of the judges (not reckoning *Sampson's* years) 319, and of years of servitude and affliction under strangers 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampson's* 20 years, is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40 years, in which the *Philistines* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain, that during all *Sampson's* time, they were lords over *Israel*. So then of the judges, besides the 111 years of servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 319 years, which two sums put together make 430 years, and whereas *St. Paul* nameth 450 years, he finds 20 years to make up *St. Paul's* number, to have been spent after the death of *Joshua* by the seniors, before the captivity of *Chusban*, or the election of *Orboniel*; which 20 years added to 430, make 450, according to *St. Paul*. To approve this time of elders, he citeth two places of scripture, namely, the xxivth of *Joshua*, and the 2d of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of*

<sup>a</sup> *Judg.* 11. 28. <sup>b</sup> *Junius* in the 11th of *Judg.* note. <sup>c</sup> Read the 24th of *Joshua*, and 2 *Judg.* 7. Fundl *Chron.* fol. 4. *Beza's* Annotations upon the 13th of the *Acts*, ver. 20. <sup>d</sup> *Acts* 13. 25. <sup>e</sup> *Judg.* 13. *Judg.* 15. 11.



the elders that over-lived *Joshua*, so as to these times of the elders, *Codoman* giveth 20 years, which make as before 450, according to *St. Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here also the 20 years of the seniors, between *Joshua* and *Othniel*, should be deny'd. For they which deny these years, and make *Othniel's* 40 to begin presently upon the death of *Joshua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have 20 years less than *Codoman*, so towards the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction, apart from the years of the judges) in the number of *Sampson's* years, and of the 40 years of the *Philistines* oppressing the *Israelites*, they have 20 years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40 years of oppression, all of them apart from *Sampson's* 20, but *Codoman* as is said makes *Sampson's* 20 to be the one half of the 40 of the *Philistines* oppressions; so that if the 20 years of the seniors be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the text seems to enforce) that the *Philistines* in an *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* judged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40 years, besides the 20 while *Sampson* was their judge, and so the reckoning will come to 450 years between the end of *Joshua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, tho' we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the seniors, between *Joshua* and *Othniel*: for if the times of their affliction be sum'd, they make 111 years, to which if we add the years of the judges, which are 339, we have the just sum of 450. And this computation, either one way or other, may seem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the text, altho' we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350 for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350 years, is to begin immediately, or soon after the death of *Moses*; certainly the place of *St. Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, tho' it be received for true, that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be *St. Paul's* words; *And about the time of 40 years, God suffered their manners in the wilderness; and he destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, and divided their land to them by lot. Then afterwards he gave unto them judges about 450 years, unto the time of Samuel the prophet.* So as first in the 18th verse he speaketh of *Moses*, and of his years spent in the wilderness, then in the 19th verse he cometh to the acts of *Joshua*; which were that he destroy'd 7 nations in the land of *Canaan*, and divided their land to them by lot. In the 20th verse it followeth; *Then afterwards he gave them judges about 450 years, &c.* And therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of *St. Paul's* meaning, so far as my weak understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any weight in the opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is that it seems irreconcilable with the account *1 Kings* vi. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450 years between the end of *Joshua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480 years between the beginning of the *Israelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* answereth, that these 480 years *1 Kings* vi. 1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25 years after the beginning of *Othniel's* government; from whence if we cast the years of the judges, with the years of servitude (which sums according to his ac-

count, of which we have already spoken, make 397 years) and so to these years add the 40 of *Samuel* and *Saul*, and the 40 of *David*, and the 3 of *Solomon*, we shall have the just sum of 480 years. Neither is it hard, saith he, that the *An-nus egressionis*, *1 Reg.* vi. 1. should be understood *Egressionis non incipientis sed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for so it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be understood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so we find that things, which were done 40 years after they had set foot out of *Egypt*, are said to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*, as *Psalms* cxiv. *When Israel came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back.* And *Deut.* iv. 45. *These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus far it seems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the words *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exivissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius*, *Deut.* iv. 45. do well read *quum exivissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be *postquam exivissent*?

The next point to be cleared is, how their journeying should be said, not to have had end until the 25th year after the victory of *Othniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end till when all the tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time; at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared, *Judg.* xviii. For doubtless to this time the expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephtha*, *Judg.* xviii. 1. and *St. Paul*, with that in *1 Kings* vi. Now whereas it is said, that the expedition of the *Danites* was, when there was no king in *Israel*: To this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Othniel* lived all those 40 years of rest, of which *Judg.* iii. 11. So that by the 25 years after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might have refused all sovereignty; and so either way it might truly be said, that at this time (to wit, the 25th year after *Othniel's* victory) there was no king in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other chronologers grounding their opinions on the plain text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it self round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good; especially considering that the speeches of *St. Paul* have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laiish*, by the tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to shew that *Othniel* did so renounce the office of a judge after five and twenty years, that it might then he truly said there was no king in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes.

Now concerning the rehearsal of the law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might



indeed be properly said to have been, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; like as we say, that king *Edward I.* was crowned when he came out of the *Holy Land*; for so all journies with their accidents commonly take name from the place, either whence or whither they tend. But I think he can find no such phrase of speech in scripture, as limiteth a journey by an accident, or saith, by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most improper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before; namely to say, that king *Edward*, at his arrival out of *Palæstina*, did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlisle*. How may we then believe, that enterprize performed so many years after the division of the land (which followed the conquest at the journey's end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the only guide for certain ages in sacred chronology, should not take name and beginning, from that illustrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to *Israel*, whereof the very day and month are recorded in scripture (as likewise are the year and month wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a town by 600 men, that robb'd a chappel by the way, and stole from thence idols to be their guides, as not going to work in God's name? For this accident, whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing itself.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the apostle *St. Paul* did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by judges and prophets, unto the time of *Saul*; did raise up our Lord *Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the king, in whose succession the crown was established, and promise made of a kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much, which tended as a preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true *Messias*) the apostle was so far from labouring to make an exact calculation of time (the history being so well known, and believed of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40 years consumed in the wilderness, whereof no man doubted; saying, that God suffered their manners in the wilderness about 40 years. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the land unto the days of *Samuel* the prophet, in whose time they required to have a king, there passed about 450 years. Neither did he stand to tell them, that 111 years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339 years of the *Judges*; for this had been an impertinent digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is a work not so needful as laborious, to search out of this place, that which the apostle did not here intend to teach, when the sum of 480 years is so expressly and purposefully set down.

Now that the words of *St. Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy thro' error of some scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of chronology, but must be taken as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40 years to the reign of *Saul*; whereas it is manifest, that those years were divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*. yea, that far the greater part of them were spent under the government of the prophet, howsoever they are here included in the reign of the king. As for those, that with so much cunning forsake the general opinion, when it favoureth not such exposition, as they bring out of a good mind, to help where the need is not over great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of *St. Paul* were sufficiently justified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the scribes in those days, that the 111 years of servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339 years ascribed to the judges; which account the apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speak as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *Quasi*, where he saith, *Quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; As it were four hundred and fifty years. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs have it to be so indeed; and therefore disjoins the members to make the account even. In so doing he dasheth himself against a notable text; whereupon all authors have builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomon's* temple, not omitting the very month itself.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given faith to his own interpretation of *St. Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find some new exposition for that, which is of itself most plain, than to examine his own conjecture, upon a place that is full of controversy. Thus by expounding, after a strange method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himself in those ways, wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one should urge him to give reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, that *Othniel* could not govern above 25 years, because then was the taking of *Laiſh*, at which time there was no king in *Israel*: that the *Danites* must needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the temple, to any action that might be termed the coming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the years of servitude; and that the years of servitude must needs be included, for that otherwise he himself should have spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleasure *St. Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to uphold a paradox, I leave it to the decision of the judicious reader.

And now to proceed in our story. To the time of *Jephtha* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the provisions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* king of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan*; from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had six years to prepare themselves; the rule holding not true in this war, *Longa preparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; That a long preparation begets a speedy victory; for the *Greeks* consumed 10 years in the



the attempt; and *Troy* as it seems was entred, sack'd and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* was taken, which was in the sixth year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule died, after he had been the father of 40 sons and 30 grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40 years of *Israel's* oppression by the *Philistines* (of which *Judg. xiii. 1.*) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*; I see no great reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrel against *Jephtha*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philistines* had held them in servitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000 armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppress'd; and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the *Philistines*, with so powerful an army, for their own deliverance, than against their own brethren the *Israelites*? But *Ammon* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40 years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterwards; or else they must be referred to the *Inter-regnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Israel* by *Sampson*, such as it was.

C H A P. XIV.

*Of the war of Troy.*

S E C T. I.

*Of the genealogy of the kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient poets how they have observed historical truth.*

**T**H E war at *Troy*, with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruin of this city, by most chronologers is found in the time of *Habdon*, judge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to intreat of in one intire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their princes, than to break the story into pieces, by rehearsing a-part in divers years the diversity of occurrents.

The history of the ancient kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil*; which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Berosus*, it is the more probable; if *Amnius* borrowed it of him, then it rests upon the authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

*ⁱ Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto:  
Mons Idaus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.  
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:  
Maximus unde pater (si rite audita recordor)  
Teucus Rhæteas primum est advectus ad oras:  
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces  
Pergamæ steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.  
Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,  
Idæumque nemus.*

In the main sea the isle of *Crete* doth lie:  
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.

There is mount *Ida*; there in fruitful land  
An hundred great and goodly cities stand.  
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)  
*Teucer* the eldest of our grand-fires came  
To the *Rhætean* shores; and reigned there  
Ere yet fair *Ilium* was built, and ere  
The towers of *Troy*; their dwelling-place they  
fought  
In lowest vales. Hence *Cybel's* rights were  
brought:  
Hence *Corybantian* cymbales did remove:  
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it seems by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authority, that *Teucer* first gave name to that country, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*; of which *Dardanus* in the same book he speaks thus:

*Est locus Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:  
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ.  
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores  
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.  
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus:  
Jasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nestrum.*

*Hesperia* the *Grecians* call the place;  
An ancient fruitful land, a warlike race.  
*Oenotrians* held it, now the latter progeny  
Gives it their captain's name, and calls it *Italy*.  
This feat belongs to us, hence *Dardanus*,  
Hence came the author of our stock, *Jasius*.

*ⁱ Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)  
Auruncos ita ferre senes, bis certus ut agris  
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetrauit ad urbes,  
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.  
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhenâ ab sede profectum  
Aurea nunc folio stellantis regia cæli  
Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well  
(Though time have made the same obscure) would  
tell  
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*;  
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.  
And leaving *Tuscaine* (where he erst had  
place)  
With *Corytus* did sail to *Samothrace*;  
But now inthronized he sits on high,  
In golden palace of the starry skie.

But contrary to this, and to so many authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Teucris*, and *Thracæ*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Tibiras* the son of *Japhet*; and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, and *Ascanians*, mix'd with the *Trojans*, were German nations, descended from *Asbkenaz*, the son of *Gomer*; of whom the country, lake, and river of *Ascanius* in *Asia* took name. That *Asbkenaz* gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely; neither is it unlikely that the *Ascanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times pass into *Europe*; that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Strabon* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*,



whose authority is the more to be regarded, because he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow; seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus* and others, that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, lord of the country, not founder of the city; and his daughter or niece *Batia*, was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinks, that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*; and that these were parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise, and the common tradition of poets makes *Dardanus* the son of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* king of *Hetruria*, to whom she bare *Jasius*. *Annius* out of his *Berosus* finds the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Coritus*, as a title of dignity, making him father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*; and further

telling us very particularly of the faction between these brethren, which grew to such heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obscurity of the history gives leave to *Annius* of saying what he list. I that love not to use such liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the son of *Jupiter*, it must have been of some elder *Jupiter*, than the father of those that lived about the war of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable, that *Atlas* the father of *Electra*, was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of <sup>a</sup> *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost every name of the gods; but it was the custom to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self, with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set down the pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to *Teucer* such parents as *Diodorus* gives, because others give him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanns* in manner following.

<sup>a</sup> Boccace. de gen. Deor. l. 4. c. 31.







Hereunto agrees the authority of <sup>a</sup>*Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh olympiad, that is four and twenty years after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432 later than the fall of *Troy*. <sup>b</sup>*Solinus* in express words makes the institution of the olympiads by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 408 years later than the destruction of *Troy*. The sum is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same book. Hereunto doth <sup>c</sup>*Eusebius*, reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratoſthenes* (as he is cited by <sup>d</sup>*Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same total sum, wanting but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other collections of divers writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, do neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collateral history, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the year before the olympiads four hundred and eight, we must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of *Eusebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* onwards thro' the reigns of four kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Annius's* authors; believing *Minotus* to much the rather, for that in his account of the former kings reigns, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no history or account of time depends upon the reigns of the former kings, but only upon the ruin of the city under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that some objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which, with the answers, I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprize that was undertaken by general consent of all *Greece* was the last war of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of princes and valiant commanders there assembled: the great battles fought with variable success: the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of that great city; and the many colonies planted in sundry countries; as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things, with innumerable circumstances of special note, have been delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits of many writers, especially by the poems of that great *Homer*, whose verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been buried in oblivion, among other worthy deeds done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith:

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
Multi, sed omnes illecebrabiles  
Urgentur, ignotique longa  
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.*

Many by valour have deserv'd renown  
Ere *Agamemnon*: yet lie all oppress'd  
Under long night, unwept for and unknown:  
For with no sacred poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with allegories far strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawn into suspicion that great virtue which they sought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the history, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledge of such actions, in histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of poets, in whose works are both profit and delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall find matter in poems, not unworthy to be regarded of historians. For those things excepted, which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of authors, written of this great war. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

#### S E C T. II.

*Of the rape of Helen: and strength of both sides for the war.*

**H***erodotus* fetcheth the cause of this rape from very far: saying, that whereas the *Phenicians* had ravished *Io*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greeks* to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did first ravish *Europa* whom they brought out of *Phenicia* into *Creta*, and afterwards *Medea*, whom they fetch'd from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfy'd for the rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to do the like; not fearing such revenge as ensued. But all this narration seems frivolous. For what had the king of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the *Phenicians*? or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel against him, that never had heard the name of *Phenicians*? *Thucydides*, a writer of unquestionable sincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not used at all in *Homer's* time, which was long after the war of *Troy*; and that the *Greeks* themselves were not then called all by one names *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have sought revenge upon all nations as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the re-delivery of *Hesione*, king *Priamus's* sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true. For *Telamon* (as it seems) was a cruel man, seeing his own son *Teucer* durst not come in his sight, after the war of *Troy*, but fled into *Cypris*, only because his brother (*Ajax* which *Teucer* could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so that *Hesione* was ill

<sup>a</sup> Dionys. Halic. Antiq. l. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Solin. Polihist. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 10. c. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. intreated



intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would seek to take her from her husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom she had born children, which were to succeed in his dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*: but was meerly incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to do that which in those days was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* discourseth, but all people were accustomed to steal women and cattel, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and having stollen them, either to sell them away in some far country, or keep them to their own use. So did *Theseus* and *Pirithous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabit near unto the sea, for fear of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no less lawful than merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principal men in *Greece*, to bind themselves by solemn oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*: So the cause which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy*, in revenge of *Helen's* rape, was partly the oath which so many princes had made unto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, besides his great dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was lord of many islands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his own ships, which were more than any other of the *Greek* princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by the reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take arms against the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* fleet was (by *Homer's* account) 1200 sail, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks; only they used (as *Thucydides* saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the sea; the least of which carried fifty men, the greatest 120, every man (except the captains) being both a mariner and a soldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* army consisted of 100000 men, or thereabouts. This was the greatest army that ever was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatness of this army, doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the city not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the 2d of *Homer's Iliads*; but their followers and aids were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the less, took part with the *Trojans*, the *Amazons* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (tho' some think out of *Ethiopia*) came to their defence.

SECT. III.

*Of the Grecians journey, and embassy to Troy; and of Helena's being detained in Egypt; and of the sacrificing of Iphigenia.*

Wherefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to trial of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* ambassadors to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* and the goods that were taken with her out of *Menelaus's* house. What answer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* priests makes it very probable that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The sum of his discourse is this:

*Paris*, in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather upon the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken sanctuary. *Proteus*, then king of *Egypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen* had answer, that she was in *Egypt*: they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the war, which ended in the ruin of *Troy*. But when after the city taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to ask his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer*, and the whole nation of poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this history, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more graceful to their poems, for their retaining of a fair lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus's* being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily believed, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driven thither by contrary winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul weather. For *Paris*, immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such winds as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to any haven in the *Greek* seas; whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until such time as the wind had come about, and served for his navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the saying of the *Egyptian* priests, which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madness for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him during the war, and so many of his sons slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was heir to the kingdom (for *Hector* was elder) nor equal in virtue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almost as old as queen *Hecuba*, considering that she had been ravished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to have been twins) who sailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were so, that the *Trojans* could not, or would not, restore *Helen*, so it was that the ambassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks*

hereupon

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hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to have been a runaway *Trojan*, tho' no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the captains and all the host with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnon's* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young lady was sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the goddess was contented with a hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the devil which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible till some fatal impediments were removed: and that till ten years were pass'd, the town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprize, under the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Meneleus*, *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his tutor *Phoenix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer* the sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his sons *Antilochus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Ulysses*; *Mnestheus*, the son of *Petreus*, captain of the *Athenians*; *Dionides* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamedes*; *Ascalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also, the son of *Pæan*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said that the city could not be taken; *Ajax* the son of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tisandrus*, *Eurypilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepollemus*, the son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machaon*, the sons of *Esculapius*: *Epeus*, who is said to have made the wooden horse, by which the town was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leap'd on shore, neglecting the oracle that threatned death to him that landed first.

#### SECT. IV.

*Of the acts of the Grecians at the siege.*

THESE and many other of less note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily persuade them to think that the war would be more than one year's work. For in the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*; save only that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallness of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cheroneſſe*: others to rob upon the sea for the relief of the camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field against such *Greeks* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat, if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, that from the first year till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commends as very credible the report of *Herodotus*: That the *Greeks* did not lie before *Troy* the first nine years; but only did beat up and down the seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by waiting the enemy's

country, did block up the town, unto which they returned not until the fatal time drew near, when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them, and therefore sitting upon an high tower (as *Homer*, *Iliad*. 3. tells) he learned their names of *Helen*: which tho' it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the town so many years together. Between these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much, the one saying that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and sea: the other, that the whole army did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither do the poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many towns and islands wasted, and the people carried into captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the city. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the camp, and a great pestilence arose among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his priest's daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let go for any ransom: but *Heraclides*, interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the sun: who raised pestilent fogs, by which the army was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was over-pestered with those who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time much contention arose between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as general, having first chosen for his part, a captive woman, and *Achilles*, in the second place, chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the chief captains in order. When the soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnon's* woman should be restored to her father, *Apollo's* priest, that so the pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that he alone would not lose his part of the spoil, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her loss, otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his companies. But the *Greeks*, encouraged by their captains, presented themselves before the city without him and his troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour countries having sent them aid: partly drawn to that war by their commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the war began (as appears by his words in *Homer*) or for love of himself and his sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks*, when they wasted the countries adjoining unto *Troy*: so that when *Hector* issued out of the town, he was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or quality of their leaders. The principal captains in the *Trojan* army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other sons of *Priamus*:



*Priamus*: *Aeneas*, *Antenor*, and his sons *Polydamus*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Astius*, and the sons of *Pantbus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slain the first night of his arrival, *Memnon*, queen *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the war. Between these and the *Greeks* were many battles fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tomb of king *Ilus* upon the plain; and another at the very trenches of the camp, wherein *Hector* brake thro' the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Ajax*, the son of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only men of note, that remaining unwounded, made head against *Hector* when the state of the *Greeks* was almost desperate.

Another battle (for so antiquity calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles's* troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the princes, tho' sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the camp; the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those wars, having slain a man, to strip him and hale away his body, not restoring it without ransom, if he were one of mark. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their captains; who rode not upon horses, but in chariots, drawn by two or three horses, which were guided by some trusty followers of theirs, which drove up and down the field, as they were directed by the captains, who by the swiftness of their horses presenting themselves where need required, threw first their javelins, and then alighting fought on foot, with swords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or else returning to their chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their arms defensive were helmets, breast-plates, boots of brass or other metal, and shields commonly of leather, plated over. The offensive were swords and battle-axes at hand; and stones, arrows or darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest wore heaviest: also that from them they might throw their javelins downwards with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; every man (speaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like if he had any fitting, taken from some captain whom he had slain and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himself unto *Achilles*, not only restoring his concubine *Briseis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing for-

mer matters as well as he might. In the next battle *Achilles* did so behave himself, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chased three times about the walls of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homer's* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the city (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans* perceiving *Hector* in such an extremity, would have forbore to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means soever) slain the noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the custom then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tied him to his chariot, and dragg'd him shamefully about the field, selling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ransom. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevenged; for he was shortly after slain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* says, in the *Scean* gate, or as others in the temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her brethren, and his body was ransomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the self-same rate that *Hector's* was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*; who, after some proof given of her valour, was slain by *Pyrrius* the son of *Achilles*.

## S E C T. V.

*Of the taking of Troy, the wooden horse, the book of Dares and Dictys, the colonies of the relicks of Troy.*

Finally, after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the city was taken by night, as all writers agree: but whether by the treason of *Aeneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden horse as the poets, and common fame (which followed the poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write, that upon one of the gates of *Troy* called *Scean*, was the image of a horse, and that the *Greeks* entering by that gate, gave occasion to the report, that the city was taken by an artificial horse. It may well be, that with some wooden engine which they called an horse, they either did batter the walls, as the *Romans* in after-times used to do with the ram: or scaled the walls upon the sudden, and so took the city. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those princes of *Greece*, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon) or they might have left it a few days without (for it was unlikely that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the town, and break down their walls upon the sudden to do it) by which means they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was so high and great, that it could not be brought into the town thro' any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their wall, to make way for it, thro' which breach the *Greek* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so many principal men was altogether



together needles, considering that without their help there was way sufficient for the army, so that the surprizing of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

*John Baptista Gramay*, in his history of *Asia*, discouraging of this war, saith, that the *Greeks* did both batter the wall with a wooden engine, and were also let into the city by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoisted sail, and was gone the day before to the isle of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into security. That the city was betrayed, the books of *Dares* and *Diety*s must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they, who have made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they, having served in that war, made against the common report: had it not been that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous; or else contained no such repugnancy to the other authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slain in this war which *Dares* and *Diety*s say to have been above 600000 on the *Trojan* side, and more than 800000 of the *Greeks*, it is a report merely fabulous; forasmuch as the whole fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their army and deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200 sail, and the army therein transported over the *Greek* seas, not much above 100000 men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extol the deeds of their ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the captains of the *Greeks*, that served in the war; and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their city, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea, the *Athenians* long after, in the war which *Xerxes* the *Persian* king made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mnesteus* the son of *Peteus* had shewed, in marshalling the *Grecian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yield unto *Gilon*, king of almost all *Sicily*, the admiralty of their seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200 good fighting ships, and 30000 men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other cities of *Greece*, and many nations in these parts of the world, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their pedigree notwithstanding. But those nations which indeed, or in most probability came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that country by *Aneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the country adjoining by *Antenor*: the *Ghaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the son of king *Priamus*. To which *Hellenicus* addeth that the posterity of *Hector* did resemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

#### SECT. VI.

*Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greeks returning from Troy.*

Concerning the *Greeks*, they tasted as much misery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long

abode in the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their countries by faction: some were slain anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the sovereignty among their people, by such as had staid at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the army which weakened much by the calamities of that long war, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many pieces under several commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set sail, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailing to the isle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole fleet was fore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be persuaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pylarchus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven soon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his wife, and by the adulterer *Ægysthus*, who for a while after usurped his kingdom. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

*Ajax*, the son of *Oileus*, was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to king *Daurus*, who was lord of the *Iapyges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africa*, others into *Italy*, all the east part whereof was called *Magna Grecia*, by reason of so many towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that coast. Finally it appears in *Homer*, that the *Grecian* ladies, whose husbands had been at the war of *Troy*, were wont to call it, the place where the *Greeks* suffered misery, and the unlucky city not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which city, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Habdon* judge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* after a vacancy or *Inter-regnum* for certain years succeeded.

#### CHAP. XV.

##### *Of Samson, Eli and Samuel.*

#### SECT. I.

##### *Of SAMSON.*

THE birth and acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13, 14, 15, and 16th of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that story. First, That the angel of God forbade the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drink wine or strong drink, or to eat any unclean meat, after she was conceived with child, because



because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the child in the mother's womb. Tho' this were even the counsel of God himself, and delivered by his angel, yet it seemeth that many women of this age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept; the most part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, It is to be noted, that the angel of God refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore those that profess divination by the help of angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, This *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas evertit*; Whom no force could overcome, voluptuousness overturned.

Fourthly, We may note, that he did not in all deliver *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistines*; tho' in some sort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slain 30 of them in his first attempt, burnt their corn in harvest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did *Israel* fear the *Philistines*, as they assembled 3000 men out of *Judah* to besiege *Samson* in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, using these words: *Knowest thou not that the Philistines are rulers over us?* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philistines*, for fear of their revenge; tho' he was no sooner loosened, but he gave them another overthrow, and slew 1000 with the jaw-bone of an ass.

Lastly, Being made blind, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem*; Patience often wounded is converted into fury: neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and loss, as by derision and contumely.

## SECT. II.

*Of Eli, and of the ark taken, and of Dagon's fall, and the sending back of the ark.*

THE story of *Eli* the priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickedness of his sons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: "whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the sacrifice, and profaning and polluting the holy places: tho' *Levi Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the *Israelites* under the swords of the *Philistines*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000, and in the second battle 30000 footmen; among whom the sons of *Eli* being slain, their father (hearing the

lamentable success) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the first that obtained the high-priesthood of the stock of *Itamar* the son of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successively in the race of *Eleazer* the eldest brother of *Itamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Eleazer* the second, *Phinees* the son of *Eleazar* the third, *Abisue* the son of *Phinees* the fourth, his son *Bocci* the fifth, *Ozi* the son of *Bocci* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Josephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers *Hebrew* authors have conceived. In the race of *Itamar* the priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Solomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Zadok* and *Abimaaz* and their successors. The ark of God which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battle taken by the *Philistines*. For as *David* witnesseth, *Psal. lxxviii. God greatly abhorred Israel, so that he forsook the habitation of Shilo; even the tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.*

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the ark whereby himself was represented, should fall into the hands of the heathen, for the offences of the priests and people: so did he permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the temple built by *Solomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the second temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the *Christian* churches in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the sacrament, or representation, which was the ark, than in God himself, they would have observed his laws, and served him only: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no ark at all, nor in the times of the *Maccabees*; and yet for their piety it pleased God to make that family as victorious, as any that guarded themselves by the sign instead of the substance. And that the ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensign, *David* witnessed when he fled from *Abisalom*. For when the priests would have carried the ark with him; he forbade it, and caused it to be returned into the city, using these words. *If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Trojans* believed, that while their *Palladium*, or the image of *Minerva*, was kept in *Troy*, the city should never be overturned: so did the *Christians* in the last fatal battle against *Saladine*, carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very cross whereon *Christ* died, and yet they lost the battle, their bodies and the wood. But *Chrysostom* upon *St. Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, speaking of those that wore a part of *St. John's* gospel about their necks, for an amulet or preservative. *Si tibi ea non profunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo?* If those words do not profit men in their ears (to wit, the hearing of the gospel preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their necks? For it was neither the wood of the ark, nor the wood of the cross, but the reverence of the father, that gave the one for a memory of his covenant: and the faith in his son, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistines* returning with the greatest victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the ark of God with them to *Azotus*, and set it up in the house of *Dagon* their idol: but that night the idol fell out of his place, from above

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. 2. 22.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Kings 2. 27. and 1 Chron. 6.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. 5. 6.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. 15. 25, 26.



to the ground, and lay under the ark. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his place, and it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, shewing that it had nor power nor understanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the arms. For God and the devil inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this idol could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the oracles wherein the devil derided and betrayed mortal men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light, which had never beginning of brightness, brake thro' the clouds of a virgin's body, shining upon the earth, which had been long obscured by idolatry, all those foul and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his brains for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old devil did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechless.

Now while the *Philistines* triumphed after this victory, God struck them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoides* of which they perished in great numbers: for it is written the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by general consent ordered, that the ark should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great cities of the *Philistines*; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath*, and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. <sup>a</sup>*For the hand of the Lord was against the city with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the city both small and great, &c.* And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third city of the *Philistines*: but they also felt the same smart, and cried out that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; *For there was a destruction and death throughout all the city.* In the end, by the advice of their priests, the princes of the *Philistines* did not only resolve to return the ark, but to offer gifts unto the God of *Israel*, remembering the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of *Israel* to be almighty, and that their own idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering, using these words; *So ye shall give glory to the God of Israel, that he may take hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land,* 1 Sam. vi. 5. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharaoh* confess the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*, when they had seen his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsel therefore of the priests being im-

braced, and the golden *Hemorrhoides*, and the golden mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoked, and a new cart or carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make trial whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the ark of God were carried towards *Bethshemesh*, and into the territory of *Israel*: then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the *Philistines* knew that the milch kine which drew the ark could not be forced from their calves, but that they would have followed them wheresoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the kine will follow them thro' woods and desarts by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethshemesh*; and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Joshua* of the same city, they stood still there; which when the princes of the *Philistines* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*: after which, God spared not his own people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to look into the ark. And because they knew God and his commandments, and had been taught accordingly, he struck them more grievously than he did the heathen, for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the ark was carried to *Kirjath-jearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written, that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eleazar* his son, until *David* brought it to *Jerusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the ark was in *Nob*, *Mispah*, and *Galgala*, it was the tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the ark: or at least, it was for the present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kirjath-jearim*.

### SECT. III.

Of Samuel, and of his government.

THESE tragedies overpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now judge and governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the family of <sup>d</sup>*Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three sons; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Izaar*: of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*: and of the family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a *Levite*, was called an *Ephratean*, not that the *Levites* had any proper inheritance, but because he was of mount <sup>e</sup>*Ephraim*, like as *Jesse*, *David's* father was called an *Ephratean*, because born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethlehem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding shame to the *Jewish* women to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham*, that his seed should multiply as the stars of heaven, and the sands of the sea, as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply*, &c. and in *Deuteronomy* vii. *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

*Samuel* was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service, to which she delivered him even from the dug. For as the first-born of

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. 5. 9.    <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. 6. and 1 Chron. 12.    <sup>c</sup> See in this book, ch. 12. sect. 1. in the margin.    <sup>d</sup> 1 Chron. 6. 22.   
<sup>e</sup> *Which region was called Ephrata, as appeareth Judges 12. 5. whence for distinction we read Ruth 1. 2. Ephratasi e Bethlehem in Judah: The seven Ephratim, which is Bethlehem in Judah, Gen. 35. 19. from the region of Ephrata, which is in mount Ephraim, Gen. 48. 132. 6. Ephrata is put for Silo, which was in the tribe of Ephraim.*



all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were 5 years old for 5 sheckles, between 5 years and 20 for 20 sheckles: so was it not required by the law that any of the race of the *Levites* should be called to serve about the tabernacle, till they were 25 years old.

St. Peter reckons in the *Acts* the prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy scriptures, to whom usually this name of a prophet was given, and yet did *Moses* account himself such a one, as in *Deuteronomy* xviii. 15. *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet like unto me, &c.* But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called seers; as 1 *Sam.* ix. *Before time in Israel, when a man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; come and let us go to the seer:* for he that is now called a prophet, was in old time called a seer. And altho' it pleased God to appear by his angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from *Israel*: but as the *Chaldean* paraphrast hath it, those revelations before *Samuel's* time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* judged were *Maspha* or *Mitspha*, seated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda*: also *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

The *Philistines* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for war at *Mitspha* in the beginning of *Samuel's* government, gathered their army and marched towards the city: at whose approach the *Israelites* stricken with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them: who was <sup>b</sup> then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistines* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel's* prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at their first entrance into *Arabia*) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat down the army of the *Philistines*, according to the prophecy of *Hanna*, *Samuel's* mother. *The Lord's adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of heaven shall he thunder upon them, &c.* *Josephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philistines* were swallowed with an earth-quake: and that *Samuel* himself led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a monument in memory of this happy success obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Josephus* called *lapidem fortem*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Israelites* recovered divers cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in possession of the *Philistines*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the north of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philistines* towards the west and sea-coast, the *Canaanite* towards the north and east, and the *Idumite* on the south. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.

C H A P. XVI.

Of SAUL.

SECT. I.

*Of the deliberation to change the government into a kingdom.*

**B**UT when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of so careful a government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his sons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beersheba*, a city, the very utmost towards the south of *Judea*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and virtue of their father. For the thirst of covetousness the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which they set the law at a price, and sold justice and judgment to the best chapmen. Which when the elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a natural man (tho' a prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his own, they pray'd him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a king, by whom they might be judged as other nations were; who might also lead them to the war, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Eli* his sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossoms promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much revered, but by the choice of a king.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsel from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his own sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from God's revelation, the inconveniencies and miseries which should befall them. And yet all which he foresaw'd was not intolerable, but such as hath been borne, and is so still by free consent of the subjects towards their princes. For first he makes them know that the king will use their sons in his own service to make them his horse-men, charioteers, and footmen; which is not only not grievous, but by the vassals of all kings according to their birth and condition desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best quality to command for the king in his wars; and to till the ground no less proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dress meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned: *He will take up your fields, and your vineyards, and your best olive trees, and give them to his servants,* with other oppressions; this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a king, governed by his own affections, and not a king that feareth God. But others upon further examination construe this text far otherwise, as teaching us what subjects ought with patience to bear at their sovereign's

<sup>a</sup> *Josephus* reports of *Numa* the 2d king of Rome, that when as he was sacrific-  
ing, the enemies approached, he nothing dismay'd, answered, Ego autem sacrifico. 1 *Sam.* 2. 10.



hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of *Deuteronomy* xvii. where God foresheweth this change of government from judges to kings, and after he had forbidden many things unto the kings, as many wives, covetousness, and the like, he commandeth that the kings, which were to reign over *Israel*, should write the law of *Deuteronomy*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the king should honour the law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law and these ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his sons.* But to take away any other man's field, say they, is contrary to the laws of God, in the same book written. For it is said, *Deut. vi. That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayst live.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away <sup>a</sup> grapes more than thou canst eat out of another man's vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much less lawful to take the vineyard it self from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the text <sup>b</sup> (say they) such as do warrant the kings of *Israel*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the king, or the king may do this or that: but it is written, that the king will take your sons: and again, this shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you. God thereby foreshewing what power, severed from piety (because it is accountable to God only) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *Deut. xvi. That his people shall be judged with righteous judgment.* Wherefore tho' the king had offer'd unto *Naboth* composition, as a vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was falsely accused and unjustly condemned (tho' by colour of law) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the elders, but to the king, who is called a living law, even as *David* testifieth of himself. *Posuisti me in caput gentium:* for this of St. *Augustine* is very true; *Simulata innocentia non est innocentia: simulata equitas non est equitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio;* Feigned innocence, and feigned equity are neither the one or the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity and dissimulation. Such in effect is their disputation who think this place to contain the description of a tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that princely discourse of *The true law of free monarchies*, which treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practice do shew the greatness of authority, even the best kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so tied by any laws, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own princes, and of their own brethren to be slain without any trial of law, being sometimes by prophets reprehended, sometimes not. For tho' *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*,

yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother, and others, the same was not imputed unto him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, but prophesied of by *Jacob* in this scripture: <sup>c</sup> *The sceptre shall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing. For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equal the stars in heaven, but that <sup>d</sup> kings should proceed of him. Which state seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule, who is Lord of the universal: and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the judges every man hath observed what civil war *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed upon each other: in what miserable servitude they lived for many years: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*: the *Philistines* the sea-coasts: and the *Jebusites* *Jerusalem* it self, till *David's* time: all which that king did not only conquer and establish, but he mastered and subjected all the neighbour nations, and kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all nations to live under a monarch, or whether by this means they sought to be cleared from the sons of <sup>e</sup> *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the persuasions and threats which *Samuel* used, insisting upon this point, that they would have a king, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every man to his own city and abiding.

## SECT. II.

### Of the election of Saul.

AFTER that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, he forbore the election of a king, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of God's promises) and *Saul* also having wandred divers days to seek his father's asses, at length by the advice of his servant travelled towards *Ramath*, to find out a seer or a prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an ass, and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheep of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of <sup>f</sup> *David* the youngest of eight sons, and by the scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts, and changed his sheep-hook into a sceptre, making him of all other the most victorious king of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *John* and *Jacob* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of apostles, a dignity that died not in the

<sup>a</sup> Deut. 23. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Loyse.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. 49. Gen. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. 17.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. 8.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Sam. 16.



grave; as all worldly honours do: but permanent and everlasting in God's endless kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the king, whom he expected, and staid his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, tho' a prophet and judge of *Israel*, much less knowing the honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the city the seer dwelt; *Samuel* answered, that himself was the man he sought, and pray'd *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of God's graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him king of *Israel*.

After this, he told him all that should happen to him in the way homeward; that two men should encounter him, by *Rabel's* sepulchre, who should tell him that his asses were found; and that his father's cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of prophets; and that he should be partaker of God's spirit and prophesy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar into that which became a king elected and favoured by God.

But the prophets here spoken of, men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most revered number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Abias*, *Elias*, *Eliseas*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, and the rest; for these prophets, saith \* *St. Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia & futura*: but they were of those of whom *St. Paul* speaketh, *1 Cor. xiv. 15.* who, enriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the scriptures and the law.

At *Mispeth* *Samuel* assembled the people that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own uncle therewith, when he asked him what had pass'd between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the tribes were assembled at *Mispeth*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinks by the answer of <sup>b</sup> *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the priest, wearing that mystery upon his breast when he asked counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the Jews, but by many others, if not by all nations. The land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christ's suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the Jews also cast lots. \* *Cicero*, *Plautus*, <sup>d</sup> *Pausanias*, and others, have remembered divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Greeks*, and other nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called *diversory*; the third *divinatory*; and unto one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds howsoever they may seem chanceful, are yet ordered and directed

by God: as in the *Proverbs*; *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by God's ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Josephus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least tribe. But *Samuel*, enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen king of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him king, and pray'd for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to avoid sedition, took no notice.

### SECT. III.

*Of the establishing Saul by his first victories.*

N O sooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nabas* king of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephtha*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul's* rule. And altho' the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those territories which first the *Amorite*, and then *Israel* dispossest of, which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephtha's* time; yet they never persuaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new king: secondly, they were remembered that the *Philistines* had not long before slain 34000 of their men of war: and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no smiths to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before that of the *Bethshemeshites* and places adjoining, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000, and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to enlarge their dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the nearest. Besides, it may further be conjectured that the *Ammonites* were imboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakness, since the *Israelites* destroy'd a great part of them, for not joining with them against the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increas'd to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himself with the opinion, that *Israel* having for long time been disarmed by the *Philistines*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroy'd. But contrariwise when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be utterly disabled for the war, as elsewhere hath been spoken: *Saul*, both to value himself in his first year's reign, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400 maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to assemble the forces

\* *Cicero* in *Phil.* 41. <sup>b</sup> *The Urim and Thummim in the ornaments of the High priest were inserted within the pectoral, which was a duplication, they were placed in the pectoral over against the heart of the high priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones made by the artificers.* See *Exod. 38.* \* *Cic. de divin.* <sup>d</sup> *Paul. in Mel.* <sup>e</sup> *1 Sam. 10.* <sup>f</sup> *Judg. 11.*



of *Israel*: hewing a yoke of oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers over all the coasts, protesting thus, *That whosoever came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so should his oxen be served*: threatening the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven days had *Saul* to assemble an army, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these 7 days to give *Nabas* the *Ammonite* an answer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from *Israel*, and to become vassals and tributaries to the heathen. In the mean while *Saul* assembled the forces, which repaired unto him at *Bezek*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily pass the river; which done, he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the hills of *Gilead*.

The army by <sup>a</sup> *Saul* led, consisting of 330000: he returned an answer to those of *Jabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noon. For as it seemeth *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning-watch he surpris'd the army of *Nabas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he divided his forces into 3 parts, putting them to the sword, until the heat of the day, and the weariness of *Saul*'s troops, forc'd them to give over the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careless and secure, in that those of *Jabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their city to their mercy. After this happy success, the people were so far in love with their new king, that they would have slain all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himself forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base vassals of the time that flourisheth: and as despightful and cruel without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident, hath thrown down.

After the army removed, <sup>b</sup> *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as some commentators affirm, anointed king: and here *Samuel* used an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his own justice during the beginning of his government to that day. After <sup>c</sup> *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was established in *Gilgal* or *Galgala*, he strengthened himself with a good guard of 3000 chosen men, of which he assigned 1000 to attend on *Jonathan* his son at *Gibeah*, the city of his nativity: the rest he kept about his own person in *Macmas*, and in the hill of *Bethel*.

#### S E C T. IV.

*Of Saul's disobedience in his proceedings in the wars with the Philistines and Amalekites, which caused his final rejection.*

**J**onathan, with his small army or regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surpris'd a garrison of *Philistines*: the same, as some think, which *Saul* pass'd by, when he came from *Rama*, where he was first anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariatb-jearim*: because a place where the *Philistines* had a garrison, <sup>1 Sam. x.</sup> is called *the bill of God*, which they understand of *Cariatb-jearim*: but *Junius* understands this garrison to have been at *Gebah*, in *Benjamin* near *Gibba*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by this it appeareth,

that the *Philistines* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the territory of *Israel*: and now being greatly enraged by this surprize they assembled <sup>d</sup> 30000 armed chariots, and 6000 horse, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Macmas* or *Mickmas*, a city of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Jerusalem*, and in the midst of the land between the sea and *Jordan*. With this sudden invasion the *Israelites* were stricken in so great a fear, as some of them hid themselves in the caves of the mountains, others fled over *Jordan* in *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himself, with some 2000 men of ordinary, and many other people, staid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the passage of *Joshua* when he led *Israel* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuel*'s appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* seven days: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place, <sup>1 Sam. xiii. 9.</sup>) to exercise the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt-offering and a peace-offering unto God, contrary to the ecclesiastical laws of the *Hebrews*, and God's commandments: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per sacerdotem*, and so make the sin of *Saul* not to have been any intrusion into the priests' office, but first a disobedience to God's commandment, in not staying according to the appointment, <sup>1 Sam. x. 8.</sup> secondly, a diffidence or mistrust in God's help, and too great relying upon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not bear patiently; and lastly, a contempt of the holy prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sin, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by <sup>e</sup> *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in terms unfitting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* so to do, from God himself, at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the kingdom should be conferred to another (a man after God's own heart) both from <sup>f</sup> *Saul* and his posterity.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to consist of 600 men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea, among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or spear, but *Saul* and his son *Jonathan* only. For the *Philistines* had not left them any smith in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to <sup>g</sup> *Saul* came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able the year before, or in some part of this very year, to succour *Jabes Gilead* with 330000 men, if there had not now been any iron weapon to defend themselves withal, save only in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his son. But howsoever all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistines*, and all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Israelites* only files to sharpen and amend such stuff as served for the plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kind of arms it is manifest, or else they durst not have attempted upon the *Philistines* as they did. And it is not said in the text, that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but only that there was not any found amongst those 600 soldiers which stay'd with <sup>h</sup> *Saul* after *Samuel*'s departure: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had sharply reprehended *Saul*, that

<sup>1</sup> Sam. 11. 8.   <sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. 11.   <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. 12.   <sup>d</sup> 1 Sam. 13. 5.   <sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. 13.   <sup>f</sup> 1 Sam. 14.   <sup>g</sup> 1 Sam. 13. 7.   <sup>h</sup> 1 Sam. 13. 22.



his own guards forsook him, having but 600 remaining of his 3000 ordinary foldiers, and of all the rest that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this small troop he held himself to his own city of *Gibeab*, as a place of more strength and better assured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to pass that the *Philistines* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by sword or spear, but by thunder from heaven: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the cities of *Israel*, no marvel if they could not in a short peace under *Samuel*, be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philistines* is to be understood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any store of armour. The same policy did *Nabuchodonosor* use after his conquest in *Judea*: *Dionysius* in *Sicily*; and many other princes elsewhere in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philistines* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquity used, and their present necessity ministered unto them; to wit, clubs, bows, and slings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the natural weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in *Chronicles* i. 12. it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bows, and could use the right and the left hand with stones*; and with a sling it was, that *David* himself slew the giant *Goliath*.

While the state of *Israel* stood in these hard terms, the *Philistines* having parted their army into three troops, that they might spoil and destroy many parts at once; *Jonathan*, strengthened by God, and followed with his esquire only, scaled a mountain, whereon a company of *Philistines* were lodged: the rest of their army (as may be gathered by the success) being incamped in the plain adjoining. And tho' he were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of derision called up by his enemies: yet he so behaved himself, as with the assistance of God, he slew 20 of the first *Philistines* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, fear, and jealousy, they slaughtered one another instead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrews* which became of their party, because they feared to be spoiled by them, took the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himself taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves in mount *Ephraim*, set upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that prophecy in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand*.

This done, the small army of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And tho' *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his son *Jonathan* being infebled with extreme labour and emptiness, tasted a drop of honey in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would have put

him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan* seems to have reduced unto the *Philistines* remembrance of their former overthrow likewise miraculous in the days of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns all his bordering enemies; namely the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*; and the *Arabians* of *Zobab*, against all which he prevailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000 men, and receiving the commandment of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the desert, belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which war he took *Agag* their king prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Egypt* in *Moses's* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the beasts and spoil of the country, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know, that God would cast him from his royal estate to which he was raised, when he was of base condition, and as the text hath it, *little in his own eyes*. And tho' the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to injoin the *Israelites* to revenge themselves upon that nation, he was in all inexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalec* from under heaven. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* used against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were overwearied, sick, faint and aged people, was now to be revenged on him and his nation above 400 years afterwards; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himself having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witness: *As thy sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women*; at which time *Samuel* himself (after he had been by many bootless intreaties persuaded to stay awhile with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soon after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul*, until the day of his death.

#### SECT. V.

*Of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul and his death.*

NOW while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a king for *Israel*, among the sons of *Ishai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to perform, till it pleased God to direct him how he might avoid both the suspicion, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom he sought to avoid the inconvenience or dangers of this life, then do those men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. 14. 12.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. 14.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. 25. 15.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. 15. 33.



or destiny, neglecting either to beg counsel at God's hand, by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, wherewith God had enriched the mind of man, for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made, and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul* by the accustomed cautious ways of the world.

Of the sons of *Ishai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David* the youngest, having refused *Eliab* the first-born; who, tho' he were a man of a comely person and great strength, yet unto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For, as it is written, <sup>a</sup> *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He also refusing the other six brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock, for of him *the Lord said to Samuel, arise and anoint him, for this is he:* which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seek the life of *David*: in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battel by the *Philistines*.

The *Philistines* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul's* power through many victories by him obtained, while they had sitten still and forbore to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel*, might be repay'd with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their soldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistines* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superior, to *Israel*. The success of their former wars had for the most part been agreeable to their own wishes; as for late disasters, they might, according to human wisdom, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their army possessed with a needless fear had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces and taken the field, encamping so near to the army which king *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joining in gross, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the valley that lay between their camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the *Philistines*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one man's person, whether any stroak from heaven were to be feared. *Goliath* of *Gath* a strong giant, fearing neither God nor man, undertook to defie the whole host of *Israel*, provoking them with despightful words, to appoint a champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering condition, that the party vanquished in champion, should hold it self as overcome in gross, and become vassal to the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by God's appointment had appointed, to make a famous entrance into publick notice of the people. For no man durst expose himself to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, until *David* (sent by his father on an errand to the camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms offensive or defensive than a

sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty giant, and after with his own sword struck off his head. Hereupon the *Philistines*, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the conqueror, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philistines* were not so broken, that either any of their towns were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well deserving. For after such time as the Spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel tyrant, faithless and irreligious <sup>b</sup>. Because the high-priest *Abimelech* fed *David* in his necessity with hallowed bread, and armed him with the sword of his own conquest taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murdered this *Abimelech*, and 85 priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the city, <sup>c</sup> *and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both child and suckling, both ox and ass, and sheep.* And he that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his cattel, contrary to the commandment and ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in store, for the innocent, for the Lord's servants the priests of *Israel*. Yea, he would have slain his own son <sup>d</sup> *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *David's* innocency, as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his father's unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and again in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; also in that when as *David* had twice spared his life in the territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsel of the witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsel from God he had been always victorious: from the oracle of the devil this success followed, that both himself, and his three sons, with his nearest and faithfullest servants, were all slaughter'd by the *Philistines*: his body with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the walls of *Bethsan*: and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Jabes* stohn their carcases thence and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Israel*, together with *Samuel*, 40 years, and by himself after *Samuel* 20 years, according to <sup>e</sup> *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Josephus*. But yet it seemeth to me that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25th chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal* and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a fair entrance to all those victories which *David* afterwards obtained, for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring nations; crush'd the *Syrians*,

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. 16. 7      <sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. 16. 13      <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. 22. 19  
<sup>d</sup> 1 Sam. 24.      <sup>e</sup> Aët. 13. 31. Cedren. p. 69. Theop. 1



and their adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the *Philistines*.

# SECT. VI.

*Of such as lived with Samuel and Saul; of Hellen and Hercules, and of their issues: upon occasion of the Dore, with the Heraclidæ, entering Peloponnesus about this time.*

IN the second year of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *David* born; after *Codoman* later, and in the ninth year: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *David*, saith he, was thirty years old when he began to reign: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the 40 years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Aeneas Silvius* the son of *Posthumus* began his reign over the *Latines* in *Alba*, who governed that state 31 years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Aeneas*, and the fourth king of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* sat in the throne of *Affyria*, being the one and thirtieth king; he ruled that empire 40 years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dore* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the nation, possess'd a great part thereof 328 years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possessed by 3 tribes or kindreds, viz. the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen*, the son of *Deucalion*, lord of the country *Phthiotis* in *Thessaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the land, partly by the plantation of many colonies, and sundry great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the country under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every several nation after some one of the posterity of *Hellen*, who had reigned over it. And because this is the furthest antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiss to recount the pedigree of her first planters.

*Iapetus* (as the poets fable) was the son of heaven and earth, so accounted, either because the names of his parents, had in the *Greek* tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *astronomy* and *philosophy*.

*Iapetus* begat *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all men have read that have read poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*. *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Thessaly*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rbrianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the queen. In *Deucalion's* time was that great flood, of which we have spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus* and *Æolus*, of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dore* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bæotia*. The *Dore* having first inhabited sundry parts of *Thessaly*, did afterwards seat themselves about *Parnassus*: and finally became lords of the countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldest son of *Hellen*, being banish by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own use some part of their father's goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the daughter of king *Erichthonius*, he begat on her two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of these two *Achæus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himself in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence

(as some write) he afterwards departed; and levying an army recovered the kingdom of his grandfather in *Thessaly*.

*Ion* being general for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great victory, and thereby such love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their state into his hands. He divided the citizens into tribes, appointing every one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied he planted colonies in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos*, or *Ægialia*: In which country *Solinus* then reigning, thought it safer to give his daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a town called by his wife's name in *Ægialia*, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (tho' not obliterating the old name) gave to that land denomination. But in after-times the *Dore* assisting the nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and overcoming the *Achæans* possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to seek a new seat, came unto the *Iones*, desiring to inhabit the *Ægialia* with them, and alledging in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their king *Tisamenus*, the son of *Orestes*, in that war.

Thus were the *Iones* driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the western coast thereof, on which they built 12 cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the least without any universal or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Asia* hath been mentioned by all which have written of that age, and is commonly placed 140 years after the war of *Troy*, and 60 years after the descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that kingdom about 700 years. Of their father *Hercules* many strange things are delivered unto us by the poets, of which some are like to have been true, others perhaps must be allegorically understood. But the most approved writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greeks* ascribed to the son of *Alcmena*, who is said to have performed these twelve great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemean* lion: secondly, he slew the serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very swift hart: the fourth was the taking of a wild boar alive, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcady*: the fifth was the cleansing of *Augeas's* ox-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the river *Alpheus* into it: the sixth was the chasing away of the birds from the lake *Stymphalis*: the seventh was the fetching a bull from *Crete*: the eighth was the taking of the mares which *Diomedes* king of *Thrace* fed with human flesh: the ninth was to fetch a girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*: the three last were, to fetch *Geryon's* bees from *Gades*; the golden apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell. The mythological interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both over-long to be here set down, and no less perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* understand fortitude, prudence, and constancy; interpreting the monsters, vices. Others make *Hercules* the sun, and his travels to be the twelve signs of the zodiac. There



are others who apply his works historically to their own conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables: that he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other towns, being assisted by such as either admired his virtues, or were beholden unto him. Also that he slew many thieves and tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of poetical vanity. His travels through most parts of the world are, or may seem, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But sure it is that many cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the land from much oppression. But after his death no city of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the virtue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his children, persecuted by the king *Eurystheus*. This *Eurystheus* was son of *Sthenelus*, and grandchild of *Perseus*; he reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightiest city then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as poets report) for the expiation of that murder, which in his madness he had committed upon his own children; but as others say, because he was his subject and servant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurystheus* for employing the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stock of *Perseus*, and holden in great jealousy by *Eurystheus*, because of his virtue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services wherein he was employed, so that he grew great in reputation through all *Greece*, and had by many wives and concubines above 60 children. These children *Eurystheus* would fain have got in his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* king of *Thracina*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurystheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, where-with they encountered *Eurystheus*. *Iolaus* the brother's son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was captain of the *Heracidae*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Eurystheus*: whom he when had slain in battel, he died again. It seems to me, that whereas he had led *Colonies* into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponnesians* understood that *Eurystheus* was slain, they took *Atræus* the son of *Pelops* to their king: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the people. Against him the *Heracidae* marched under *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echæus* king of the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atræus*, with condition that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heracidae* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in 100 years. In that combat *Hyllus* was slain, and the *Heracidae* compelled to forbear their country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Aristodemus* (as the best authority shews, tho' some have said, that they came under the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, having expelled the *Achai*, over whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurystheus* four generations.

## SECT. VII.

Of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.

ABOUT this time that excellent learned poet *Homer* lived, as many of the best chronologers affirm. He was by race of the *Mæones*, descended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Berosus's Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the poet to have been long after these times, rashly framing his *Æra* according to *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seven more of this name to have flourished in divers cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diversity of opinions, both of the time and of the native city of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasséh* king of *Judah*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verb *ὁμαρῆεν*: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blind. *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* lived. So also *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius*, in his oration *Ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950 years before the consulship of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth up in the world's year 3046, and after *Troy* taken, about 260 years: and about 250 years before the building of *Rome*, making him to have flourished about the time of *Jehosaphat* king of *Judah*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tatianus* above-named, mention authors that make him much ancients. The difference of which authors in this point is not unworthy the readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guess of the difficulty, and so pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diversity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80 years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heracidae* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and *Eratoſthenes* after *Troy* 100 years. *Theopompus* 500 years after the army of *Greece* sailed into *Phrygia* for the war of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him cotemporary with *Gyges*, who began to reign in the 18th olympiad (which was 45 years after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90 years before the first olympiad: which he seeks to prove by the times of *Charillus*, and his son *Nicander*; *Philocorus* placeth him 180 after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140, in the time of the seating of the colonies in *Ionis*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Agésilæus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100 years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, near 240 years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flourishing 622 years before *Xerxes's* enterprise against the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168 years after the *Trojan* war. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Joash* king of *Judah*, 124 years before *Rome* was built: tho' elsewhere in his chronology he notes, that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his evangelical preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many

<sup>a</sup> Fun. Chro. fol. 11, col. D. <sup>b</sup> This author set out with *Berosus* and others, first at *Basil*, and after with *ſix* Annus's comment at *Antwerp* in incerta Ideli. Nauclei. t. 147. placeth *Homer* in the 32d generation in the time of *Samuel*. <sup>c</sup> Stromatum l. 5. <sup>d</sup> Soet. Atac. l. 3. c. 11. item l. 17. c. 21. <sup>e</sup> As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian.* *Assyri.* report his opinion, item *Phil.* 43. *Roſ.* 14. <sup>f</sup> *Her.* in vita *Hom.*



other *Greek* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Aristæus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. <sup>a</sup>*Aulus Gellius* reports, that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the poet, and *Ephorus* the historian, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. <sup>b</sup>*Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned fablers was first born: but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirms himself by an epigram written upon a trevit, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

<sup>c</sup>*Cornelius Nepos* reports, that they both lived 160 years before was *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about <sup>d</sup>140 years after the fall of *Troy*. <sup>e</sup>*Euthymenes* finds them both 200 years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*, king of *Theffaly*. For my self, I am not much troubled when this poet lived; neither would I offend the reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty and disagreement of historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and disputes of time. For the curiosity of this man's age is no less ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mystery. In derision whereof *Lucian* feigning himself to have been in hell, to have spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his book with that word? who answered, that he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to do.

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Sennires*, ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherfobris* was his successor, who preceded *Vaphres*, father-in-law to *Solomon*.

About the end of *Saul's* government, or in the beginning of *David's* time according to <sup>1</sup>*Cassiodorus*, the *Amazons* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that famous state of *Troy* (which fell 103 years before *David's* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not only by reason of those northern nations: but there sprung up, somewhat nearly together, six kingdoms into greatness not before erected. In *Italy*, that of the *Latins*: in the south part of *Greece*, those *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achei*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselves princes, of which there were ten kings, which began and ended with the kings of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the state of the *Israelites* having now altered their form of government, began to flourish under kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became master of all those neighbouring nations, who by interchange of times had subjected the *Judeans*, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a most abject, and grievous slavery; to wit, the *Edumeans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midcanites*, *Itureans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistines*, *Jebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machabites*, all which acknowledged *David* for their sovereign lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

SECT. I.

Of David's estate in the time of Saul.

THE hazards which *David* ran into while he was yet only designed king, and living as a private man, expected the empire, were very many. The first personal act of fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the view of both armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own soul: insomuch, as when *Saul* sought to persuade his son, that *David* would assuredly be the ruin of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause, *Jonathan* could never be persuaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *David's* life, and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, tho' he were become as his household servant, and his esquire, or armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning musician to play before him upon the harp; whereby it was thought that he might find ease, which came to pass accordingly. He entertained *David*, for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of war. But the jealous tyrant soon waxed weary of his good affections; and sought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only thro' envy of his virtue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a spear at *David*, that was then playing on his harp, to do him ease.

<sup>2</sup>*Censorinus* remembreth one *Asclepius* a physician, who practised the curing of the frenzy, by the like musick: and tempted thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmony, *Seneca* in his third book of anger witnesseth. But the madness of *Saul* came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that musick, which God had ordained to be a means of more good to the musician than to the king.

*Saul* having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000 soldiers, to confront the *Philistines* withal. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistines*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that nation) that the *Philistines* would take *David's* head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *David's* victories begat new fears and jealousies in *Saul*, he practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murder him in his own house, but *Michol* his wife delivered him. So *David* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to

<sup>a</sup> See *Luc. 1. 1. 1.* <sup>b</sup> *Varro de imag. l. 1.* <sup>c</sup> *Nep. in Chron. Cassel. l. 1. annal.* <sup>d</sup> *Thy. 1. 1. 1. 1.* <sup>e</sup> *Euthym. in Chr. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.* <sup>f</sup> *Pat. & Cassel. in Chron.* <sup>g</sup> *1. 1. 1. 1.*

<sup>h</sup> *Abimile. l. 1.*



<sup>a</sup> *Abimilech*, then to <sup>b</sup> *Achis* the *Philistine*, prince of *Gath*: where to obscure himself, he was forc'd to counterfeit both simplicity and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistines*, he covered himself in the cave of *Adullam*: and after conveying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himself in the desarts of <sup>c</sup> *Ziph*, *Maon*, and the hills of *Engedi*, where he cut off the lap of *Saul's* garments, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of <sup>d</sup> *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of *Gath* the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his master *Saul* was known to prosecute him.

Of *Achis*, *David* obtained <sup>e</sup> *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judea*: but he bent his forces another way and struck the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to complain of him. *Achis* supposing that *David* had drawn blood of his own nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth *David* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistine* princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siklag*. At his return he found the town burnt, his two wives, with the wives and children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: hereupon his fellows mutinied, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

This army of the *Philistines* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sons were slain. The news with *Saul's* crown and bracelets were brought to *David*, at *Siklag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amalek*, by a man of the same nation, who <sup>f</sup> avow'd (tho' falsely) that himself at *Saul's* request had slain him. *David*, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwise it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the law; <sup>g</sup> *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis*; The prisoner's confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other proof inform the conscience of the judge. For a man may confess those things of himself, that the judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title *de custodia reorum l. si confessus*, & in cap. *de pœnis l. qui sententiam*, therefore doth the gloss reconcile these two places in this sort. *Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis*; If any man in judgment do confess of himself, of his own accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough. That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befel him, being a king, with whom, in effect, the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stir up sorrow and move compassion in the heart of *David*.

The victory which the *Philistines* had gotten was so great, that some towns of the *Israelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who took

possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistines*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seek to make the conquest entire. Most like it seems, that the civil war immediately breaking out between *David* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the rest of *Israel*, gave them hope of an easy victory over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should enforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

## SECT. II.

*Of the beginning of David's reign, and the war made by Abner for Ishbosheth.*

AFTER the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, sought to advance *Ishbosheth* (or *Ishbosus* according to *Josephus*) tho' he had no right to the kingdom of *Israel*: for *Mephibosheth* the first son of *Jonathan* lived. Against this *Abner*, and *Ishbosheth*, *David* made a defensive war, till *Abner* pass'd *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Ishbosheth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other near *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combat between the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300 being chosen of each nation, of which number three persons were only left unslain. The like trial by a far less number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistine* made, whom *David* slew: a custom very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like trial in his own person to the *French* king; and *Francis* the *French* king to *Charles* the emperor. There were 12 chosen of each part, in this war of *David* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whose force and valour was so equal, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel staid not here: for the army of *Juda* press'd *Abner* in gross, and brake him. 360 Men of *Abner's* companions were slain, and but 20 of *Juda*; whereof *Asabel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs pursue <sup>h</sup> *Abner*, and by *Abner's* persuasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounding him to death, with the stroke of his spear. For tho' *Asabel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the text, as light as a wild roe, and as *Josephus* reporteth, contended not only with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame, if he could have mastered *Abner* (who as *Asabel* persuaded himself, had by being overthrown and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; <sup>i</sup> *That the race is not to the swift*.

That this civil war lasted two years, we find it written in the 2 *Sam.* ii. 10. tho' in the beginning of the iiii. it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter rest-

<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam. 19. <sup>b</sup> 1 Sam. 21. <sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. 24. <sup>d</sup> 1 Sam. 26. <sup>e</sup> It seemeth that Simeon never obtained Siklag till this time, for it is said in the 1st of Sam. 27. 6. therefore Siklag pertaineth unto the king of Judah unto this day. <sup>f</sup> 2 Sam. 1. <sup>g</sup> In F. de quæst. 1. par. 1. <sup>h</sup> 2 Sam. 2. <sup>i</sup> Eccles. 9.



eth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbins* conceive, that *Ishboseth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the war as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Ishboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousy between him and *Ishboseth* for *Saul's* concubine: neither did the death of *Ishboseth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appear.

### SECT. III.

*Of the death of Abner slain by Joab, and of Ishboseth by Rechab and Baanah.*

**A**BNER, reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *David's* favour, and in the commandment of his forces, by which he was grown so powerful, as *David* forbore to call him to account; for thus much he confesseth of himself: *I am this day weak, and these men the sons of Zeruiab be too hard for me.* In this sort *David* complained after *Abner's* death, and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of Joab, and on all his fathers house: and let them be subject to ulcers, to the leprosy, to lameness, to the sword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly have endangered *David's* estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore *David* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held being general of the men of war, was of such importance, that the kings themselves were fain to give them great respect, as hath been already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himself worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adversity, wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterwards slew *Amasa* his own kinsman, and the king's, upon the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain to see him joined with himself, as captain of the host of *Juda*; much less could he brook a superior, and such a one as had slain his brother, and been beaten himself in battle. But howsoever *Joab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *David* esteemed highly of him as of a prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seem to have perished, by affirming, that he died not like a fool, nor a man vanquished, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, so (said he) didst thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit nor want of valour and virtue in him, whom a stronger hand destroyeth unawares, or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the sun are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever *Ishboseth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possess'd with great fear: insomuch as two of *Ishboseth's* own captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Ishboseth*, and presenting his head to *David*, received the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pre-

tending to have slain *Saul*. *Ishboseth* being dead, all the elders of *Israel* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent.

### SECT. IV.

*Of the flourishing time of David's kingdom, the taking of Jerusalem, with two overthrows given to the Philistines, and the conduction of the ark to the city of David.*

**W**HEN *David* was now established in the kingdom, his first enterprise was upon the *Jebusites*, who, in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their City; which *David* soon after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterwards the city of *David*) he became lord of *Jerusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebusites*, who had held it from the foundation to the times of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and after them almost 400 years: there are who expound this place otherwise. *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some think that it was meant by the idols of the *Jebusites*: others, that it had reference to the covenant made long before with *Isaac* and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the angel, and that therefore till those (that is, till that covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to molest them. But for my self I take it with *Josephus*, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at first, in scorn of *David's* attempt. For they, that had held their city about four hundred years against all the children of *Israel*, *Joshua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

When he had now possess'd himself of the very heart and centre of the kingdom, and received congratulatory embassadors and presents from *Hiram* king of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines and married more wives, by whom he had ten sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former wives he had 6 in *Hebron* where he reigned 7 years.

The *Philistines* hearing that *David* was now anointed king, as well of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountered by *David* at two several times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *David* assembled 30000 choice *Israelites* to conduct the ark of God from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibeon*, to the city of *David*, which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzab* the son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the ark, tho' it were with intent to stay it from taking harm when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the city with sacrifices, musick, dances, and all signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bore a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the ark, and afterwards told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his servants*; namely, that he gat his regal dignity both in apparel and behaviour; and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets: not that she disliked *David's* behaviour (as I take it) tho' she made it the colour of her derision. But



rather the abundant grief, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruins she conceived that the son of *Ishai* had built this his greatness, together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despitel terms, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, \* *David* consulted with the prophet *Nathan* for the building of the temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of war, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatened, not in vain, that he would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars which *David* had made were just, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those princes deceive themselves, who think by bloodshed and terror of their wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our Saviour unto the peace-makers.

Now altho' it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a temple of *David's* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting throne, that should be established in his seed.

#### SECT. V.

*The overthrow of the Philistines and Moabites.*

SOON after this *David* overthrew the *Philistines*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in haste. For it is written, *accepit frænum Amgaris e manu Philistæorum*; which place our *English Geneva* converts in these words, *And David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistines*. The *Latin* of \* *Junius* giveth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong city of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This city of *Gath* was the same which was afterwards *Dio-Cæsaria*, set on the frontier of *Palestina* at the entrance into *Judea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier town of equal strength to the *Philistines* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood the *Hebrews* call *Amma*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his 11<sup>th</sup> book and 13<sup>th</sup> chapter. This exposition is made plain and confirmed in the 11<sup>th</sup> of *Chron.* chap. xviii.

There was no nation bordering the Jews that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistines* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one smith in all their cities and villages of that kind, but inforc'd them to come down into their territory, † for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David* were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistines*.

After this he gave them four other overthrows; but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose spear weighed 300 sheckles of brass, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time † *Abishai* succoured *David*, and slew the *Philistines*, whereupon the counsellors and captains of *David* (left the light of *Israel* might by his loss be quench'd) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazard himself in any battel. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistines* was at *Gob*, a place near *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistines* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same king or no it is not known.

The *Rabins* feign that *Moab* slew those kinsfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Saul's* time, but questionless *David* well knew how that nation had been always enemies to *Israel*, and took all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembered that in the xxiii<sup>d</sup> of *Deuter.* God commanded *Israel* not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*, which *David* well observed, for he destroy'd two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob* king thereof. The place is set down in the description of the holy land: to which I refer the reader.

#### SECT. VI.

*The war which David made upon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the text; *David smote also Hadadezer, &c. as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates*. Now whether the words [as he went to recover his border] be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer* it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article [he] hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tobu* oppress'd by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better case to have proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing *David* was either to pass through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: he had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions thro' those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* army, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not king *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The king of *Syria Damascena*, and of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadezer* was overthrown by the *Israelites*, fearing his

\* 1 Chron. 13.

† 2 Sam. 8. 1.

• Junius c. 8. of the 2d. of Sam.

• 1 Sam. 13.

• 2 Sam. 21. 17.



own estate, and the loss of his own country which adjoined to *Syria Zobab* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too soon for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This king of *Damascus*, *Josephus* (out of *Nicolaus* an ancient historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family as all those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatness, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Affyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David*, having now reduced *Damascus* under his obedience, left a garrison therein as he did in *Edom*: having also sack'd the adjoining cities of *Betab*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which cities *Ptolemy* calleth *Betab*, *Taub*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. <sup>a</sup>*Tobu*, or *Thoi*, whose country of *Hamath* joined to *Adadezer* (as in the description of the holy land the reader may perceive) sent his son *Foram* to congratulate this success of *David*: partly because he had war with *Adadezer*, and partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of gold, silver, and brass, all which together with the golden shield of the *Aramites*, and the best of all the spoils of other nations *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Junius* translated the words [*chrypeos aureos*] by *umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brass in place of these of *Adadezer*, at such time as *Shicab* the *Egyptian* sack'd the temple of *Jerusalem*, it may be gathered thereby, that those of *Adadezer* were golden shields.

This done, *David* sent embassadors to *Hanum* king of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his establishment in his father's kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nabash*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill advised, and over-jealous of his estate, used *David's* messengers so barbarously and contemptuously (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a war upon himself, which neither his own strength, nor all the aids purchased could put off, or sustain. For notwithstanding that he had waged 33000 soldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassals of *Adadezer* 20000, and of <sup>c</sup>*Maachab* and *Ishrob* 13000 (for which he disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great armies together, with the strength of the *Ammonites*, were by <sup>d</sup>*Joab* and his brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruin: and that without any great loss or slaughter at that time. And it is written that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retreated into their cities, the one holding themselves within the walls, the other in their desarts adjoining, till *Joab* was returned to *Jerusalem*.

*Hadadezer*, hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the companies that he could levy out of *Mesopotamia*, who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamp'd at <sup>e</sup>*Helam*, on the south side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel*, and marched towards the *Syrian* army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entered into *Arabia*: to wit, at *Helam*, a place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the north-east, than *Jerusalem* was towards the south-west. Now *David* (speaking humanly) might

with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that ever he made) because he was now lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the mid-way. He also possess'd himself of <sup>f</sup>*Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Solomon* afterwards strongly fortified, and this city was but one day's journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000 horsemen, and 700 chariots, together with *Shobach* general of their army. The *Chronicles* call these 40000 soldiers footmen, and so *Junius* converts it, and so is it very probable. For the army of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000 horse-men, except they quitted their horses and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battel, numbred at 7000, in the 1st of *Chronicles* chap. ix. in which number, as I conceive, all the soldiers that served in them, with their conductors, are included: so as there died of the *Syrians* in this war against *David*, before he forced them to tribute, 100000 footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabba*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the kings of *Juda* often: but the kings of *Israel* they impoverished, even to the last end of that state.

*David* having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians* from the party and confederacy of *Ammon*: he sent out *Joab* the lieutenant of his armies to forrage and destroy their territory, and to besiege *Rabba*, afterwards *Philadelpia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possess'd. The king's crown, which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the city. And tho' *David* stay'd at *Jerusalem*, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the city was brought to extremity, and ready to be entered: yet *Joab*, in honour of *David*, forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his master's arrival. To the people he used extream rigour (if we may so call it, being exercised against heathen idolaters) for some of them he tore with harrows, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kilns, in which he bak'd tile and brick.

#### S E C T. VII.

*Of David's troubles in his reign, and of his forces.*

**B**UT as victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodness: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good king, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his laws and commandments. For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own human affections, and vain desires. For he was not only satisfied to take *Uriah's* wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but he imbroidered his adultery with *Uriah's* slaughter, giving order to his trusty servant *Joab* to marshal him in the front or point of those *Israelites*,

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. 8. <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. 10. <sup>c</sup> Maachab the north part of Tracomania, mentioned in Deut. 3. 14. <sup>d</sup> Thobai or Thobai a city near the river Euphrates. <sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. 10. <sup>f</sup> Helam or Chelam, which Ptolemy call'd Hamath. <sup>g</sup> 2 Sam. 10. 15. <sup>h</sup> 2 Sam. 10. 15. <sup>i</sup> 2 Sam. 10. 15.



which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And, that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best servants and soldiers should perish together with *Uriab*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happiness; and his days then to come were filled with joys and woes interchangeable, his trodden down sorrows began again to spring; and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of *David's* own mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the prophet propounded unto him his own error, in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor man's sheep that had none else, the bereaver being lord of many: he then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, altho' it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he delivered him God's justice, together with his mercy in the tenor following; *"Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain Uriab with the sword of the children of Ammon."* Soon after this, *David* lost the child of adultery which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, His own son *Amnon* being in love with his half-sister *Tamar*, by the advice of his cousin-german the son of *Shimeab*, *David's* brother, possess'd her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despightful manner. Two years after which foul and incestuous act, *Abfalom* caused him to be murdered, at the feast of his sheep-shearing; not perchance in revenge of *Tamar's* ravishment alone: but having it in his heart to usurp the kingdom; in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Amnon*, he thought his affair greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Talmai* king of *Geshur*, near *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen king. Thirdly, When *Abfalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his son) was brought again; first to the king's favour, and then to his presence. He began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his father's equity, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *David's* sin.

The company which *Abfalom* gathered at the first were but 200 men: which he carried with him from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron*; pretending, tho' impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himself king, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawful prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own city of *Jerusalem*,

nor in any other walled town for fear of surprize: but encamped in the fields and desarts, with some 600 of his guards, and few else. The priests he left in *Jerusalem*, with the ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hushai* his trusty friend and servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abfalom's* party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolted counsellor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*: and *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *David's* prosperity had smothered, but his adversity illightened) holding himself upon the advantage of a mountain side, cast stones at *David*, and most despitefully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbade *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his son *Solomon*. *Abfalom* being now possess'd of *Jerusalem*, was advis'd by *Achitophel* to use his father's concubines in some such publick place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being persuaded they would then resolutely adhere to *Abfalom* and his cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This savage and impious (tho' crafty counsel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all others inflamed *Abfalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of the sun: for thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun,* 2 Sam. xii. 11. He also gave advice to *Abfalom*, that himself with an army of 12000 men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*, which had willingly been embraced by *Abfalom*, had not *Hushai* *David's* faithful servant, given counter advice, and sway'd it: persuading *Abfalom*, that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*, to pursue his father; than by such a troop, which *David's* valour, and those of his attendants, might either endanger or resist. This delay in *Abfalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loss of the one and delivery of the other. whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed of his own estate, and then forsook both the party and the care of *Abfalom*, and of his own life.

*David* being advertised of this enterprize against him, march'd away all night, and pass'd *Jordan*, possessing himself of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Ishbosheth* himself, in the war against *David* after *Saul's* death seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi*, the son of *Nabash* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shipbar*. And tho' it be greatly disputed what this *Shobi* was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hanum*, whom *David* for his father's sake established in the kingdom, after *Hanum's* overthrow. In thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *David's* assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. 12. 9, 10.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. 13.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Sam. 14.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. 15.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. 15.

<sup>f</sup> 2 Sam. 16.

<sup>g</sup> 2 Sam. 16.

<sup>h</sup> 2 Sam. 17. 14.

<sup>i</sup> 2 Sam. 17. 23.

others



others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the king and *Abfalom* prepared to fight; *Abfalom* made *Amasa* commander of the army of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the king himself, like unto that of the majors of the palace anciently in *France*. *David*, persuaded by his company, stay'd in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abishai* and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out at the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abfalom*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruel by nature, remembred that *Abfalom* had lately disposed of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that *Abfalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not persuade the messenger to return and kill him, he himself with his own servants dispatch'd him. It appeared also by the sequel, that *Joab* affected *Adonijah*, whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the disposition of *Abfalom*, he embraced the present advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a son, but as one that had outlived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he so hid himself from his people, as those, which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the city, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, persuaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the army. For first he told him that he had discountenanced his faithful servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a king, than not only not to acknowledge so great a love and constancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abfalom* at an easy rate. Secondly, He urged, that it was generally believ'd, that he lov'd his enemies and hated his friends, and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his princes, and others his faithful servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Abfalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, He used this prevalent argument, that if the king came not out and shewed himself publicly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return; concluding with this fearful threatning: *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these overbold and arrogant speeches (tho' perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* rais'd *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the city among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasa* who commanded the army of *Abfalom*, to whom he promised the office of lieutenantship; the same which *Abfalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandment.

This done, the king marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*,

who had lately reviled him to his face; but this remission was but external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth's* excuse, whom *Ziba* had formerly falsely accused and betrayed.

He also intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal host, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himself by his age, appointed his son *Chimham* to attend the king.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the army brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba*, the son of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontentment among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest; and it seemeth that many of the people of the out-tribes, and in effect of all but *Judah*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first king. *David* employed his reconciled captain *Amasa*, to give him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because he conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than *Joab* had. He received commandment from *David* to assemble the army within three days, which he foreflowed; but being onward on his way, *Abishai*, *Joab's* brother, was sent after him, with *David's* guard and best foldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to embrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he pursued *Sheba*, and finding him enclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the city with that fury, that the citizens by the persuasions of a wise woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba's* head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retreated his army to *Jerusalem*, and commanded as before all the host of *Israel*.

The next act of *David's*, was the delivery of *Saul's* sons or kinsmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom those citizens hung up in revenge of their father's cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reason of *Saul* and his house; to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if we may judge humanly, to rid himself of *Saul's* line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; only he spared *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

Now where it is written in the text; *The king took the two sons of Rispah whom she bare unto Saul, and the five sons of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibeonites*, 2 Sam. xxi.

*Junius* calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *David's* wife, she whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her husband: the same which is named *Merab* in 1 Sam. xviii, who was first promised to *David*, when he slew *Goliath* in the valley of *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any human respect in the delivery of her children, it is only known to God.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. 18.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. 19.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Sam. 19. 23.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. 19. 38.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. 20. 10.

<sup>f</sup> 2 Sam.



Now whereas the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the *Hebrew* word here used; having an eclipse or defect; and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kindred, as in the 19th verse of the same xxist chapter it is said of *Goliath*, whose spear was as weighty as a weaver's beam, when as by the same eclipse it must be understood by the brother of *Goliath*: *Goliath* himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Saul's* children God secured the house of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: so did he strengthen both the king and nation against foreign enemies, by the valour of many brave commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Israel* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty captains of thousands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over these were six colonels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might well be held as miraculous. These colonels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon meer consideration of their virtue. For *Abishai* the brother of *Joab*, who in the war against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was lieutenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the first rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principal of the three colonels of the second order, notwithstanding his nearness in blood unto the king, the flourishing estate of his own house, and his well approved services. All these colonels and captains, with the companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readiness for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the king in *Saul's* time; and been hardened with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principal men in their several tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but these captains and colonels (who with *Joab*, that was general of all the king's forces, make up the number of 37) were the especial men of war, and reckoned as *David's* worthies<sup>a</sup>. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent men of war, so may it probably be guessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the sons of *Zeruia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Solomon*, who wanted his brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

By the actions fore-passed in the time of *David*, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33 years, or thereabout, when the posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Solomon* in his father's throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by<sup>b</sup> numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Joab* with other captains of his army, who after 9 months and 20 days travel, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to bear arms, and they amounted to the number of 1 300000, besides *Levi* and *Benjamin*; whereof in

*Juda* and the cities thereof 500000, and in *Israel* 800000.

For this, when by the prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments; whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased; to wit, seven years famine; three months war, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a general pestilence to last three days: *David* made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that cruel disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons; of which there perished 70000. And hereby he hath taught all that live; that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth us this divine reason, *For his mercies are great.*

#### SECT. VIII.

*Of the last acts of David: Adonijah's faction: the revenge upon Joab and Shimei.*

LASTLY, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bed-ridden, *Adonijah* his eldest son (*Amnon* and *Abshalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the kingdom after his father. For being the eldest now living of *David's* sons, and a man of goodly personage, *Solomon* yet young and born of a mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by *St. Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without resistance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Barthsheba* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that *Solomon* her son should reign after him (*Nathan* the prophet affirming the same thing unto the king, and seconding her report of *Adonijah's* presumption) the king calling unto him *Zadoc* the priest, *Nathan* the prophet, and *Benaiah* the captain of his guard, gave charge and commission to anoint *Solomon*, and to set him on the mule whereon himself used to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Solomon* attended and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of war, the *Cherethites* and *Peletites*, shewed himself to the people. Those tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the horns of the altar, whom for the present *Solomon* pardoned. After this, <sup>d</sup> *David* had remaining two especial cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one, concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Solomon*; the other, concerning the building of the temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the business publick. <sup>e</sup> To bring these intentions to good effect he summoned a parliament, consisting of all the princes of *Israel*, the princes of the several tribes, all the captains and officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who repaired unto *Jerusalem*.

In this assembly the king stood up, and signified his purpose of building the temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the crown, shewing that the kingdom was by God's ordinance due to the tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. 23. 39. <sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. 24. <sup>c</sup> 1 Chron. 21. <sup>d</sup> 2 Sam. 14. <sup>e</sup> 1 King. 1. <sup>f</sup> 1 Chron. 28.



bleſſing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himſelf was pleaſed to make choice of him among all his father's ſons. In like manner he ſaid that God himſelf had appointed *Solomon* by name to be his ſucceſſor: whereupon he earneſtly charged both the people and his ſon, to conform themſelves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this work of the Lord's houſe which *Solomon* was choſen to build<sup>a</sup>. Then produced he the pattern of the work according to the form which God himſelf had appointed; and ſo laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The king's propoſition was ſo well approved by the princes and people, that whereas he himſelf had given 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 of ſilver, they added unto it 7000 of gold, and 10000 of ſilver, beſides braſs, iron and jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of ſo religious a work. This buſineſs being well diſpatched, a ſolemn feaſt with great ſacrifice was made, at which time *Solomon* was again anointed king, and received fealty of all the princes and people of the land, and of all the princes his brethren the ſons of king *David*. *Solomon* being thus eſtabliſhed king, his father *David* finding himſelf even in the hands of death, firſt exhorted his ſon to exerciſe the ſame courage and ſtrength of mind, which himſelf had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterpriſes, he uttered theſe mighty words; <sup>b</sup> *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his ſtatutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his teſtimonies, as it is written in the law of Moſes; &c.* to the performance of which God faſtened the ſucceſſion, and proſperity of his iſſues. For this done (ſaith God himſelf) <sup>c</sup> *Thou ſhalt not want one of thy poſterity to ſit upon the throne of Iſrael.*

Secondly, He adviſed him concerning *Joab*, who out of doubt had ſerved *David* from the firſt aſſault of *Jeruſalem* to the laſt of his wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, ſaving that he faſtened himſelf to *Adonijah* (his maſter yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, ſo was it his will that *Joab* ſhould drink of the ſame cup, whereof he had enforced other men to taſte, and ſuffer the ſame violence which himſelf had unjuſtly ſtrucken others withal, *qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amasa* of their lives, having againſt the one the pretence only of his brother's ſlaughter, whom *Abner* had ſlain in the time of war, and could not avoid him: againſt the other but a meer jealousy of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And tho' *Joab* aſſured himſelf that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him or ſupplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raiſed up *Benaiab* the ſon of *Jeboiadab*, to pull him from the ſanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For *David* giveth this cauſe to *Solomon* againſt *Joab*, that he ſlew the captains of the hoſt of *Iſrael*, <sup>d</sup> and ſhed blood of battel in peace; and to this apparent and juſt cauſe, it is not improbable but that *David* remembered the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Solomon*, which *Joab* made manifeſt by the untimely ſetting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed againſt *David*, of which in theſe words he put his ſon *Solomon* in mind; <sup>e</sup> *Thou knoweſt alſo what Joab*

*the ſon of Zeruiah did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*, contrary to the king's deſire, or by the proud words uſed to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *David*'s letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*: thereby to diſgrace *Solomon* as deſcended of ſuch a mother, the ſcriptures are ſilent. True it is, that thoſe great men of war do oftentimes behave themſelves exceeding inſolently towards their princes, both in reſpect of their ſervice done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelves with an opinion, that either their maſters cannot miſs them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrowed many a worthy man otherwiſe deſerving of great honour and reſpect.

He alſo gave order to *Solomon*, to rid himſelf of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt ſtoiles at *David*, and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of his oath and promiſe *David* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelf lived, yet being duſt and in the grave he ſlew him, by the hand of *Solomon* his ſon<sup>f</sup>. Hence it ſeemeth that king *Henry* the ſeventh of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the eighth to execute *Pool* as ſoon as himſelf was buried, having made promiſe to the king of *Spain*, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death; nor ſuffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yield unto *Solomon* any ſuch great profit or aſſurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Rezin* of *Damaſcus* to vex him: who, as the ſcriptures witneſs<sup>g</sup>, were emboldered to enterpriſe upon *Solomon*, hearing that *David* ſlept with his fathers, and that *Joab* the captain of the hoſt was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all 40 years, to wit, in *Hebron* 7 years, and in *Jeruſalem* 33, he died.

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internal gifts and graces he ſo far exceeded all other men, as, putting his human frailty apart, he was ſaid by God himſelf to be a man according to his own heart. The *Pſalms* which he wrote witneſs his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Jerome* to *Paulinus*. *David Simonides noſter, Pindarus & Alceus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, & Serenus, Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in decachordo Pſalterio ab inferis ſuſcit at reſurgentem.* *David* (ſaith he) our *Simonides, Pindarus, Alceus, Horace, Catullus* and *Serenus*, he playeth Chriſt on his harp, and on a ten-stringed pſalter he raiſeth him up riſing from the dead. And being both a king and a prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomely and lively than all the reſt.

The book of the *Pſalms*, ſaith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed, by *Ezekias*: but whether all the pſalms were written by *David* it is diverſly diſputed. For <sup>h</sup> *Athanaſius, Cyprian, Lyranus*, and others conceive divers authors, answering the titles of the ſeveral *Pſalms*, as *Moſes, Solomon*, and the reſt hereafter named, and that only 73 *Pſalms* were compoſed by *David* himſelf, namely thoſe which are intitled *ipſius David*. For the 10th and the 72d, with the 10 that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon of *Barachia*, 11 others on the ſons of *Korah*, and 11 are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to wit, the 89th and the 10 following, and ſo they are intitled in the old *Hebrew* copies, tho' the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint* (three excepted) ſtyle them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine authors of theſe *Pſalms*

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings 2. 3. <sup>b</sup> 1 Kings 1. 30. <sup>c</sup> 1 Kings 2. 34. <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 2. 35. <sup>e</sup> 1 Kings 2. 36. <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings 2. 37. <sup>g</sup> 1 Kings 2. 38. <sup>h</sup> 1 Kings 2. 39.



which *David* wrote not, <sup>a</sup> *Sixtus Senensis* nameth as followeth; *Solomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben-Ezra*, contrary to *Jerome*, maketh one of *David's* singers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three sons of *Chore*. But *St. Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole author of all the *Psalms*, and so doth <sup>b</sup> *St. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner. Altho' (saith he) some there are that ascribe those *Psalms* only unto *David*, which are over-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *ipsi David* to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse David in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus 109 sic incipit: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede a dextris meis, &c.* The voice of the gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himself in the spirit called Christ his Lord, because the sixth *Psalms* begins thus, *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are used both by Christ and the apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the kings and princes that succeeded him.

His story, and all his particular actions, were written by the prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in *1 Chron.* xxix. 19. For the several parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were as it seems written by these three holy men.

<sup>c</sup> *Constantine Manasses* hath an opinion, that the *Trojans*, during the time of the siege, fought for succour from *David*, and that he stay'd neuter in that war. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time betwixt *David* and the *Trojan* war. For it is generally received, that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samson*, judges of *Israel*, about the world's year 2848, and *David* died in the year 2991.

#### SECT. IX.

*Of the treasures of David and Solomon.*

**H**IS treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 1st of *Chronicles*, chap. xxii. ver. 14. that he left *Solomon* for the building of the temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brass and iron passing all weight, which is more than any king of the world possess'd besides himself, and his son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cartload and a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver, or six thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides three score and seventeen millions of *Trench* crowns, or of our money, twenty three millions and one thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear; seeing that the judges had not any treasure, nor any sovereign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars, they were followed by such volunteers as the several tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistines*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possess'd by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how *David* within the space of not very many years,

might amass up such mighty treasures. For tho' parsimony be it self a great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great means. It seems that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius*, in his 9th book and last chapter *de preparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the temple, built a navy in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a city of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to dig for gold in the island *Urphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks, was *Ophir*, tho' *Eupolemus* in his place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this island is in the *Red* sea; from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Jury*. *Pineda*, l. 4. de rebus *Salomonis*, c. 1. thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest, from the *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, besides those fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Traconitis* and *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Israelites*. These demesns be-like he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, *1 Chron.* xvii. that *Jehonathan* was over his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simei* over the vineyards; and *Sabdi* over the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joash* over the store of the oil, also that he had herdsmen that had charge over his cattel, both in the high lands, and in the plains, over his sheep, camels and asses. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and cattle the ancient kings every where held, both before and after *David's* time. For we read of <sup>d</sup> *Pharaoh*, that he spoke to *Joseph* to appoint some of his brethren, or of their servants, to be rulers over his cattle. We read of <sup>e</sup> *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattle, and ploughmen, and dressers of vines: likewise we read it in all *Greeks* poets, that the wealth of the ancient kings did especially consist in their herds and flocks, whereof it were needless to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other, for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David*, it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not employ'd in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainful professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner used their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tobu*, and others) we may add the great spoils which he found in the cities and countries which he conquered: also the head-money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; by the law of capitation or head-money, every man, rich or poor, paying half a sickle of the sanctuary, which is about as much as 14 pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous sum in that kingdom: wherein 1570000 fighting men were numbred by <sup>f</sup> *Joab*. Now altho' this law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confess is against the *Hebrew* expositions) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have

<sup>a</sup> Vid. *Sixtus Senensis* Bib. Lat. l. 1. fol. 10. & 11. <sup>b</sup> Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 13. c. 14. <sup>c</sup> Cap. 17. §. 6, 7. In his annal. <sup>d</sup> Gen. 47. <sup>e</sup> 2 Chron. 26. <sup>f</sup> 1 Chron. 21.



put it in practice. And by these means might he be able to leave those huge treasures to *Solomon*. Yet it may seem that this great mass of gold and silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private, and so will it appear the less wonderful that he left so much. Of his own liberality we find, that he gave to the building of the temple 3000 talents of gold, and 7000 talents of silver, a great sum: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continual encrease, without any loss or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Joshua*. The revenues of the sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defray'd the daily expences, and maintained the priest and *Levites*) were partly raised out of the head-money beforementioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in war. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the soldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the country received benefit of the victory, yet so that the soldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lord's tribute, which was one in fifty of that which the people received, and one in five hundred of that which was given to the soldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousandth part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, 32000 women being taken, the army had 16000 of them for slaves, and the congregation the other 16000; but out of the 16000 given to the army were exempted 32 for the Lord's tribute. Out of the people's number were taken 320. By this means the lesser that the army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every soldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestic affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lord's tribute was always certain, yea, many times it was increased, either by some especial commandment, as when all the gold, and silver, and other metals found in *Jericho*, were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the rulers and people, as when after the victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one man, all jewels, bracelets, ear-rings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntary presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppress'd, and trodden down by other nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never got possession of the tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his lieutenant *Joab*, it is recorded, that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in war, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former judges and captains in other ages. Certain it is, that the conquest of *David* brought into the land far greater abun-

dance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted: but these vast sums of an 100000 talents of silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid up in many former ages, than to have been the mere fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of *Solomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received yearly revenues, with his tributes, 666 talents of gold, besides the customs of spices. He had also six rich returns from the *East-Indies*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the 22d year of his reign, and ruled 40 years. Besides this, all *Judea* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobab*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Iturea*; all of *Idumea*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished, tho' subjected.

Into this flourishing estate was the kingdom of *Israel* reduced, by *David*, who after 40 years reign, and 70 years of life, died in a good age, full of days, riches, and honour, and was buried in the city of *David*. It is written by *Josephus*, that there was hid in *David's* tomb, a marvelous quantity of treasures, insomuch as *Hyrcaus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of the *Maccabees*, called himself king), 1300 years after, drew thence 3000 talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus*, then besieging *Jerusalem*, and afterwards *Herod* opening another cell, had also an exceeding mass of gold and silver therein. And it was an ancient custom to bury treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first conquest. That *Solomon* did bury so much treasure in his father's grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it not withal considered that his want of money grew from such magnificent employments. Particularly of the sepulchre of *David*, the scriptures have no mention, but only the sepulchres of the kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the monuments of those kings, as (by relation of the duke of *Ulika*) they remained within these 30 years, and are like to remain still, are able to make any report credible, of cost bestowed upon them.

#### S E C T. X.

*Of the Philistines, whom David absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with David.*

**O**F the *Philistines*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David's* time, somewhat here may be spoken.

They descended of *Casloim*, who according to *Ishidore*, l. 9. 19. and *Jos. l. 1. Ant. 17.* was one of the sons of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five cities of petty principalities; namely, *Azotus* or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Azzaph*, *Alalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this nation, because

<sup>a</sup> Numb. 31. 27.    <sup>b</sup> Numb. 31. 40.    <sup>c</sup> Jos. 6. 19.    <sup>d</sup> Numb. 31. 50.    <sup>e</sup> 1 Chron. 26. 27, 28.    <sup>f</sup> 1 Chron. 29. 23.    <sup>g</sup> Jos. Ant. 1. 17.    <sup>h</sup> 1 Chron. 29. 23.    <sup>i</sup> Jos. Ant. 1. 17.    <sup>k</sup> Perieplus



of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

The first king of these *Philistines*, which the scriptures have named, was that <sup>a</sup> *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham's* wife.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumea*, which *Abimelech* fancied <sup>b</sup> *Isaac's* wife: as his father had done *Sara*.

After *Abimelech* the 2d, the *Philistine* kings are not remembred in the scriptures, till *David's* time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocratical*. For they are afterwards named princes of the *Philistines*, howsoever <sup>c</sup> *Achis* be named king of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Solomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive servant, which time the seeking of his servant was the loss of his life. *Jeremiah* the prophet speaketh of the kings of *Palestine* or *Philistine*. *Amos* nameth the king of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a king of *Gaza*. The rest of the wars of the *Philistines* are remembred in the catalogue of the judges, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* king of *Alba* called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of *Italy* 50 years. And about his 14th year *Codrus* the last king of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidae*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of sovereignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Grecians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis* and the mountain *Oeta*, sought counsel from the oracle, for their success in their wars against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevail, and become lords of that state, when they could obtain any victory against the nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* king living. *Codrus*, by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own forces, and putting on the habit of a common soldier, entered the camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first he encountered, was himself forthwith cut in pieces.

*Eupales* the 31st king of *Affyria*, which others account but the 30th, began to rule that empire, about the 13th year of *David*, and held it 38 years.

Near the same time began *Ixion* the 2d king of the *Heraclidae*, the son of *Eurysthenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the 2d of the *Heraclidae* in *Lacedaemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successors were called *Agidae*, for many years after. He restored the *Iaconians* to their former liberty: he overcame the citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messeniensians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Slavi* came the word slave. For when that nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the country of *Illyria*,

and made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer climate having thawed their northern hardness, and not ripened their wits) when they were trodden down, and made servants to their neighbours; the *Italians*, which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen slaves, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now current thro' many countries.

Other chronologers make this *Agis*, the third king of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23d year of *David*, and say that *Achestratus* was the fourth king of this race, the same whom <sup>d</sup> *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth year of *Solomon*.

In the tenth year of *Achestratus*, *Androclus*, the 3d son of *Codrus*, assisted by the *Iones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who, after the adjoining of the isle of *Samos* to his territory, was slain by the *Carians*, whose country he usurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of <sup>e</sup> *Ephesus*, called *Magnetes*, his armed *statua* being set over him. *Strabo* reports, that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next province to *Ephesus*, on the sea coast of *Asia* the less) he enlarged his dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joineth to *Ionian*: and that his posterity governed the cities of <sup>f</sup> *Ephesus* and *Erythrae*, by the name of *Basilidae* in *Strabo's* own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones*, how they came hither out of *Peloponnesus*, I have <sup>g</sup> spoken already upon occasion of the return of the *Heraclidae* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that land: tho' this of the *Iones* succeeded that of the *Heraclidae* 100 years.

The city of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the temple of <sup>h</sup> *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425 foot, and 220 in breadth, sustained with 127 pillars of marble, of 70 foot high: whereof 27 were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choice marble polish'd, the work being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnoffos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which *Timothy* was bishop; to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, *St. Paul* wrote his epistles so intituled. The other city possessed by *Androclus* in *Æolis* was also universally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythraea*: who lived 740 years before Christ was born. *St. Augustine* avoweth that a *Roman* proconsul shewed him in an ancient *Greek* copy certain verses of this prophets: which began (as *St. Augustine* changed them into *Latin*) in these words: *Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator*. Jesus Christ Son of God the Saviour.

About the time that *Joab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Egypt*, the same that was father-in-law to *Solomon*, whose epistles to *Solomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21st of *David*, was the city of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the less founded; the same which is seated upon the river *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territory are the best horses of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*.

*Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.*

<sup>a</sup> Gen. 20.    <sup>b</sup> Gen. 26.    <sup>c</sup> Judg. 16.    <sup>d</sup> 1 Sam. 18. 29    <sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. 21. 11.    <sup>f</sup> 1 Kings 2.    <sup>g</sup> Euseb. in Chron.    <sup>h</sup> The east gate of Ephesus towards Magnesia upon the river Mæander  
um.    <sup>i</sup> Plin. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.    <sup>j</sup> Arist. l. 5. pol. c. 6.    <sup>k</sup> See Ch. in this 17. Ch. 9. 1. post med.



About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to <sup>a</sup>*Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joineth the *Cumeans* of *Æolis*, saying that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the city. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous scholar of *Iso-crates*.

*Eusebius* and *Cassiodore* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31st year of *David*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinus* the son of *Badezor* brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* king of *Israel*; and between the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted about 95 years.

In this time also *Acastus* lived, the second of the *Athenian* princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the state changed into a magistracy of ten years. Some <sup>b</sup>writers make it probable, that the *Æolians* led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Orestes*, who possess'd the city and island of *Lesbos* about this time. In the 32d year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to <sup>c</sup>*Josephus*, who saith that in his twelfth year *Solomon* began the work of the temple. But it is a familiar error in *Josephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to cast any account. For it is manifest that *Hiram* sent messengers, and cedars to *David*, soon after his taking of *Jerusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *David's* reign over *Israel*, when as yet he had reigned only seven years in <sup>d</sup>*Hebron*, over the house of *Judah*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above thirty years before *Solomon*; unless more credit should be given to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Solomon*, the scriptures make plainly manifest.

## C H A P. XVIII.

### Of SOLOMON.

#### S E C T. I.

*Of the establishing of Solomon: of birthright, and of the cause of Adonijah's death, and of Solomon's wisdom.*

**S**olomon, who was brought up under the prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Judah* and *Israel*, in the year of the world 2991. He was called *Solomon* by the appointment of God. He was also called *Jedidiab*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, because the Lord loved him.

*Hiram* king of *Tyre*, after *Solomon's* anointing, dispatched ambassadors towards him, congratulating his establishment: a custom between princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like sort salute <sup>e</sup>*Hanum* king of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the kingdom.

The beginning of *Solomon* was in blood, tho' his reign were peaceable. For soon after *David's* death he caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slain by *Benaiab* the son of *Jeboiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah's* desiring by *Bathsheba*, that the young maid *Abishag*, which lay in *David's* bosom in his latter days, to keep him warm, might be given to

him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and fought the kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Solomon*. And yet it is said, that a word is enough to the wise; and he that sees but the claw, may know whether it be a lion or no: so it may seem that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Solomon*, this motion of *Adonijah's*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had been concubines to a king, might not after be touched but by a king: whence <sup>f</sup>*Achitophel* wished *Abshalom* to take his father's concubines as a part of the royalty. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it seems was the depth of *Isbosheth's* quarrel against *Abner*, for having his father's concubine. And some signification of this custom may seem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy master's house and thy master's wives*. And in the words of *Saul*, upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had chosen *David* to the shame of the <sup>h</sup>nakedness of his mother. Hereunto perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was always present with *David* in his latter days, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the kingdom to *Solomon*. There might be divers farther occasions, as either that he would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would persuade her to forge some strange tale about *David's* last testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of *Solomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which <sup>i</sup>*Adonijah* pretended, tho' generally it agreed both with the law of nations, and with the customs of the *Jews*: yet the kings of the *Jews* were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else, what they pleased. Some <sup>k</sup>examples also they had (tho' not of kings) which taught them to use this paternal authority in transferring the birthright to a younger son: namely of *Jacob's* disinheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joseph*: of whom he made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appears by the words of *Bathsheba* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirm, or that the refusal of the people had authority to frustrate the elder brother's right to the kingdom, it no where appears in the stories of the *Jews*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* king at <sup>l</sup>*Gilgal*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was king long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of choosing or making their king is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a king, it is said, <sup>m</sup>*Thou shalt make him king whom the Lord shall choose*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Solomon*: at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himself also of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had advised him: he displaced also the priest <sup>n</sup>*Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* against him: [but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and because he

<sup>a</sup> Serv. in *Aeneid* 3. *Strabo*, l. 5. <sup>b</sup> *Euseb.* in *Chron.* <sup>c</sup> *Herod.* in vit. *Hom.* & *Strab.* l. 14. <sup>d</sup> *Antiq.* 8. & cont. *Ap.* 1. 1. <sup>e</sup> 2 *Sam.* 5. <sup>f</sup> 2 *Sam.* 10. <sup>g</sup> 2 *Sam.* 16. 21. <sup>h</sup> 2 *Sam.* 20. 3. <sup>i</sup> 1 *Sam.* 20. 30. <sup>j</sup> 1 *Kings* 2. 15. <sup>k</sup> *Deut.* 21. 15. <sup>l</sup> *Filius* exors. agnoscito dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipse est jus primogenitorum. <sup>m</sup> *Reg.* 1. 17. & 2. 20, 34. <sup>n</sup> 1 *King.* 1. 20, 27. <sup>o</sup> 1 *Sam.* 11. 14. <sup>p</sup> *Deut.* 11. 30. <sup>q</sup> 1 *King.* 2.



had borne the ark of God before his father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his kingdom, he took the daughter of *Vaphres* king of *Egypt* to wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands; *Solomon* chuseth wisdom, which pleased God. And God said unto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy self, neither hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words*: by which we may inform ourselves what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life, in respect of ourselves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of God's hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make *Solomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brother's slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the law of God. But because *Solomon* desired wisdom only, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him withal that which he desired not. And I have also given thee, saith God, that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wisdom our commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the scriptures testify, tho' no doubt the chief excellency of *Solomon's* wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the scripture telleth how soon he judged the controversy between the two harlots.

## SECT. II.

*Of Solomon's buildings and glory.*

**H**E then entered into league with *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials, for the king's palace and the temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *David*, *1 Chron. xxii. 6. That he called Solomon his son, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel*: so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Behold, a son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an house for my name.*

<sup>c</sup> He began the work of the temple, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at *Ezion-gaber*, to trade for gold in the *East-Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For that the temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest: for the pillars of the temple were made of the *Almaggi* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the <sup>d</sup> form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written, as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the cedars which served that building, *Solomon* employed thirty thousand carpenters, ten thousand every month by course:

he also used eighty thousand masons in the mountain, and seventy thousand labourers that bore burdens, which, it is conceived, he selected out of the profelytes, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his work, so as he paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men, in which number the *Zidonians*, which were far more skilful in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may, as I think, be included. For <sup>e</sup> *Hiram* caused his servants to bring down the cedars and firs from *Lebanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in rasses to *Joppe*, or the next port to *Jerusalem*. For in *2 Chron. ii.* it is plain that all but the thirty thousand carpenters, and the overseers, were strangers, and, as it seemeth, the vassals of <sup>e</sup> *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Solomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oil yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*, in the ninth book of his preparation, the last chapter, hath left us a copy of *Solomon's* letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Huram* or *Hiram*) king of *Tyre*, in these words.

**R**EX Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicie regi, amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum templum Dei mittere velis.

**K**ING *Solomon* to king *Suron*, of *Tyre*, *Sidon* and *Phœnicia*, king, and my father's friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father *David*, the kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me artificers and carpenters to build the temple of God.

To which the king *Suron* made this answer.

**S**URON, Tyri, Sidonis, & Phœnicie rex, Salomoni regi salutem. Lætis litteris gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrosque ad condendum templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judea, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessariis non egeant, & templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

**S**URON of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Phœnicia* king, to king *Solomon* greeting. When I read your letters, I gave God thanks, who hath installed you in your father's kingdom. And because you write, that carpenters and workmen may be sent to build God's temple, I have sent unto you fourscore thousand men, and a master-builder a *Tyrian*, born of a *Jewish* woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessities be provided for them, and when the temple of God is built, that they come home to us.

The copies of these letters were extant in *Josephus's* time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen, saith he, *Tam in nostris quam in Tyrionum annalibus*; As

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings 4. 33. <sup>b</sup> 1 Kings 3. 9.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Kings 5. 9. <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 5. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Toll. 9. 26. in 1 Chron.

<sup>f</sup> Joseph. Ant. 1. 8. <sup>g</sup> 2

<sup>h</sup> 1 Kings 6.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Chron. 23. 29.

<sup>k</sup> 1 Kings 5.



well in our own as in the *Tyrian* annals. But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the reader may find in his antiquities. But were this intercourse between *Solomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the <sup>a</sup> scriptures, than either *Eupolemus*, or *Josephus* set it down; but so, that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Solomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some commentators upon *Solomon* find, that *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* king of *Egypt*, gave *Solomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*; I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth book and second chapter of the *Jews* antiquities: it being a vain title used by some of the *Affyrian* and *Persian* kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many others after them, inso-much as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the temple and house of the Lord, *Solomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient metropolis of the *Canaanites* before *Josbua's* time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistines*: he built <sup>b</sup>*Bethoron*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo* or munition of *Jerusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in favour of *Solomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar* which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the sword and burnt their city. The place and territory he gave *Solomon's* wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that because *Solomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father-in-law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his son *Rehoboam's* time *Sheshack* this man's successor did sack *Jerusalem* itself.

*Solomon* also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*; and *Balab* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolemy's* *Thamoron* in the desert of *Judah* (or as <sup>c</sup>*Josephus* thinks *Palmyra* in the desert of *Syria*) which *Palmyra* because it stood on the utmost border of *Solomon's* dominion, to the north-east of *Libanus*, and was of *David's* conquest when he won *Damascus*, it may seem that *Solomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best art, that that age had. *Josephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name, saith he, given by *Solomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Jerome* in his book of *Hebrew* places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the emperor, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great charge of building, *Solomon* raised tribute throughout all his dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hiram's* servants, *Solomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the the upper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an unfruitful and marshy ground; *Hiram* refused them, and thereof was the territory called *Ghabul*.

These towns, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis gentilis erat*; Not that it was possess'd by the *Gentiles*, saith *Nauclerus*, but because

it was under the rule of a king that was a *Gentile*. Howsoever it were, it is true that *Solomon* in his twenty first year fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a journey into *Syria-Zobab*, and established his tributes; the first and last war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his dominions passing from *Thadmor* to the the north of *Palmyrena*, and so to the desarts of *Idumea*, from whence he visited *Ezion-gaber* and *Eloth*, the uttermost place of the south of all his territories, bordering to the *Red* sea: which cities I have described in the story of *Moses*.

### SECT. III.

Of *Solomon's* sending to *Ophir*, and of some seeming contradictions about *Solomon's* riches, and of *Pineda's* conceit of two strange passages about *Africk*.

**H**ERE *Solomon* prepared his fleet of ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joined in that voyage, and furnished him with mariners and pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all others the most expert seamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belong'd to *Edom* and was conquered by *David*, did the fleet pass to the *East-Indies*, which was not far off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the islands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in those islands of the east at *Manilia*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or *New Spain*.

The return which was made by these ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in 2 *Chron.* viii. it is written four hundred and fifty talents: whereof thirty went in expence for the charge of the fleet and wages of men, and four hundred and twenty talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand crowns, came clear. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Kings* x. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six talents of gold, that sum, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Solomon's* which were yearly, and which came to him besides these profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought; but a country in the *East-Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy return to *Jerusalem* from the *East-Indies* than in three years; and that *Tharsis* in scripture is divers times taken for the ocean; hath been already declared in the first book.

Only it remaineth, that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda's* strange conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Betica* would fain have *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the south-west corner of that province, to be the *Tharsis* from whence *Solomon* fetch'd his gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own country, and because of some affinity of sound between *Tharsis* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three years ere they that took ship in the *Red* sea, should return from the *East-Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further, the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the *Red* sea,

<sup>a</sup> 1 *Kings* 5. *Pom.* 2. 1. to 2. 9. <sup>b</sup> *Joseph.* Ant. 1. 8. c. 2. <sup>c</sup> *Joseph.* 1. 8. Ant. c. 2. <sup>d</sup> *Joseph.* 1. 8. Ant. c. 2. <sup>e</sup> *Chap.* 8. *1. 2. 9. 10. 1. 5. 1. 4. de rebus Salomonis, c. 5. & 15.*  
No. 18.



and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we have no need to make *Solomon's* men to go many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Solomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the *Mediterranean* sea, and so (besides many wonderful inconveniencies and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage between *Jerusalem* and the *Red* sea, thro' dry, desert, and thievish countries: and within thirty miles of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other haven in *Solomon's* own country, have laden and unladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold, saith *Pineda*, because the huge island of *Atlantis* in largeness greater than all *Africk* and *Asia* being swallowed up in the *Atlantick* ocean hindred *Solomon's* ships from passing thro' the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alledgeth *Plato in Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Solomon's*, or that thereby the straits of *Gades* were filled with mud and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the *Mediterranean* sea: or that this indraught, where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channel, should be filled with mud, and not also the great ocean in like manner, where this huge island is supposed to have stood: or that *Solomon's* ships being in the *Red* sea, should neglect the golden mines of the *East-Indies* (which were infinitely better, and nearer to the *Red* sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek gold at *Cadiz* by the way of compassing *Africa*, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himself, that hath also the rich *Peru* in the west, fortifieth in the *East-Indies*, and inhabits some part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in those parts no less quantity of gold (the small territory which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tbarsis* the city of *Cilicia* was cast out in the *Mediterranean* sea, and taken up there by a whale, that this whale in three days swimming above twelve thousand *English* miles, along the *Mediterranean* sea, and so thro' the straits of *Gades*, and along the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the *Red* sea, that so he might have perhaps some six miles the shorter (tho' much the worse) way to *Nineveh*. This conceit he grounds only upon the ambiguity of the word *Saph*, which oftentimes is an epithet of the *Red* sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the *Red* sea. But in *Jonas* ii. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have have it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the whale finish'd in three days, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the belly of the whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And again, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda*; Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure. Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought

unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our story of *Solomon*.

The queen of *Sheba's* coming from far to *Solomon* (as it seems from *Arabia Fælix*, and not as some think from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Solomon's* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions, those are set down at large in the text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this queen of *Sheba* *Nicaules*, the successor (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight *Egyptian* kings which succeeded *Mineus* the founder of *Memphis*; adding that after this *Egyptian*, and the father-in-law of *Solomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proved, that the queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father-in-law of *Solomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Solomon*, *Pharaoh-Necho* slew *Josias* king of *Judah*.

It is also written of *Solomon*, that he kept in gar-risons fourteen thousand chariots and twelve thousand horsemen; that he spent in court every day thirty measures of fine flour, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow deer, bugles and fowl; four thousand stalls of horses he had for his chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For the forty thousand stalls in 1 *Kings* iv. are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in 2 *Chron.* ix. it is written but four thousand stalls or teams, and in every team ten horses, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea, than were *Ethan* the *Ezrabite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Junius* addeth a fifth, to wit, *Ezra*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrabite* by nation. *Josephus* writes them *Athan*, *Aeman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan*, the sons of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the captivity of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Solomon's* were written and kept among the publick records of civil causes and not ecclesiastical, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into God's book.

#### SECT. IV.

*Of the fall of Solomon, and how long he lived.*

NOW as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcity of women. For besides his seven hundred wives, he kept three hundred concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of idolaters) he took wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heb*: and when he fell a doating, his wives turned his heart after other Gods, as *Astartoth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the makers of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his son *Rehoboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, que ipse non fecit*; God in punishing sinners, useth the sins of others, which he himself wrought not.

In the reign of *Solomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings, with other works of magnificence and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty years he reigned: how ma-

<sup>a</sup> Deuter. xli. 1. <sup>b</sup> 1. 2. <sup>c</sup> 1. 1. <sup>d</sup> 1. 1. <sup>e</sup> 1. 1. <sup>f</sup> 1. 1. <sup>g</sup> 1. 1. <sup>h</sup> 1. 1. <sup>i</sup> 1. 1. <sup>j</sup> 1. 1. <sup>k</sup> 1. 1. <sup>l</sup> 1. 1. <sup>m</sup> 1. 1. <sup>n</sup> 1. 1. <sup>o</sup> 1. 1. <sup>p</sup> 1. 1. <sup>q</sup> 1. 1. <sup>r</sup> 1. 1. <sup>s</sup> 1. 1. <sup>t</sup> 1. 1. <sup>u</sup> 1. 1. <sup>v</sup> 1. 1. <sup>w</sup> 1. 1. <sup>x</sup> 1. 1. <sup>y</sup> 1. 1. <sup>z</sup> 1. 1. <sup>aa</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ab</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ac</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ad</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ae</sup> 1. 1. <sup>af</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ag</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ah</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ai</sup> 1. 1. <sup>aj</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ak</sup> 1. 1. <sup>al</sup> 1. 1. <sup>am</sup> 1. 1. <sup>an</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ao</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ap</sup> 1. 1. <sup>aq</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ar</sup> 1. 1. <sup>as</sup> 1. 1. <sup>at</sup> 1. 1. <sup>au</sup> 1. 1. <sup>av</sup> 1. 1. <sup>aw</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ax</sup> 1. 1. <sup>ay</sup> 1. 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ny he lived it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case, is by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Solomon's* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true, or most likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his 8th year he took *Jerusalem*, and warred with the *Philistines*, who also troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the ark seems to have been in the 10th year of *David*, and his intention to build the temple in the <sup>a</sup> year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had wars with the *Philistines*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him 5 years, considering that the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised war against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in every of these wars, he had the entire <sup>b</sup> victory. Neither is it likely that these services occupied any longer time, because in those days and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the year, kings went forth to war, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies country, partly upon the <sup>c</sup> private provision which every soldier made for himself. The 17th year of *David*, in which he took *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan* into his court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of summer perhaps, it came to trial of a battel (for *Joab* after the victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war having taken up all the summer. *David's* personal expedition against the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadezer* under his own allegiance, appears manifestly to have been the next year's work, wherein he did cut off all means of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumæa*, being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the 20th year of *David's* reign, and about the 50th of his life, in which he sent forth *Joab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the war of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Uriah's* wife. So one half of *David's* reign was very prosperous: in the other half he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God, for his foul and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the year after the death of that child, which was begotten in adultery, *Solomon* was born, who must needs therefore have been 19 years old or thereabouts, when he began to reign at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21st year of his father's reign, who reigned in all 40.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for 2 years passed ere *Abshalom* slew his brother *Amnon*; 3 years ere his father pardoned him; and 2 years more ere he came into the king's presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seems to have been 1 year's work. So the rebellion itself, with all that happened thereupon, as the commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa*, and the rest, may well seem to have been in the 30th year of *David's* reign.

Whether the 3 years of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the *Philistines*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the 10 remaining years of *David*, there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the 3 years of famine, for 4 years of war, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and disposing of the kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the war with the *Philistines* was but one year's work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This war the *Philistines* undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *David's* old age, for he fainted now in the battel, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himself unto danger any more. So *David* had 6 or 7 years of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great men of war died (being of his own age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken party of *Joab* the son of *Zeruiah*.

At this time it might both truly be said by <sup>d</sup> *David* to *Solomon*, *Thou art a wise man*, and by *Solomon* to God, *I am but a young child*; for 19 years of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of *Solomon's* professing himself a child, that he was but 11 years old when he began to reign. Of these *Rabbi Solomon* seems the first author, whom others of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps upon that which is said of <sup>e</sup> *Abshalom's* rebellion, that it was after 40 years, which they understood as years of *David's* reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the son of *Solomon* was 41 years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himself but a child of 9 or 10 years old; the difference between their ages being no greater (if *Solomon* who reigned 40 years) were but 11 years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Josephus* allows 80 years of reign to *Solomon*; a report so disagreeing with the scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion construed the words of *Josephus*, as if they included all the years of *Solomon's* life. But by such reckoning he should have been 40 years old at his father's death; and consequently should have been born long before his father had won *Jerusalem*; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 40 years remembered in *Abshalom's* rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between *David's* first anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedness, or perhaps be read (according to *Josephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Latin* translation) 4 years; which passed between the return of *Abshalom* to *Jerusalem*, and his breaking out.

#### S E C T. V.

##### *Of Solomon's writings.*

THERE remain of *Solomon's* works, the *Precels*, the *Preacher*, and the *Song of Solomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanity of human nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the *Epithalamion* of Christ and his church. For the

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings 7. 1.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. 11. 1.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. 17. 17, 18.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 2. 9. & 3. 7.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. 15. 7.



book intitled the wisdom of *Solomon* (which some give unto *Solomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the author thereof :) *Ferome*, and many others of the best learned, make us think it was not *Solomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientie* (saith <sup>a</sup> *Ferome*) *qui Salomonis inscribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; The style of the book of wisdom, which is ascribed to *Solomon*, savoureth of the *Græcian* eloquence; and of the same opinion was *St. Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the 19th book and 20th chapter of the city of God, that the author of that book hath a direct foretelling of the passion of Christ in these words: <sup>b</sup> *Circumveniamus justum, quoniam insuavis est nobis, &c.* Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is displeasing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the son of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The books of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and <sup>c</sup> *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi* ascribeth to *Ishrah* the prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report that *Solomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the porch of the temple, which they say <sup>d</sup> *Ezechias* pulled down, because the people neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of *Solomon's* books of invocations and enchantments to cure diseases, and expel evil spirits, *Josephus* hath written at large, tho' as I conceive, rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Solomon's* ring, dispossest divers persons of evil spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly, so strange an example of human frailty hath never been read of as this king: who having received wisdom from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his only service, he built the first and most glorious temple of the world: he that was made king of *Israel* and *Judea*, not by the law of nature, but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all kings, did in the end, by the persuasion of a few weak and wretched idolatrous women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodness, of which he was more liberal to this king, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner; *Solomon reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house in his name, and prepare the sanctuary for ever; how wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a flood! thy mind covered the whole earth, and hast filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth, *Thou didst bow thy loins to women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly*, chap. xxvii.

#### SECT. IV.

Of the contemporaries of *Solomon*.

**N**EAR the beginning of *Solomon's* reign, *Agelaus* the 3d of the *Heraclidae* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedemon*; and soon after *Sylvius Alba* the

4th of the *Sylvii*, sway'd those kingdoms: *Laogthenes* then governing *Affyria*: *Agastus* and *Archippus* the 2d and 3d princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the 26th of *Solomon's* reign *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and reigned 17 years, after *Mercator's* accmpt, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. <sup>e</sup> *Josephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Autolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some kings omitted between the death of *Hiram*, and the reign of *Bozorius*.

*Vaphres* being dead, about the 20th of *Solomon*, *Sesac* or *Shisak* (as our *English Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Josephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susefinus*; *Eusebius* in the column of the *Egyptian* kings *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrews* *Susac*. *Josephus*, in the 8th of his antiquities, reproveth it as an error in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the acts of *Susac* to *Sesac*, and that *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesostris*; for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and virtues of king *Sesostris* I have spoken already in the story of the *Egyptian* princes: only in this he was reprov'd that he caused four of his captive kings to draw his chariot, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesostris* was carried out to take the air, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which *Sesostris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion; to whom the captive king answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward and under all: which when <sup>f</sup> *Sesostris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those princes, and all others, from the like servitude for the future. Of this *Sesostris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sesac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* kings preceding.

#### C H A P. XIX.

Of *Solomon's* successors until the end of *Jehosaphat*.

#### SECT. I.

Of *Rehoboam's* beginnings: the defection of the ten tribes, and *Jeroboam's* idolatry.

**R**EHOBAM, the son of *Solomon* by *Nabama* an *Ammonite*, now 40 years old, succeeded his father *Solomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the 10 tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended awhile the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since he fled thither, fearing *Solomon*. After his arrival, the people presented a petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great tributes laid on them by his father. <sup>g</sup> *Sic enim firmitus ei fore imperium, si amari mallet quam metui*; So should his empire (saith *Josephus*) be more assured if he desired rather to be beloved than feared: whereof he took 3 days to deliberate before his answer, of whom

therefore

<sup>a</sup> Hier. ad Chromatium

<sup>b</sup> Sap. 2

<sup>c</sup> S. Sen. l. 62

<sup>d</sup> Reince. in Jul. Hist.

<sup>e</sup> Ant. lib. 3

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Miscel. l. 17

<sup>g</sup> Ant. lib. 8. c. 3



therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that he was wiser than all his teachers. For as of himself he knew not how to resolve, so had he not the judgment to discern of counsels, which is the very test of wisdom in princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those grave and advised men, that served his father, who persuaded him by all means to satisfy the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and favorites, not only to continue on the backs of his subjects those burdens which greatly crush'd them; but (vaunting falsely of greatness exceeding his father's) he threatened in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unsupportable loads on them. But as it appeared by the success, those younger advisers greatly mistook the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency, is no other than cruelty it self: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the help, and not for the harm of subjects. For what is the strength of a king left by his people; and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, by those which have been twisted and forged by love only; his witless parasites could well judge of the king's disposition: and being well learned therein, tho' ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboam's* designs. For being foretold by the prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, these the king's threats (changing the people's love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected king of *Israel*: the people crying out, What portion have we in *David*? we have no inheritance in the son of *Isbahi*. Now tho' themselves, even all the tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *David's* anointing at *Hebron* the 2d time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bonds of nature, and their duty to God, and, as all alienated resolved hearts do, they served themselves for the present with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the taxers of the people, a man most hateful to all his subjects, to pacify them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the king affrighted, got him from *Sichem* with all speed, and recover'd *Jerusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israel* with an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, *Shemai* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was stay'd for the present. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new king fortified *Sechem* on this side, and *Penuel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the union and exercise of one religion would also join the people's hearts again to the house of *David*; and having in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their idolatry: he set up two calves of gold for the children of *Israel* to worship, impiously persuading them that those were the gods, or at least by these he represented those gods, which delivered them out of *Egypt*: and refusing the service of the *Levites*, he made priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the *Levites*, which serv'd *David* and *Solomon* thro' all *Israel*, *Jeroboam* greatly enrich'd himself: as taking into his hands all those cities which were given them by *Moses* and *Joshua*; for, as it is written, *The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda, &c.* This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundati-

on of an idolatry that never could be rooted out, until *Israel* for it was rooted out of the land) was by prophecy and miracles impunged sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither prophecy nor miracle could make them yield. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the authority of *Abia*, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he stretched it over the altar, which also clave asunder; according to the sign, which the man of God had given by the commandment of God, who again recover'd and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forsook God, and the religion of his forefathers, by God and his ministers taught them, was by a modern historian compared with the policies of late ages, observing well the practice of his nation, being an *Italian* born; *Sic qui hodie* (saith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, presentesque utilitates sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, si justitie honestatisque leges subvertende, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si denique omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nihil per fas nefasque relinquendum censent, cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod e re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareve possit Deus*; So they who are now called politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wont to alledge the case of state forsooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they think they may do any thing. If they mean to oppress their neighbour, to overturn all laws of justice and honesty, if religion it self must go to wrack, yea if all rights of God and man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruin, what care they, so long as they may have what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *Ragione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile idolatry of the ten tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the priest of *Bethel*, counselled the prophet *Amos*, not to prophesy at *Bethel*; For (saith he) *it is the king's court*. Upon this ground even *Jehu* that had massacred the priests of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politic sin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to slip. It was reason of state that persuaded the last famous *French* king *Henry* the fourth to change his religion; yet the protestants whom he forsook obey'd him, but some of the papists whom he followed murder'd him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wise proceeding delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it, and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof *Jehu* and all the kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves, very great examples.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. 5. 1.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Kings 12. 21.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Kings 13. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>d</sup> Amos 7. 13.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Kings 10. 16.

<sup>f</sup> 2 Kings 10. 20.



## S E C T. II.

Of Rehoboam's impiety; for which he was punished by Sefac: of his end and contemporaries.

WHILE *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting up his new religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side having now little hope to recover the provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour: for he fortified and victualled fifteen cities of *Judah* and *Benjamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only fastned himself, but withal invited them to invade *Judea*: laying perchance before them the unaccountable riches of *David* and *Solomon*, which might now easily be had, seeing ten of the twelve tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judeans*. So as by those two ways (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of religion, and invitation of foreign force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himself in the seat of *Israel*, whom yet the powerful God for his idolatry in a few years after rooted out with all his. *Rehoboam* also having, as he thought, by <sup>b</sup> fortifying divers places, assured his estate, forsook the law of the living God, and made high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill, and under every green tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, *Sefac*, or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now king of *Egypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumea*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments, entred *Judea* with twelve thousand chariots, and threescore thousand horse, besides footmen, which <sup>a</sup> *Josephus* numbers at four hundred thousand. This army was compounded of four nations, *Egyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cusites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans*, the next bordering region to *Egypt*, on the west-side. The *Cusites* were of *Pertinea*, and of the desert *Arabia*, which afterwards followed *Zerah* against <sup>c</sup> *Aśa* king of *Judah*. The *Succæans*, according to *Junius's* opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth tents: he doth suppose, that they were the *Trogloditæ*, often mentioned in *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other authors. The *Troglodite*, inhabited not far from the banks of the *Red* sea, in 22 degrees from the line northward about six hundred *English* miles from the best and maritime part of *Egypt*: and therefore I do not think that the *Succims* or *Succæi* were those *Trogloditæ*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabes Ægyptii* or *Ichthyophagi*, which possess that part of *Egypt* between the mountains called *Alabastrini*, and the *Red* sea, far nearer *Egypt*, and readier to be levied, than those removed savages of the *Trogloditæ*.

With this great and powerful army, *Sefac* invaded *Judea*, and (besides many other strong cities) won *Jerusalem* itself, of which, and of the temple, and king's house he took the spoil, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Solomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadzer*, in the *Syrian* war: these *Rehoboam* supplied with targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a king of his quality: whom *Siracides* calleth the foolishness of the people.

From this time forward the kings of *Egypt* claimed the sovereignty of *Judea*, and held the *Jews* as their tributaries: *Sefac*, as it seems, rendering up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the words of God, where promising the deliverance of *Judah* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them

under the yoke of *Egypt* in these words. *Nevertheless they* (to wit, the *Judeans*) *shall be his servants, that is, the servants of Sefac.*

After this overthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and, his losses received by *Sefac* notwithstanding, he continued the war against *Jeroboam* all his life-time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Israel* four years.

*Rehoboam* lived fifty-eight years, and reigned seventeen. His story was written at large by *She-memiah* and *Hiddon* the prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan* and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdastrartus* or *Abstrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doristhus* the fifth of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to <sup>b</sup> *Eusebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Priminus* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latins* reigned *Sylvius Alba*, add *Sylvius Atys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Sylvii*.

About the 12th of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastrartus* king of *Tyre*, was murdered by his nurse's sons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which usurped the kingdom twelve years.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to govern *Affyria*, the 34th king thereof: and not long after *Astartus* the son of *Baleastartus* recovered the kingdom of *Tyre* from the usurpers.

## S E C T. III.

Of the great battle between *Jeroboam* and *Abijah*, with a corollary of the examples of God's judgments.

ABIJAH the son of *Rehoboam* inherited his father's kingdom, and his vices. He raised an army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred thousand; both armies joined near to the mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the strength of *Israel* broken; for there fell of that side five hundred thousand, the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeshanah* and *Ephron*, soon after which discomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22 years. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himself, entred into league with *Hefion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may be gathered out of 2 *Chron.* xvi. 23. He reigned but three years and then died. The particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the prophet, as some part of his father's were.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the sins of *Solomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: first, by an idolater and a traitor: and then by the successor of that *Egyptian*, whose daughter *Solomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which, while he served God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring kings, and when he forsook him, it was torn asunder by his meanest vassals; not that the father wanted strength to defend him from the *Egyptian Sefac*. For the son *Abijah* was able to levy four hundred thousand men, and with the same number he overthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them five hundred thousand, God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were express'd, why it pleased God to punish both kings and their people: the same being both before and at the in-

<sup>a</sup> 2 *Chron.* 11.  
not in 12. *Chron.*

<sup>b</sup> 1 *Kings* 14. 13.

<sup>c</sup> 2 *Chron.* 12. 3.

<sup>d</sup> *Plin.* l. 6. c. 29.

<sup>e</sup> *Ptolemy*, *Tab.* 3.

<sup>f</sup> *Cap.* 4.

<sup>g</sup> 2 *Chron.* 12. 2 *Kings* 14. *Aut.*

<sup>h</sup> *Euseb.* *Chron.*



stant delivered by prophets ; so the same just God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give victory, courage, and discouragement, raise, and throw down kings, estates, cities, and nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present : for which reason, in these and other afflictions of *Israel*, always the causes are set down, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *David's* time for three years, <sup>a</sup> for *Saul and his bloody house*, &c. And *David*, towards his latter end, suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrows in effect, for *Uriah*. *Solomon* had ten tribes of twelve torn from his son for his idolatry. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his riches and honour by *Sesac* of *Egypt*, because the people of *Judah* made images, high places and groves, &c. and because they suffered *Sodomites* in the land. *Jeroboam* was punished in himself and his posterity for the golden calves that he erected. *Joram* had all his sons slain by the *Philistines*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flux, for murdering his brethren. *Abab* and *Jezabel* were slain, the blood of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogs, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and the like sins in all after-times, and in these our days by the same famine, plagues, war, loss, vexation, death, sickness, and calamities, howsoever the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents ; which, as being next their eyes and ears, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

#### SECT. IV.

*Of Asa and his contemporaries.*

**T**O *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time he established the Church of God, <sup>b</sup> breaking down the altars dedicated to strange Gods, with their images, cutting down their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own <sup>c</sup> mother who was an idolatress, but deposing her from her regency, brake her idol, stamp't it, and burnt it.

He also fortified many cities and other places, providing (as provident kings do) for the troubles of war in the leisure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judea*, and with such a multitude entered the territory of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that nation either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the *Judeans*, <sup>d</sup> *Zerah* of *Ethiopia* with an host of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred chariots, which *Asa* encountered with an army of five hundred and fourscore thousand, levied out of those two tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the spoil both of their cities and camps.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ethiopian* I have <sup>e</sup> proved already, and were it but the length between *Ethiopia* and *Judea*, and the strong flourishing regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass thro' them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were *Ethiopians*. But in that the scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the cities thereabouts were spoiled

by the *Judeans* in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth upon the torrent of *Besor*, which *David* pass'd over when he surprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*, this proveth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that <sup>f</sup> *Gerar* was a frontier town standing on the uttermost south-border of all *Judea*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoils which *Asa* took, as the cattle, camels, and sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be *Arabians* adjoining, and not far off, and not unknown to the *Ethiopians*. And if it be objected, that these desert countries can hardly yield a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the desert which compass two parts of the *Holy Land*, should yield ten hundred thousand, as that two tribes of the twelve should arm five hundred and fourscore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these nations should exceed in number ; for God spake it of *Ismael*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve princes, &c.

<sup>g</sup> *Baasha*, a king of *Israel*, began to reign in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatness of *Asa* after his great victory, entertained *Benbadad* king of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadazer*, to join with him against *Asa* ; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama* which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* towards *Samaria*.

This war began according to the letter of the scriptures in the 36th year of *Asa's* reign : but because in *1 Kings* xvi. it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26th year of *Asa*, therefore could not *Baasha* begin this war in the 35th of *Asa's* reign, but in the 35th year of the division of *Judah* and *Israel* : for so many years it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17 years, to the 16th of *Asa*. It may seem strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an army of five hundred and fourscore thousand good soldiers, did not easily drive away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Asa* himself against *Zerah* being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldned the men of *Judah*, and as much disheartned the enemies. Questionless there were some important circumstances omitted in the text, which caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be, that the employment of so many hundred thousand of hands in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many mens private business to lie undispatched, whereby the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands, and other trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, chusing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardness of the people might have deterred *Asa* from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, and committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benbadad* the Syrian against *Baasha*, whose employments *Benbadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baasha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his successors after him, ever gave over till they had made themselves masters of that kingdom. So <sup>h</sup> *Benbadad* being now entered into *Nephtalim* without resistance, he spoiled divers principal cities

<sup>a</sup> 2 Sam. 21. 1.  
<sup>ch.</sup> 8. sect. 10. † 6.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 14.  
<sup>†</sup> 2 Chron. 14.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 15. 16.  
<sup>‡</sup> 2 Chron. 16. 1.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. 14. 9.  
<sup>h</sup> 2 Chron. 16. 4.

<sup>e</sup> In the former book, ch. 4. sect. 14. item,



thereof, and enforced <sup>a</sup>*Baasha* to quit *Ramah*, and to leave the same to *Asha* with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortify the same: which done *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being laden with the spoils of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Judah*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the prophet reprehended *Asha* in that he now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore stricken with the grievous pains of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two years <sup>b</sup>continually tormented, he gave up the ghost when he had reigned 41 years.

There lived with *Asha*, *Agésilus* the sixth of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fifth king of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterwards called *Bacidae*. *Astartus* and *Astarimus* were kings in *Tyre*. <sup>c</sup>*Astarimus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murder of *Ithobalus* priest of the goddess *Astarta*, whom *Solomon* in dotage worshipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the *Latins*. *Pyrithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Assyrians*: *Tersippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36th year of *Asha*, left *Cheops* his successor that reigned fifty-six years, even to the 16th of *Joas*.

#### S E C T. V.

*Of the great alteration falling out in the ten tribes during the reign of Asha.*

**I**N the reign of *Asha*, the kingdom of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten tribes unto their former allegiance to the house of *David*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickedness of *Jeroboam* had, in his latter days, the sentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*; for the sin of *Solomon*, and his reign over the ten tribes. One son *Jeroboam* had, among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (tho' it sufficed not to withhold his wrath from that family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the people's love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death; and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himself.

After the loss of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy prophet, assured of the ruin hanging over him and his, yea, of God's extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed idols that wrought his confusion. So loth he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

*Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the second and third years of *Asha*, which are reckoned as two years, tho' indeed his father's last year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the second of *Asha*, whose third year was the first of *Baasha*; so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his father's courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that he little feared the judgments denounced against his father's house: for as

a prince that was secure of his own estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistines*, and besieged one of their towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous loss of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky family to the nation; or (whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slain he was by *Baasha*, whom the army did willingly accept for king in his stead. *Baasha* was no sooner proclaimed king, than he began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of God's will to have it so, it is evident, by his continuing in the same form of idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*, which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infest *Asha*, by fortifying *Rama*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waste his country, destroying all the land of *Nephtalim*. Four and twenty years he reigned: and then dying, left the crown to *Elah* his; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* had done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

*Elah* was as much an idolater as his father: and withal a riotous person. He sent an army against *Gebbethon*, the same town of the *Philistines* before which *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he sat at home the while, feasting and drinking with his minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the king at *Tirzah*, finding his master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set upon *Elah* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he styled himself king of *Israel*: and began his reign with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not only to his children and kinsfolks, but unto all his friends in *Tirzah*. These news were quickly blown to the camp at *Gebbethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri's* expectation. For the soldiers, instead of proclaiming him king, proclaimed him traitor: and being led by *Omri* whom they saluted king, they (quitting the siege of *Gebbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirzah*; which in short space they may seem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the city, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the palace, consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven days he is said to have reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the camp. For *Zimri* was also an idolater, *Walking in the way of Jeroboam*, 1 Kings xvi. 19. and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself, than the reign of seven days, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Elah*, there arose another king to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seem, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings 15.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. in Chron.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 15. 25.



of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; only it appears that his side was decay'd, and so he died, leaving no other successor than his concurrent.

# SECT. VI.

*A conjecture of the causes hindring the re-union of Israel with Juda, which might have been effected by these troubles.*

ANY man that shall consider the state of *Israel*, in those times, may justly wonder how it came to pass, that either the whole nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate princes, and with the present civil wars, did not return to their ancient kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppress'd factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose, the one to endure a desperate necessity of yielding, or burning himself, the other to languish away, a man forsaken: than to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleas'd to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) unless it could be prov'd, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deal in that business, as he forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only bind his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the war continu'd between *Israel* and *Juda*, so many years following: wherein *Abia* so far prevailed, that he won a great battel, and recovered some towns belonging to the other tribes, which he annexed to his own dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes, moving the people and leaders of the ten tribes, to suffer any thing under new upstarts, rather than to cast their eyes upon that royal house of *David*, from which the succession of five kings in lineal descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his competitors, in making peace with *Asa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not only an idolater, *but did worse than all that were before him*, which as it might serve alone to prove, that *Asa*, being a godly king, would not adhere to him, so the course which he profess'd to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baasha* (*Asa* his mortal enemy) gives manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the friendship of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten tribes (which was such that they may seem to have never thought upon the matter) to submit themselves to their true princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes, moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam*, who follow'd the wars in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first defection of the ten tribes, was (if we look upon human reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Solomon* had galled their necks. Their desire was to have a king that should not oppress them; not to have no king at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choose

*Jeroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it seems) herein altogether deceived. For his affection of popularity appears in his building of decay'd towns, and in the institution of his new devised idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to travel so far as *Jerusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his son, when long time of possession had confirm'd his title, which at the first was only good by courtesy of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a king that he still retained in his own hands, than pleas'd with his remission of other burdens: it is clearly apparent, that the whole army of all *Israel* joined with *Baasha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboam's* house.

Now the reign of *Baasha* himself, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away; the other side of his kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one town of *Gibbethon* from the *Israelites*; but left that business to his son, who likewise appears an unprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the favour of the people towards the house of *Baasha* grew from his good form of civil government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And surely he that shall take pains to look into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, in administration of justice, will find it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten tribes continu'd so averse from the line of *David*; as to think all adversity more tolerable than the weighty scepter of that house. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without form of judgment, they suffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the king's jealousy: out of which, by the same rule of arbitrary justice (under which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would have slain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence, as appears by his confident return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jeoram* did upon his brethren, and upon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Joash* did so put to death *Zachariah* the son of *Jeboiada*, who had made him king, *Even in the court of the house of the Lord*: and *Manasses* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he replenish'd *Jerusalem* from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault; besides his sin wherewith he made *Juda* to sin. Contrariwise, among the kings of *Israel* we find no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unless perhaps the words of *Jeoram* the son of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said *God do so to me, and more also, if the head of Elisba the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemn'd as a false prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own chil-

\* 1 Kings 16. 25.

b 2 Chron. 24. 25.

c 2 Kings 21. 16.

d 2 Kings 6. 31.



dren ; which he thought a sufficient argument to prove, that it was not God's purpose to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enjoy'd, than any peremptory execution of the king's will. For *Naboth* did not fear to stand upon his own right, tho' *Abab* were even sick for anger, neither was he for that cause put to death, as upon commandment, but made away by conspiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, tho' to God it could not.

The murder of the prophets is continually ascribed to *Jezebel*, an impudent woman, and not unto the king her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no law made, whereby their lives were taken from them ; but certain it is, that the people, being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and labour'd in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of *Juda* (such as are registred) prove them to have used a more absolute manner of command, than the kings of the ten tribes. Neither do their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned over *Juda*, from the division of the kingdom, to the captivity of the ten tribes, three were slain by the people, and two were denied a place of burial amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Abaziah* and his brethren, slain by *Jehu*, with the destruction of all the royal seed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) stir up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddenness and uniformity testify the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their princes ; unless we should think that the death of *Athalia*, after 7 years reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the government, whereon she had seized. On the other side, such of the kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seven of the twenty) were all slain by conspiracy of the great men, who aspired by treason to the crown : the people being so far from embruing their hands in the blood of their sovereigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their kings, when it lay in their power, nor approve the good success of treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two kings, being thoroughly revenged upon other two, namely, the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterously got and usurp'd, for a little while, their places ; only three of the seven remain, whose ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Tho' indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Abab's* children by *Jehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because <sup>b</sup> *they were exceedingly afraid* : and the same fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the kings of *England*, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them, neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of king *Edward* and king *Richard*, when they were in prison, as fear lest the people should stir in their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the law calls treason, be interpreted as tending finally to the king's destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quench'd it self, with the blood of some great officers ; no

such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruin of their natural sovereign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his royal person : which if any man impute unto gross ignorance, another may more charitably, and, I think, more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying, that monarchs need not to fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. Tho' indeed the story might very well have borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did mar all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good form of government sufficeth by it self to retain the people, not only without assistance of a laborious wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest politicians : every sheriff and constable, being sooner able to arm the multitude, in the king's behalf, than any over-weening rebel, how mighty soever, can against him.

This declaration of the people's love, being seldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it self of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually disarmed. For otherwise it would have been almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Abab*, a stranger to the royal blood of *Juda*, should by the only authority of a queen-mother have destroy'd all the seed of *David*, and usurped the kingdom very near seven years, without finding any resistance. Yea, when *Jeboiada* the high priest had agreed with the captains and principal men of the land to set up *Joash* their lawful king, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected ; he was fain to give to these captains and their men, *the spears and the shields that were king David's, and were in the house of the Lord*. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionless, the tribes which thought obedience to their princes to be a part of their duty towards God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had kings of their own choice or admission, holding the crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten tribes did never seek to return to their ancient lords : but after the destruction of their six first kings, which died in the reign of *Aja*, admitted a seventh of a new family, rather than they would consubject themselves, with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yolk.

So *Aja*, having seen the death of seven kings of *Israel*, died himself after 41 years reign, leaving *Jeboshaphat* his son to deal with *Abab* the son of *Omri*, who was the eighth king over the ten tribes.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of Jehoshaphat and his contemporaries.*

**J**ehoshaphat, who succeeded *Aja*, was a prince religious and happy, he destroyed all the groves,

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 19. 10

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 10. 4



altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction, he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistines*: from the one he had silver, from the other sheep and goats to the number of fifteen thousand and four hundred. The numbers of his men of war were more than admirable: for it is written that <sup>a</sup> *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Jehobanan* of two hundred and fourscore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these, in *Benjamin* of those that bare shields, which we call *Targeteers*, and of archers under *Eliada* two hundred thousand, and under the commandment of *Jehosabad* a hundred and fourscore thousand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the king besides his garrisons.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a territory not much exceeding the county of *Kent*, should muster eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. <sup>b</sup> *Joab* in *David's* time found five hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourscore thousand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and fourscore thousand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thousand: *Uzziah* three hundred and seven thousand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoshaphat*, that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his territory to the west of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he fear'd (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field eleven hundred and threescore thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring myself to better judgment) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the seventeenth, distributed to several leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand under *Adnah*, and the two hundred and fourscore thousand under *Jehobanan*, were afterwards commanded and mustered by *Amasia*, *Eliada*, and *Jehosabad*: for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehoshaphat* brought to *Abah*, did not shew that he was a prince of extraordinary power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, which he feared could never make the one half of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Jehoshaphat's* leaders had under him.

This mighty prince, notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joined in friendship with *Abah* king of *Israel*, who had married that wicked woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehoshaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his son *Joram* to marry *Athaliah*, this *Abah's* daughter.

*Abah* persuaded *Jehoshaphat* to assist him in the war against the *Syrians*, who held the city of *Ramoth-Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his prophets, or *Baalites* to foretel the success: who promised him victory. But *Jehoshaphat* believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to confer with some one prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Abah* made answer, that he had one called *Michaiab*, but he hated that prophet, because he always foretold of evil, and never of any good to-

wards him. Yet *Michaiab* was sent for to the king, but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with prophets: and to promise victory unto them as they did. But *Michaiab* spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both the kings, which was, *That God asked who shall persuade Abah, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead?* To whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ, *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*: it is not you that speak, but the spirit of your father speaks in you: so in a contrary kind did the devil in the prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, encourage *Abah* to his destruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well observeth, these evil spirits are the ministers of God's vengeance, and are used as the hangmen and tormentors, which princes sometimes employ. For as it pleaseth God by his good angels, to save and deliver from destruction, of which the scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evil that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to perform the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Ecclesiasticus* remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are every where visible. There are spirits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaiab* having by this his revelation greatly displeased the king, and the prophets whose spirit he discovered, was stricken by *Zedekiah* one of *Baal's* prophets, and by *Abah* himself committed to prison: where he appointed him to be reserved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiab* not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me*. Nevertheless *Abah* went on in that war, and was wounded to death. *Jehoshaphat* returned to *Jerusalem*, where he was <sup>c</sup> reprehended by *Jehu* the prophet for assisting an idolatrous prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* of *Damascus*, joined with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumeans*, to invade *Judea*: who pass *Jordan*, and encamp at *Engaddi*, and when *Jehoshaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Jabaziel* foretold him of the victory, which should be obtained without any blood-shed of his part: and so when *Jehoshaphat* approached, this assembly of nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* disagreeing with the *Idumeans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves; those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set upon the *Idumeans*, and brake them utterly; which done, they also invaded each other; in which broil *Jehoshaphat* arriving, <sup>d</sup> took the spoil of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold and promis'd by God. Notwithstanding this victory, *Jehoshaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an idolatrous king, did notwithstanding join with *Ochazias* the son of *Abah*, in preparing a fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Solomon* had: but as <sup>e</sup> *Eliezer* the prophet foretold him, his ships perished and were broken in the part of *Ezion-gaber*, and so that enterprize was overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which kings of *Judah* and *Israel* the *Edomites* join their forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 17.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Sam. 24. 4.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 19.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. 20.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Chron. 20.



by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their army.

The *Moabites*, subjects to *David* and *Solomon*, forsaking the kings of *Judah*, gave themselves for vassals to *Jeroboam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Abab*: but *Jehoshaphat*, notwithstanding the idolatry of his colleague, yet, as it seemeth, he was drawn into this war both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Judah* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joined themselves with the *Syrians* against *Jehoshaphat*, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion, who first forsook *Judah* and now *Israel*.

Both kings resolved to pass by the way of *Idumea*, thereby the better to assure that nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Jehoshaphat*: but whether they had then declared themselves against *Jehoshaphat*, it is not certain; for in 2 *Chron.* xi. 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram*, the son of *Jehoshaphat*, *Edom* rebelled; and therefore it seemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turn from them, and to join themselves with the army of *Judah*: for that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehoshaphat*, it is plain in 2 *Chron.* xx. and is plain chap. ii. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a king, till *Jehoshaphat*'s death. Now in the passage of these kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumeans* having a purpose to rebel, misled the army of *Judah* and *Israel* with intent to enfeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Crassus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, utterly perished, had not *Elisba* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which, not only *Jehoshaphat* and his army, but *Jehoram* king of *Israel* an idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodness of God, having ever been prone to save the evil for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evil.

The miserable issue of this war, and how <sup>a</sup>*Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the king of *Edom* for sacrifice on the rampart of his own city, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the kings of *Israel*. <sup>b</sup>*Jehoshaphat* reigned twenty-five years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* set over his grave is yet to be seen, saith <sup>c</sup>*Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*.

There lived with *Jehoshaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Affyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Jehoshaphat*'s time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Agefilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the same race, of the *Heralidae* the seventh in *Lacedaemon*. *Badesorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Abab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Israelites*.

## C H A P. XX.

## Of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, and Ahaziah.

## S E C T. I.

That Jehoram was made king sundry times.

**J**E H O R A M the son of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah* began to reign at 32 years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a king: but of these eight years, which *Jehoram* is said to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* war with *Abab*, left this *Jehoram* king in his stead, as *Abab* did his son *Abaziah*. This appears by the several beginnings, which are given in scripture to the two *Jehorams* kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, and to *Abaziah* the eldest son of *Abab*: for <sup>d</sup>*Abaziah* is said to have begun his reign, in the seventeenth year of *Jehoshaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother of <sup>e</sup>*Abaziah* succeeded him in the second year of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat* king of *Judah*, that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Judah* was designed king by his father; it being (as we find elsewhere) the eighteenth year of *Jehoshaphat* himself, who went with the *Israelite* against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal office was retained still by *Jehoshaphat*, who governed absolutely by himself, not communicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth year of <sup>f</sup>*Jehoram* king of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoshaphat*, the old king took unto him, as partner in the government, this his eldest son, who was at that time thirty-two years old, his father being fifty-seven. Now forasmuch as *Jehoshaphat* reigned <sup>h</sup>twenty-five years, it is evident that his son did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* king of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, who did not always reign precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seem at first to affirm: but their years were sometimes complete, sometimes only current, sometimes confounded with the years of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing less needful than curious, to enquire into the reasons moving *Jehoshaphat* either to assume unto him his son as partner in the kingdom, whilst he was able himself to command both in peace and in war, the like having never been done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the seventeenth of his reign) vouchsafed unto him that honour, to resume it unto himself, or at least-wise to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a means to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary business ensuing, I hold it not amiss to make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the story briefly handled in the scriptures may seem to approve.

We are therefore to consider; that this king *Jehoshaphat* was the first of *Rehoboam*'s issue that ever entered into any straight league with the kings of the ten tribes. All that reigned in *Judah* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vain, making small profit of the great.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 3. <sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 20. <sup>c</sup> Broch. ter. sanct. <sup>d</sup> 1 Kings 22. 51. <sup>e</sup> 2 Kings 1. 17. <sup>f</sup> 2 Kings 3. 21. & 9.

<sup>g</sup> 2 Kings 3. 10. <sup>h</sup> 1 Kings 22. 42.



advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Jehoshaphat* thought it the wisest way to make a league offensive and defensive between *Israel* and *Judah*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious king, with one that did <sup>a</sup> *hate the Lord*, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true *root and fountain of all wisdom*: yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtless it wanted not fair pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutual fortifications of both those kingdoms, against the uncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit being so inestimable a jewel that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Ataliab* the daughter of *Omri*, and sister of *Abah* king of *Israel*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was son and heir apparent to the king of *Judah*. This lady was of a masculine spirit, and learn'd so much of queen *Jezabel* her brother's wife, that she durst undertake, and could thoroughly perform, a great deal more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. She was indeed a fire-brand, ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Judah*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of God's pleasure, had brought her in.

The first-fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Judah* and *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded wholly to *Abah*: as godly princes very seldom thrive by matching with idolaters, but rather serve the turns of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself, cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, *Abah* designed as king, his son *Abaziah*; not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the prophet *Michaja* (for he despised them) as inviting *Jehoshaphat* by his own example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

## SECT. II.

*Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old king Jehoshaphat to change his purpose often, in making his son Jehoram king.*

**M**ANY arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Abah*.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great kings, not upon base women and mere subjects. The court of *Abah*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man think highly of himself, as being allied to honourably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heir apparent to the crown,

whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long he disssembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smoak, out of the hidden fire, did very soon make his father's eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himself better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehoshaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, thro' the misgovernment of his ungodly son. For the good old king was fain to make his progress round about the land, reclaiming the people unto the service of God, and appointing judges <sup>b</sup> *throughout all the strong cities of Judah, city by city*. This had been a needless labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himself, had not suffered alteration, and the course of justice been perverted by the power of such as had borne authority. But the necessity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the king did give to the judges; and by his commission given to one of the priests in spiritual causes, and to the steward of his house in temporal matters, to be general overseers.

This was not till after the death of *Abaziah* the son of *Abah*; but how long after, it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Abaziah* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram*, *Jehoshaphat*'s son, tho' afterwards this *Jehoram* of *Judah* had another first and second year even in his father's time, before he reigned alone, as the best chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So he continued in private estate, until the two and twentieth of his father's reign, at which time, tho' the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto appearing substantial were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondence with *Jehoshaphat*, that his father had done; and made use of it. He drew the *Judean* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young prince of *Judah* was again ordained king by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, in which year that nation rebelled against *Israel*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Jehoram*, might offer some good occasions therunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger sons, in their elder brother's disgrace, might cause their father to put him in possession, for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Jehoram* himself, might win the good opinion both of his father and brethren; it being a thing usual in mischievous fell natures, to be as subject and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise towards his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not only with store <sup>c</sup> *of silver, and of gold, and of precious things* (which kind of liberality other kings doubtless had used unto their younger sons) but with the custody of *strong cities in Judah*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means against unwonted perils.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 19. 2, and 3.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 19. 4, 5, &c.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 21. 3.



## S E C T. III.

*The doings of Jehoram when he reigned alone ; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.*

**B**UT all this providence availed nothing ; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequel. When once the good old man, their father, was dead, the younger sons of *Jehoshaphat*, found strong cities a weak defence against the power of him to whom the citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the summons of a king their brother, then had he them without any more ado ; if they stood upon their guard, then were they traitors, and so unable to hold out against him, who, besides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* kingdom against them ; so that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great men of the land ; such belike, as either had taken their part, when the tyrant sought their lives, or had been appointed rulers of the country, when *Jehoram* was deposed from his government ; in which office they, without forbearing to do justice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things, derogatory to their young master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then king, who durst say the contrary ?

After this, *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now lord alone, to make innovations in religion ; wherein he was not contented, as other idolatrous princes, to give way and safe-conduct unto superstition and idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that sin, whereto it is wonderful that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sins ; but he used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to have set up irreligion by force.

Whilst he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the *Edomites* his tributaries rebelled against him abroad ; and having hitherto, since *David's* time, been govern'd by a viceroy, did now make unto themselves a king. Against these *Jehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his princes, and all his chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those, whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Esau* in process of time should break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this, the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the kings of *Juda*, but held their own so well, that when, after many civil and foreign wars, the *Jews* by sundry nations had been brought low ; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following them, became lords of the *Jews*, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as kings, even in *Jerusalem* it self.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, tho' purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great city within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joshua* had a peculiar king, to rebel against *Jehoram*, and set it self at liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore found

likely it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken by their powerful, cruel, and thoroughly incensed lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the town, had it offered it self unto him : neither do we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new subjection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram* was, <sup>a</sup> *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers* ; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to do as they did : for it was a town of the *Levites* : who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrary to God's law, had not only some allowance to countenance it by the king, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion) it was never deny'd to those of the ten revolted tribes by any of the religious kings, who rather invited the <sup>b</sup> *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment : under idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than to suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general visitation before remembred, wherein *Jehoshaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old king appointing new governours, and giving them especial charge to do justice without respect of persons, used these words, *The Levites shall be officers before you ; be of good courage and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good*. By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than just proceedings of his son ; whom if the *Levites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is, that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feel, as many princes of the land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroy'd, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty armies which *Jehoshaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one month have cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seems that of those great numbers which his father could have levied, there were not many whom *Jehoram* could well trust ; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss, to let one town go, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared, than to be loved ; are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

## S E C T. IV.

*Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of his death.*

**T**HESE afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of God's displeasure in the mind of the wicked prince ; a prophecy in writing was de-

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 21. 10.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 30.



liver'd unto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears, that he was a cruel persecutor of God's servants; in as much as the prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and evil kings, but were fain to denounce God's judgments against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This epistle is said to have been sent unto him from <sup>a</sup> *Elias* the prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the days of *Jehoshaphat* <sup>b</sup>. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the tradition held by some of the *Jewish Rabbins*, that *Elias* from heaven did send this epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Lady's letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the verse that was sent from heaven to *St. Giles*.

But whosoever was the author of this threatening epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecy was as terrible as the sentence. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* brake into *Judea*, and took the king's house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistines* had not presumed since the time of *David*, to make any offensive war till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small territories, by defensive arms, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their country affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoil in the open fields, than to offend strong cities such as were thick set in *Juda*. True it is, that in ages long after following, they conquer'd all the south parts of the world then known, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the art of war; and that the provisions which they found, together with the arts which they learned, in one subdued province, did make them able and skilful in pursuing their conquest, and going onward into regions far removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in *Arabia* it self are good horsemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to passengers, but unable to deal with good soldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swiftness of their horses, than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seem to have been, that spoiled *Judea* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their country was always barren and desert, wanting manual arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistines*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoshaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal

with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their prince's jealousy, as in *Saul's* time by the policy of the *Philistines*.

It may seem that the house of the king which these invaders took, was not his palace in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the country, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not, that they did sack the city, or spoil the temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jerusalem* it self by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the king's guards too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous; and therefore having done what spoil they could, withdrew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to convey away.

The slaughter committed by *Jehu* upon the two and forty brethren of *Abazia*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruel massacre, wherein all the royal seed perished (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyranny of *Athalia*, following within two years after this invasion of the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, make it seem probable, that the sons of *Jehoram* were not all slain at once, but that rather the first murder began in his own time, and was seconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked king, smiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched soul departed from his miserable carcass. The people of the land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his ancestors, the kings of *Juda*, tho' his own son succeeded him in the kingdom, who was guided by the same spirits that had been his father's evil angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatness, to retain her favourites in their authority, and to place about her son such <sup>c</sup> *counsellors*, of the house of *Abab*, as were fittest for her turn. Wherefore she thought it unreasonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the people's eyes, with a stately funeral of a man by them detested; but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be lain upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her self, and hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked instigators, having made greedy use of bad employments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose evil inclinations their sinister counsels have made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a busy time; when his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult war against the *Aramite*; and therefore could have had no better leisure to help *Athalia* in setting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the same hindrance) to help her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistines*. Yea rather, he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 21. 12.<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 2, 3. 11.<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 22. 4.



well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unless they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumstances remembred in holy scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learn to submit their judgments to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth unto them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Athaliah* was able to furnish both her husband and her son, but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear in that which immediately followeth.

#### SECT. V.

*Of the reign of Ahaziah, and his business with the king of Israel.*

**O**CHAZIAH, or *Abazia*, the son of *Jehoram* and *Athaliah*, began his reign over *Judah* in the twelfth year of *Jehoram*, the son of *Ahab* king of *Israel*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, wherof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Tornellus*, alledging the edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588, which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom, and the annotations thereupon, which cite other copies, that give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young; for he was governed by his mother, and her ministers, who gave him counsel by which he perished. In matter of religion he altered none of his father's courses. In matter of state, he likewise upheld the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they won, but not without blows: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the king of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own person, which escaped not unwounded.

The town being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* king of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* king of *Israel* withdrew himself to the city of *Jezreel*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahaziah* returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scanty one year, wherof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the king of *Israel*, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athaliah* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindered, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work so to leave his kingdom, having no other business than by way of complement to go to see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgment, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the prophet, upon the house of *Ahab*. And here-

unto at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in man's eyes might seem to have been accidental; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athaliah* doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needful, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

#### SECT. VI.

*How Ahaziah perished with the house of Ahab: and how that family was destroyed by Jehu.*

**T**HE whole army of *Israel*, with all the principal captains lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a disciple of *Elizeus* the prophet, came in among the captains that were sitting together, who calling out from among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him king over *Israel*; rehearsing unto him the prophecy of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the messenger was such as bred in the captains a desire to know his errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had overheard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him king: for the prophecy of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

*Jehu*, who had upon the sudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections who joined with him, in setting on foot the business which nearly concerned him, and was not to be foreflowed, being no more his own than God's.

The first care taken was, that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, whereby the king might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away to take the court while it was yet secure. King *Jehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasting and joy made, especially by queen *Jezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Abaziah* coming hither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the queen, as to visit the king.

Certain it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy princes of the blood royal there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the son of queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his father had attempted in vain, with loss of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was so great between *Israel* and *Judah*, that it might suffice to claim all their common enemies, leaving no hope of success to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an unlucky tale, by them that beheld the majestic fact of the court, wherein so great a friend as the king of *Judah* was entertained, and forty princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this security, whilst these great estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom* and other rebels and enemies.



enemies ; or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the queen-mother dressing herself in the bravest manner to come down amongst them ; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a tower discovered a company coming. This news was not very troublesome : for the army, that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready against all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken, that the enemy would not, or could not stir. Only the king sent out an horseman to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the king as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance ; yet the king to be satisfied, sent out another, that should bring him word how all went ; and he was likewise detained by *Jehu*. These dumb shews bred some suspicion in *Jehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so near, that they might, tho' not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himself, by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the king, that was loth to discover any weakness, caused his chariot to be made ready, and issued forth with *Abaziah* king of *Judah* in his company, whose presence added majesty to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the town's end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to salute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out upon the treason to his fellow-king, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* soon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he struck him dead, and threw his carcase into that field, which, purchased with the blood of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the blood of the unjust possessor. Neither did *Abaziah* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The king's palace was joining to the wall, by the gate of the city, where *Jezabel* might soon be advertised of this calamity, if she did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her when she least expected it. But she, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made herself ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the traitor, or at the least to utter some *Apophthegm*, that should express her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she think upon the hungry dogs, that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the *stibium*, with which she besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language, wherewith she armed her tongue, could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near, she opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the king his master. This was in mere human valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly, as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to God *the Lord of all*. Her own eunuchs, that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compas-

sion of her fortune ; much less was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Jehu* saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him ; he made her presently to understand her own estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her servants, to know which of them would be of his side, and soon found them ready to offer their service, before the very face of their proud lady. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down headlong : which immediately they perform'd without all regard of her greatness and estate, wherein she had a few hours before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men ; of men that considered not the judgments of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own servants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subject, but now her lord : and she perished miserably struggling in vain with base grooms, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy sat on horse-back, adding indignity to her grief by scornfully beholding the shameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcase that was left without the walls was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her idolatry, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure payment, and full interest.

*Abaziah* king of *Judah* flying apace from *Jehu*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked ; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdom of *Samaria*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seek his burial in his own kingdom : and this favour he obtained for his grandfather's sake, not for his father's, nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jerusalem*, where he was interred with his ancestors, having reigned about one year.

## C H A P. XXI.

*Of Athalia, and whose son he was that succeeded her.*

## S E C T. I.

*Of Athalia's usurping the kingdom, and what pretences she might forge.*

**A**FTER the death of *Abaziah*, it is said, that his house was not able to retain the kingdom : which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her son, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the pedigree of *Joas* who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoiled of her son, under whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the princes of the blood, and slew them, that so she might occupy the royal throne herself, and reign as queen, rather than live a subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made counsellors unto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will : that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely ; and as likely it is, that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the princes, and many of the nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to stir, whatsoever they saw or heard.



Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is seldom or never so shameless as to refuse the commodity of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the princes of the royal blood, all of them in a manner, slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroy'd by the *Philistines*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husband's bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason, either by her own mouth, or by some trusty creature of hers, might she give him to understand, how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for fear of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, should by any accident fail (as woful experience had already shewed what might after come to pass) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to choose a king of some new stock, a popular seditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthiness, would not care what aspersions he laid upon that royal house, which was fallen down. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, foreseeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him, and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to design by his authority, not only his successor, but also the reversioner, and so to provide, that the crown might never be subject to any rising, but remain in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared coming to pass, his own posterity could not retain it.

Such persuasions being urged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous tyrant think, that the only way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her heir the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concern'd, as being the queen-mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husband's times, yet she might do it in her son's. For *Ahazia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the security of his half-brethren, or their children; as accounting his father's other wives, in respect of his own born-mother, little better than concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgot herself so far in her wicked policy, that she lost all opportunity, which the weaknets of her husband and son did afford, of procuring unto herself some seeming title: yet could she afterwards gain some such matter, as boldly she might: being sure that none would ask to see her evidence, for fear of being sent to learn the certainty of her son or husband in another world. But I rather think that she took order for her affairs beforehand. For tho' she had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden death of her son, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husband's issue by other women was young, and unable to resist. We plainly find that the brethren or nephews of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the king, and the children of the queen. The slender occasion of which long journey, consider'd together with the quality of these persons (being in effect all the stock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any strength)

makes it very suspicious that their entertainment in *Jezabel's* house would only have been more formal, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two queens, will find cause enough to think no less. Of such as have aspired unto lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right heirs by pretence of testaments, that had no other validity than the sword of such as claimed by them could give, histories of late, yea of many ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Solomon* is true: *"Is there any thing whereof one may say, behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us."* That a king might shed his brother's blood, was proved by *Solomon* upon *Adonia*; that he might alienate the crown from his natural heirs, *David* had given proof; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why *Solomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entering into another. *Jehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than he: *David* purchased the kingdom, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Jehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alienate the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Ahazia* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue; either of these was to be answered with the words which *Jehoiada* the priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joash*: *Behold, the king's son must reign; as the Lord hath said of the sons of David.* Wherefore, tho' I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the crown of *Juda*; yet it is most certain, that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so she held it six whole years, and a part of the seventh in good seeming security.

## SECT. II.

*How Jehu spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest Athalia.*

IN all this time *Jehu* did never go about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole house. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in religion: afterwards in wars against the *Aramite*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter, advised the citizens to set up some one as king, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was, which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one day's warning, they sent him the heads of all those princes, as they were enjoined by a second letter from him. After this, he surprized all the priests of *Baal* by a subtilty, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which

<sup>a</sup> Eccles. 1. 10.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 21. 13.



means he drew them altogether into one temple, where he slew them: and in the same zeal to God, utterly demolished all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the idolatry devised by *Jeroboam*, no king of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruel tyranness: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom should remain in his family, to the fourth generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out God's providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needless card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition, so long practised as was that idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him king, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forsook, had not given him the crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* king of *Damascus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous prince we may find in the prophecy of *Elizeus*, who foretold it, saying: *"Their strong cities shalt thou set on fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with child."* So did not only the wickedness of *Abab* cause the ruin of his whole house, but the obstinate idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the land. For the fury of *Hazael's* victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion; but he <sup>b</sup> *smote them in all the coasts of Israel*, and waited all the country beyond the river of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their idolatry (*For in those days the Lord began to loath Israel*) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of *Abab*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benbadad* to restore the cities which his father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful shifts, living under a lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, instead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, over-whelm'd with the troubles which they sought to avoid, and therein by God whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

## S E C T. III.

*Of Athalia's government.*

THESE calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home; as having little to do abroad, unless it were so that she held some correspondence with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husband's grandfather king *Aza*, who had done the like. And some probability that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this *wicked Athalia* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon *Baalim*. Such a sacrilege, tho' it proceeded from a desire to set out her own idolatry, with such pomp as might make it the more glorious in the people's eyes, was not likely to want some fair pretext of necessity of the state so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successor was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the priests and *Levites* was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the religion taught by God himself, howsoever the queen's proceedings advanc'd the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred tribe of *Levi* must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liv'd, being now very few, and small; and the store laid up in better times under godly kings, being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet they upheld in all this misery the service of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high priest, no less than in those days wherein their entertainment was far better.

## S E C T. IV.

*Of the preservation of Joas.*

*JEHOIADA* then occupied the priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulness it may be ascribed, that the state of the church was in some slender sort upheld in those unhappy times. His wife was *Jehoshabab*, who was daughter of king *Jehoram*, and sister to *Abazia*, a godly lady and virtuous, whose piety makes it seem that *Athalia* was not her mother, tho' her access to the court argue the contrary: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own father's house, than the education under such a mother could have permitted her to be such as she was. By her care *Joas* the young prince that reigned soon after, was convey'd out of the nursery, when *Athalia* destroy'd all the king's children, and was carried secretly into the temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to pass that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was missing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine; for it was not good in policy, that the people should hear say, that one of the children had avoided that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the less conformable to the present go-

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 8. 12.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 10. 32.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 24. 7.



vernment. So *Joas* was delivered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor woman that gave him suck, who foolishly doubting that she herself should have been slain, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

## S E C T. V.

*Whose son Joas was.*

## † I.

*Whether Joas may be thought likely to have been the son of Ahazia.*

NOW concerning this *Joas*, whose son he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversy among writers. The places of scripture, which call him *the son of Ahazia*, seem plain enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give the title of *son* unto him, in regard that he was his successor, I neither by myself can find, nor can by any help of authors learn how to answer the difficulties, appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural son of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is said, that <sup>b</sup> *the house of Ahazia was not able to retain the kingdom*; some do infer that this *Joas* was not properly called his son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a son in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For she perceiving that the kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily find cause to fear, that the tyranny exercised by her husband, at her instigation, upon so many noble houses, would now be revenged upon herself. The ruin of her idolatrous religion might in this case terrify both her and her minions; the sentence of the law rewarding that offence with death, and the tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own grandchild had been heir to the crown; for she that had power enough to make herself queen, could with more ease, and less envy, have taken upon her the office of a protector, by which authority she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and secure of her own estate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the child of her own son, of whose life she might have made greater use, than she could of his death; whereas indeed the love of grand-mothers to their nephews is little less than that of mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong; for it may seem incredible, that all natural affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it; yea when all human policy doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have persuaded.

## † II.

*That Joas did not descend from Nathan.*

BUT (as it is more easy to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the pedigree of this *Joas* is, by them which think him not the son of *Ahazia*, set down in such sort that it may very justly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the son of *David*, and not from *Solomon*; to which purpose they bring a history (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, saying that the line of *Solomon* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan*, the son of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the prophet, who (as they think) was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *St. Augustine* sometime was; but afterwards he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *David*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Ammiel*, and therefore could not be the prophet. *Gregory Nazianzene* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Erasmus* and *Faber Stapulensis*, have likewise held the same of *Joas*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and those other brethren of *Solomon* by the same mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have been the children of *Uria* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulensis*, who follow the *Hebrew* expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Solomon*, calling himself the only begotten of his mother, do approve this exposition; for we read of no more than two sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathsheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof the one, begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Solomon* only of her children by the king did live. So that the rest must needs have been the children of *Uria*, and are thought to have been *David's* only by adoption. Wherefore, if *Joas* had not been the son of *Ahazia*, then must that pedigree have been false, wherein *St. Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Solomon*; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only been of his line by courtesy of the nation, and form of law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late writers into the opinion that *Joas* was not of the posterity of *Solomon*, it is enough to say that this was *Frier Annius's Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter: but *Annius* can make authors to speak what he lists.

## † III.

*That Joas may probably be thought to have been the son of Jehoram.*

I N so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, methinks it were not amiss to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of *Scripture*, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Jehoram*, the son of *Jehoshaphat*, king of *Judah*, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of God's mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise he would give him a light, and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, there was not a son left him save *Jehoahas*, the youngest of his sons. Now, if it were in regard of God's promise to *Da-*



vid, that, after those massacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philistines* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the seed of *David* escaped; why may it not be thought that he was said to have escaped, in whom the line of *David* was preserved? for had all the race of *Solomon* been rooted up in these woeful tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof, like enough it is, that some remembrance more particular would have been extant of an event so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogy* of our Lord, as it is recounted by *St. Luke*; but the preservation of the house of *David*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Jehoab*, in whom the royal branch of *Solomon*, the natural, and not only legal issue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joas*, who followed *Athalia* in the kingdom, was the youngest son of *Jehoram*, whose life *Athalia*, as a step-dame, was not unlikely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preservation of *David's* line, by God's especial mercy in regard of his promise made, should pertain rather to that time, when besides *Abazia* himself there were two and forty of his<sup>a</sup> brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sons of his brethren, remaining alive, which afterwards were all slain by *Jehu*, than have reference to the lamentable<sup>b</sup> destruction, and little less than extirpation of that progeny, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhuman murder which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the history) revenged upon his own children, then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of God's heavy judgment laid upon<sup>c</sup> *Jehoram* and all his children, only *Jehoab*, his youngest son, was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with *Joas*, which is called the son of *Abazia*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have been. For it was the youngest son of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preserved, which could not in any likelihood be *Abazia*, seeing that he was twenty years old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and consequently was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his father's age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* should have begotten many children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he should upon the sudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following; each of which must have been true, if this were true that *Abazia* was the same *Jehoab*, which was his youngest son. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causeless cruelty of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Joas*, are easily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehoab* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion, for he was<sup>d</sup> *seven years old when he began to reign*; which if we understand of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the natural son of *Jehoram*, though called the son

of *Abazia*, than it were to say, as great authors have done, this difficulty notwithstanding, that he was of the posterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoab*, that soundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Abazia*, in an *English* ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some skilful in that language) through the diversity of certain letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now although it be so that *Abazia* himself be also call'd<sup>e</sup> *Azaria*, and must have had three names, if he were the same with *Jehoab*; in which manner *Joas* might also have had several names; yet because I find no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the consideration of such as have more ability to judge, and leisure to consider of this point.

## † IV.

*Upon what reasons Athalia might seek to destroy Joas, if he were her own grand-child.*

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the passions of ambition and zeal to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some natural desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the blood royal. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel women are not always chaste) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel*, her sister-in-law, whose<sup>f</sup> whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her son; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certain it is that she had sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the crown upon her own children, she did seek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if she were his grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, lest when he came to years it might withdraw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that women do commonly better love their daughters husbands than their sons wives) there is some appearance in the reign of her son: for she made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that she might rule at home; and he living abroad, be estranged from his wife, and entertain some new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his tutors. But when the sword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to go roundly to work, and do as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather think) she were only step-dame to *Joas*, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

<sup>a</sup> 2 King. 10. 13.    <sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 22. 8.    <sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 21. 14.



## S E C T. VI.

*A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of using conjecture in histories.*

**T**HUS much concerning the person of *Joas*, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this history, and the diversity between it and others, the less methinks I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty of conjecture. For all histories do give us information of human counsels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of God's will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at random, and many times falsely. This we often find in prophane writers, who ascribe the ill success of great undertakings to the neglect of some impious rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the less wonder, if we consider the answer made by the *Jews* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremy* the prophet, reprehending their idolatry. For, howsoever the written law of God was known unto the people, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their own wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the prophet roundly, that they would worship the queen of heaven, as they and their fathers, their kings and their princes had used to do; <sup>a</sup> *For then, said they, had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil: adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off that service of the Queen of heaven.* So blind is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsel of God, which to find out there is no better or other guide than his own written will, not perverted by vain additions.

But this history of the kings of *Israel* and *Judah* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of merely human authors: it setteth down expressly the true and first causes of all that happened; not imputing the death of *Abab* to his over-forwardness in battle, the ruin of his family to the security of *Jeroboam* in *Jezreel*, nor the victories of *Hazael* to the great commotions raised in *Israel*, by the coming in of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the will of God, I mean, to his revealed will: from which, that his hidden purposes do not vary, this story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these books nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy gentleman <sup>b</sup> *Sir Philip Sidney*, that historians do borrow of poets, not only much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not always true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions, which did set them first on foot. Wherefore they are lain (I speak of the best, and in that which was allowed: for to take out of *Livy* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his journey against *Altrubal* in *Italy*, fitting all to another business, or any practice of that kind, is neither historical nor poetical) to search into the particular hu-

mours of princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they do collect the most likely motives, or impediments of every business; and so figuring, as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in counsel, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, howsoever it may give satisfaction. For the heart of man is unsearchable; and princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pry both into them, and into such as live about them, yet sometimes either by their own close temper, or by some subtle mist, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat are converted to another use. The industry of an historian having so many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; tho' it often fall out, where sundry occasions work to the same end, that one small matter in a weak mind is more effectual than many that seem far greater. So comes it many times to pass, that great fires, which consume whole houses or towns, begin with a few straws that are wasted or not seen; when the flame is discovered, having fastned upon some wood pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is, that the war commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, proceeded from a desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their empire: howsoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet <sup>c</sup> *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton desire of queen *Atossa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her bondwomen, did first move *Darius* to prepare for this war, before he had received any injury; and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the queen in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every estate some sufficient witness) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming upon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no historian would either think upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the pope made to a certain friar coming to visit him in his popedom, as having long before, in his meaner estate, been his familiar friend. This poor friar being emboldned by the pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his holiness, whom he rather took for a direct honest man, than any cunning politician, to attain unto the papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty, said he, of the most crafty brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the art of the conclave, and your unaptness thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus*, to satisfy the plain-dealing friar, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldst wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant

<sup>a</sup> Jer. 44. 17, 18

<sup>b</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *Discourse of Poesy*, p. 20

<sup>c</sup> Herod. l. i.



engines, by which the course of affairs is moved. The pope said true: for the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that supreme governor, of whose empire all that is true, which by the poet was said of *Jupiter*:

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat  
Ventosum, & urbes, regnaque tristia,  
Divosque, mortalesque turmas,  
Imperio regit unus æquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swoln streams,  
The civil cities, and th'infernal realms,  
Who th'host of heaven and the mortal band,  
Alone doth govern by his just command.

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to his own honour; he neither deceiveth nor can be deceived; but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly govern all creatures by that law which he hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightful as it seemeth at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they have only this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding us to perfect happiness, and hath in it a true, tho' not compleat felicity, yielding such abundance of joy to the conscience, as doth easily countervail all afflictions whatsoever: tho' indeed those brambles that sometimes tear the skin of such as walk in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and make them wish themselves at their journies end, in presence of their Lord, whom they faithfully serve; in whose *Presence is the fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore*, Psal. xvi. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all history, to teach by examples of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvel tho' the chronicles of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, being written by men inspired with the spirit of God, instruct us chiefly in that which is most requisite for us to know, as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by some prophet after the captivity, we may well believe, that the counsel of God therein, and the execution of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole, or the principal room in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his wife, and the business at *Sardes*, with other occurrences, been the less true, tho' they might have been omitted, as the less material: but these things it had been lawful for any man to gather out of prophane histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injury to the sacred writings, as long as he had forbore to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the business that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgment will tax me as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearseth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprive the text, that seeketh to illustrate, and make good in human reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every man's belief. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawful, nor unbecoming an historian.

SECT. VII.

*The conspiracy against Athalia.*

WHEN *Athalia* had now six years and longer worn the crown of *Judah*, and had found neither any foreign enemy, nor domestical adversary to disturb her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedness meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and shameful death. For the growth of the young prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed; and it had been very unfitting that his education should be simple, to make him seem the child of some poor man (as for his safety it was requisite) when his capacity required to have been endued with the stomach and qualities meet for a king. All this *Jehoiada* the priest considered, and withal the great increase of impiety, which taking deep root in the court, was likely to spread itself over all the country, if care were not used to weed it up very speedily. Wherefore he associated unto himself five of the captains, in whose fidelity he had best assurance, and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the king's son, he made a covenant with them, to advance him to the kingdom. These drew in others of the principal men to countenance the action, procuring at the first only, that they should repair to *Jerusalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many persuasions to win them to the business: the promise of the Lord unto the house of *David* was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawful, and likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared. For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the captains, and other associates of *Jehoiada*, able by close working to draw together so many trusty and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the business. To help in this case, the priest gave order to such of the *Levites* as had finished their courses in waiting on the divine service at the temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turns, that they should not depart until they knew his farther pleasure. So by admitting the new comers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number as would be able to deal with the queen's ordinary guard, and that was enough; for if the tyranness did not prevail against them at the first brunt, the favour of the people was like to shew itself on their side who made head against her. These *Levites* were placed in the inner court of the temple, about the person of the king, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the captains, and other adherents were bestowed in the outer courts: as for weapons, the temple itself had store enough, king *David*,



*David* had left an armoury to the place, which was now employ'd to the defence of his issue.

All things being in a readiness, and the day come wherein this high design was to be put in execution, *Jehoiada* deliver'd unto the captains armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the king's person, produc'd him openly, and gave unto him the crown; using all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings the queen was the last that heard any word; which is not so strange as it may seem; for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, do commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilst yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the suddenness, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All *Jerusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of peril, under the windows of the court, were the people running and praising the king<sup>a</sup>. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise, of folks in the streets, making towards the temple, with much unusual passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; tho' what it might be she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, she meant to use her own wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may be, that she thought it some especial solemnity used in the divine service, which caused this much ado; and hereof the unaccustomed number of *Levites*, and of other devout men, about the town, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that she little thought upon her own tragedy; altho' *Josephus* would make it seem otherwise. For we find in the text, <sup>b</sup> *She came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was near to her palace) and that when she looked and saw the king stand by his pillar, as the manner was, with the princes, or great men of the land by him, and the trumpeters proclaiming him, she rent her cloaths, and cry'd, Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears, that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or fear, to take her place, which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict herself, as one cast away, and cry'd out in vain upon the treason whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the temple (as *Josephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, she entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young tyrant, I find no where in scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she would surely have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her crown, by which she got it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madness in her to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if she, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new king, calling a child of seven years old a conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that she

was mad in the most extreme degree? Certain it is, that the counsel of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to disappoint it; yet we need not so cut her throat with any moral impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeal of *Jehoiada* found more easy success, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have been expected; so that at his appointment she was without more ado carried out of the temple and slain; yea so, that no blood save her own was shed in that quarrel; her small train, that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

#### SECT. VIII.

*The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Jezabel.*

MOST like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashness of her nephew *Jehoram* the *Israelite*, who did foolishly cast himself into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, only through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant; yet she herself, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a suitable death. These two queens were in many points much alike, each of them was daughter, wife, and mother to a king; each of them ruled her husband; was an idolatress, and a murdersess. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: so that each of them surviving her husband about eight years, did spend the time in satisfying her own affections; the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchast body. In the manner of their death, little difference there was, or in those things which may seem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the sudden by conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slain at her own horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (tho' not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel*, the more indignity, and shame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by dogs, as the Lord had threatened by the prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slain the Lord's prophets, but suffered the priests to exercise their function; yet of her burial their is no monument; for she was a church-robber. The service of *Baal*, erected by these two queens, was destroy'd as soon as they were gone; and their chaplains, the priests of that religion, slain. Herein also it came to pass alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the kings who flow them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* perish'd in few days after her. whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain, she had sons living after she was queen; of whom,

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 23. 1.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 23. 12, 13. 2 Kings 11. 13, 14.



or of any other, that they were slain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jerusalem*, when their mother fell, their death would surely have follow'd hers as nearly, and been registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the priest of *Baal*. That law by which <sup>a</sup> *God forbid that the children should die for the fathers*, could not have saved these ungracious imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every man shall die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advancers of that vile and idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea, had robb'd the temple of the Lord, and enrich'd the house of *Baal* with the spoil of it; likely it is, that they should not have escap'd with life, if *Jehoiada* the priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the king and his friends, that is, of all the land, crav'd as much, and that very earnestly. For these had been esteem'd as heirs of their mother's crown, and being reckon'd as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as princes and fellows with their mother in the kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in the wars against *Jebu*) absent from *Jerusalem*; whereby *Jehoiada* might with the more confidence, adventure to take arms against their mother, that was desolate.

C H A P. XXII.

*Of Joas and Amasia, with their contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.*

S E C T. I.

*Of Joas's doings whilst Jehoiada the priest lived.*

**B**Y the death of *Athalia*, the whole country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein *Joas* a child of seven years old or thereabout, began his reign, which continu'd almost forty years. During his minority, he liv'd under the protection of that honourable man *Jehoiada* the priest, who did as faithfully govern the kingdom, as he had before carefully preserv'd the king's life, and restor'd him unto the throne of his ancestors. When he came to man's estate, he took by appointment of *Jehoiada* two wives, and begat sons and daughters, repairing the family of *David* which was almost worn out. The first act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a protector, was the reparation of the temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, thro' the wickedness of ungodly tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the temple, whom the temple had upheld. This business he follow'd with so earnest a zeal, that not only the *Levites* were more slack than he, but even *Jehoiada* was fain to be quicken'd by his admonition. Money was gather'd for the charges of the work, partly out of the tax impos'd by <sup>b</sup> *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who gave so freely, that the temple, besides all reparations, was enrich'd with vessels of gold and silver, and

with all other utensils. The sacrifices likewise were offer'd, as under godly kings they had been, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

S E C T. II.

*The death of Jehoiada, and apostacy of Joas.*

**B**UT this endured no longer than the life of *Jehoiada* the priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, died before his country could have spared him. He was buried among the kings of *Juda*, as he well deserv'd, having preserved the race of them, and restor'd the true religion, which the late princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, fail'd but a little of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable funeral seems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the city of David*. As for the king himself, who did owe to him no less than his crown and life, he is not likely to have been author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharg'd of some heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehoiada*, when the princes of *Juda* began to flatter their king, he soon forgot, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old counsellor, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea, and God himself, the author of all goodness. These princes drew him to the worship of idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the country, in 15 or 16 years; that 30 years, or thereabouts, of the reign of *Joas*, wherein the true religion was exercised, were not able to clear it from that mischief. The king himself, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on headlong, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now king indeed, that he regarded no longer the four admonitions of devout priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

S E C T. III.

*The causes and time of the Syrians invading Juda in the days of Joas.*

**B**UT God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael*, king of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a town of the *Philistines*, address'd himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an army hearten'd by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition car'd for pretences) it was enough, that the kings of *Juda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessor, this was thoroughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own kingdom, if some opportunity had not promised such easy and good success, as

<sup>a</sup> Deut. 24. 16.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 24.



might rather advance, than, any way disturb, his future proceedings against the ten tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of *Atbalia*, mention'd before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expell'd their countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Israel*, but to join all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehu's* posterity, who, like a bloody traitor, had utterly destroy'd all the kindred of the queen's, their mother, even the whole house of *Ahab*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever it were, we find it plainly, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore <sup>a</sup> took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this, for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which, belonging to the living God, remain'd a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the 37th year of *Joas*, which was the 15th of *Jeboahaz*, he made this purchase; but in the same, or the very next year, he died, leaving all that he had unto his son *Benbadad*, with whom these treasures prosper'd none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprize of *Hazael* is, by some, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mention'd in the 2d book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledg'd by them that hold the contrary opinion, do forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without bloodshed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battle, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his princes, and hardly escap'd with life: in the one, *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the king of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have then been the son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first army came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the king of *Juda*; the second was a <sup>b</sup> small company of men, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having a very great army.

Now concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jeboiada* the priest, because that story is joined unto the restoration of the temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jeboiada* had been afterwards mention'd in that place of the 2d book of *Kings*, or if the apostacy of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had follow'd in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Josias* that godly king, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgments upon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the temple, and the magnificent service of God there-within, which are join'd together, were used <sup>c</sup> in the house of the Lord continually, all the days of *Jeboiada*; soon after whose death, if not immediately

upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the 36th or 37th year of this *Joas's* reign, the king falling away from the God of his father, became a foul idolater.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the suffering of the blessed martyrs (<sup>d</sup> the death of the saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even, and more strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedness be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not only continue an obstinate idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had striven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous tyrants should indure to imitate.

#### SECT. IV.

*How Zacharia was murdered by Joas.*

Sundry prophets having labour'd in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia*, the son of *Jeboiada* the priest, was stirred up at length by the spirit of God to admonish them of their wickedness, and made them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so honourable, and son to a man so exceeding beloved in his life time, and revered, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: on the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne unto the king, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have plac'd *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea, tho' he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this king *Joas* having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Saviour dealt with the heir of the vineyard; who said, <sup>e</sup> This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute commander, supposing belike that he was no free prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that man's deserving were, that did so, yea, though God's commandment requir'd it. So they conspired against this holy prophet, and stord him to death at the king's appointment; but whether by any form of open law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read nor conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 12. 18.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 24. 24.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 24. 14.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. 115. 15.

<sup>e</sup> Luc. 20. 14.



it probable, that they durst not call him into public judgment; though the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the king's commandment, by which he suffered, took place in stead of law: which exercise of mere power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange among the kings of *Juda*.

# S E C T. V.

*How Joas was shamefully beaten by the Aramites, and of his death.*

**T**HIS odious murder, committed by an unthankful snake upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of itself alone it sufficed to make the wretched tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well-deserved curse of the blessed martyr, to accompany it unto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last year of his reign; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live how he listed, without controulment. When that year was expired, the *Aramites* came into the country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they <sup>a</sup> *came with a small company of men*; but God had intended to do more by them than they themselves did hope for.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloody malice against his best friend is, in my judgment, proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the war, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their king was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of rovers, he took a very great army; so that wise men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his country, and expose his person to danger of war, when as indeed all was meer ostentation, and no peril to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men think, and laugh at him in secret, considering what ado he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishness, did laugh, not only at this vain-glorious king, but at them that thought their king secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and king *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the leaders, or by some amazement happening among the soldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the princes were destroyed: the princes of *Juda*, at whose persuasion the king had become a rebel to the King of kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abulensis* and others expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransom.

And surely all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translati-

on) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favouredly. Now at that time, *Joas* the son of *Jeboabaz* reigned over *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* over the *Syrians* in *Damascus*; the one a valiant undertaking prince, raised up by God to restore the state of his miserable country; the other inferior every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two princes, promising no other event than such as after followed, might have given to the king of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* king in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of war at his doors, it were easy to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unexpected) ill success, which the *Aramites* found in their following wars against the king of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his ordinance, both the kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of enemies; and the kingdom of *Israel*, having so been trodden down by *Hazael*, that only fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen were left, prevailed against his son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be God's children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Father's honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the country, they departed out of *Juda* laden with spoil, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling upon the ten tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The king of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an *Ammonitess*, and of a *Moabitess*, whom some (because only their mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as tyrants use) he should revenge his disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their king; the scripture tells us plainly, that <sup>b</sup> *for the blood of the children of Jeboiada* this befell him. And the same appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the son and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his kingdom was established; but contrariwise, his body was judged unworthy of burial in the sepulchres of the kings; whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the king, to find more approbation than was requisite among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his son, upon the traytors, with well-deserved death.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 24. 24

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 24. 25.



## SECT. VI.

*Of the princes living in the time of Joas: Of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dido.*

THERE lived with *Joas*, *Mezades* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*; *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Alladius*, were kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocraxapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty-seventh king succeeding unto *Opbratanes*, began his reign over the *Affyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty-two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas* was likewise the reign of *Pygmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which city is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be seventy years younger than *Rome*, others above four hundred years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: <sup>a</sup> *Josephus*, who had read the annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight months from the building of *Solomon's* temple, in the twelfth year of *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pygmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make clear the total sum. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the years, which he reckoneth in fractions, as they were divided among the kings of *Tyre*, from *Hiram* to *Pygmalion*; we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose books he gives us the whole sum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other, than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Solomon's* temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*, and after the destruction of *Troy* two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her statue with this epigram.

<sup>b</sup> *Illæ ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicias hospes,  
Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.  
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit, erat  
mens,  
Vita nec incestis læta cupidinibus.  
(Namque nec Aeneas vidit me Troius unquam,  
Nec Libyam advenit, classibus Iliacis:  
Sed furis fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbae,  
Servavi, fatcor, morte pudicitiam;  
Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses.)  
Non furor, aut læso crudus amore dolor.  
Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere fame,  
Ultra virum, positis mœnibus oppetii.  
Invidæ cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronem,  
Fingeret ut nostræ damna pudicitie?  
Vos magis historicis, lectores, credite de me,  
Quam qui furtiva desini concubitusque canunt.  
Falsidici vates, temerant qui carmine verum,  
Humanisque deos assimilant vitiiis.*

Which in effect is this:

I am that *Dido* which thou here do'st see,  
Cunningly framed in beauteous imag'ry.  
Like this I was, but had not such a soul,  
As *Maro* feign'd, incestuous and foul.  
*Aeneas* never with his *Trojan* host  
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast:  
But flying proud *Iarba's* villany,  
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousy,  
I did with weapon chaff, to save my fame,  
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.  
This was my end; but first I built a town,  
Revenge'd my husband's death, liv'd with renown.  
Why did'st thou stir up *Virgil*, envious Muse,  
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?  
Readers, believe historians; not those  
Which to the world *Jove's* thefts and vice ex-  
Poets are liars, and for verses sake (pose,  
Will make the gods of human crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the first *Punic* war, that *Carthage* grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many histories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts upon the isle of *Sicily*. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty city, until such time as they shall encounter with the estate of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the history that is now in hand.

## SECT. VII.

*The beginning of Amazia's reign. Of Joas king of Israel, and Elifha the prophet.*

AMAZIA, the son of *Joas*, being twenty-five years old when his father died, took possession of the kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he labour'd so to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The law of *Moses* he profess'd to observe; which howsoever it had been secretly despised since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great persons of the land, yet had it, by provision of good princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy priests, taken such deep root in the people's hearts, that no king might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the princes, who had withdrawn the late king from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the king himself, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the king upon *Zecharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of God's justice against idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learn'd of his father the art of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the traytors that had slain king *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been, in the city of *David*, yet not among the sepulchres of the kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied itself into silence, it was found that the conspirators (howsoever their deed done was applauded as the handy work of GOD) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor

<sup>a</sup> *Joseph. cont. App. lib. 1.*

<sup>b</sup> *Auson. Ep. 117*



strong maintainers of their persons; but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the king, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of mens affections, being well allayed, it was easy to distinguish between their treasons and God's judgments, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the law did require) were suffered to live; which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their king did the office of a just prince, rather than of a revenging son. This being done, and his own life better secured, by such exemplary justice, against the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himself outwardly as a prince well affected to religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in *Judah* by the commodity of a long peace, so *Joas* the *Israelite*, grew as fast in power, by following the war hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate prince, yet an idolater, as his predecessors had been, worshipping the calves of *Jero-boam*. For this sin had God so plagued the house of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benbadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his son *Jeboabaz*. But as God's benefits to *Jehu* sufficed not to withdraw him from this politick idolatry; so were the miseries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jeboabaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy, of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, condescended unto the prayers of this ungodly prince, even then when he and his miserable subjects were obstinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters, the ten tribes recovered apace, but the favour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they fought; that they had it not, I find in the words of the prophet, saying plainly to *Amazia*, <sup>a</sup>*The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.*

Whether it were so, that the great prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the *Israelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jeboabaz*, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way to discharge himself in part of the heavy cares attending those unhappy Syrian wars, by laying the burden upon his hopeful son; we find, <sup>b</sup>*That in the thirty-seventh year of Joas, king of Judah, Joas the son of Jeboabaz began to reign over Israel in Samaria*, which was in the fifteenth year of his father's reign, and some two or three years before his death.

It appears that this young prince, even from the beginning of his rule, did so well husband that poor stock which he received from his father, of ten chariots, fifty horsemen, and ten thousand foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Among other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the prophet, argue no less. For *Joas* visiting the prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus; <sup>c</sup>*O my father, my father, the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen of the same*; by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his kingdom in more stead, than all the horses and chariots could do.

This prophet, who succeeded unto *Elias*, about the first year of *Jehoram* the son of *Abah* king of *Israel*, died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the nephew

of *Jehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest upon him; it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done; but when he himself was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life unto a carcase, which touched them in the grave. In fine, he bestowed, as a legacy, three victories upon king *Joas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a fair way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had usurped, and weakening the kings of *Damascus* in such sort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

#### SECT: VIII.

*Of Amazia's war against Edom; his apostacy and overthrow by Joas.*

THE happy success which *Joas* had found in his war against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amazia* a desire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himself might purchase the like honour. His kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable men for the wars; and his treasure was sufficient for the payment of these and the hire of many more. Cause of war he had very just against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grandfather *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed; partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Judah*, partly thro' the sloth and timorousness of his father *Joas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Judah* had in many years been without all exercise of war (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wisdom to encrease his forces, with soldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of silver, <sup>d</sup>*an hundred thousand valiant men*, as the scripture telleth us, tho' <sup>e</sup>*Josephus* diminishes the number, saying, that they were but twenty thousand.

This great army, which with so much cost *Amazia* had hired out of *Israel*, he was fain to dismiss, before he had employed it, being threatned by a prophet with ill success, if he strengthened himself with the help of those men, whom God (tho' in mercy he gave them victory against the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, because they were idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismissal, as an high disgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Judah* in their return, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men, and some spoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own forces, knowing that God would be assistant to their journey, entered courageously into the *Edomites* country; over whom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and took other ten thousand prisoners, all which he threw from an high rock; holding them, it seems, rather as traitors, than as just enemies. This victory did not seem to reduce *Edom* under the subjection of the crown of *Judah*, which might be the cause of that severity, which was used to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so dear a rate, as the loss of their own liberty. Some towns in mount *Seir*, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have pursued the conquest of the whole country. Howsoever it were, he got both honour

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 25. 7.  
No. 20.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 13. 10.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 13. 14.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. 25. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 9. cap. 10.



by the journey, and gains enough, had he not lost himself.

Among other spoils of the *Edomites*, were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this unworthy king *Amazia*, <sup>a</sup> *That he set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burnt incense unto them.*

When he was rebuked for this by a prophet sent from God, he gave a churlish and threatening answer; asking the prophet, Who made him a counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worst. If either the costly stuff whereof these idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beauty with which they were adorned by artificers, had ravished the king's fancy, methinks he should have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as household ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby have suffered himself to be blinded with such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites* and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that the same affections carried him from God unto the service of idols, which afterwards moved him to talk so roughly to the prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a prophet, and sent such auxiliary forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that he <sup>b</sup> *was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his heart's desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esau*, having broken the yoke of *Jacob* from his neck, accordingly as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to re-conquer all the country of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their own industry, courage or foresight. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they, who entering into battle, are careful to pray for aid from heaven, with due acknowledgment of his power who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, do vaunt of their own exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies cannon; every one striving to magnify himself, whilst all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another man's virtue, is, I confess, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he, which findeth better success, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the author of his happiness; so he, whose mere wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful, both for the victory, and for those virtues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no virtue being so truly heroical, as that

by which the spirit of man advanceth it self with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Evander* in *Virgil* useth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition.

*Aude hospes contemnere opes, Et te quoque dignum Finge Deo.*

With this philosophy *Amaziah* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himself a better man of war than any king of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehoshaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to *David*: of which honour he saw no reason why the prophets should rob him, who had made him lose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure, he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impiety following) *Josephus* doth testify, saying, That he despised God, and that being puff'd up with his good success, of which nevertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the author, he commanded *Joas* king of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the ten tribes acknowledge him their sovereign, as they had done his ancestors king *David* and king *Solomon*. Some think that his quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the journey against mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stir him up, than the remembrance of an old title forgotten long since, and by himself neglected thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learn to keep their subjects from offending *Judah*, for fear of endangering their own crowns. Had *Amazia* desired only recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answer from *Joas*, who was not desirous to fight with them. But the answer which *Joas* returned, likening himself to a cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him no better than a thistle, shews that the challenge was made in insolent terms, stuffed perhaps with such proud comparison of nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Josephus* hath written) between a king of ancient race, and one of less nobility than virtue.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the war of *Troy*, his father had bid him to be valiant, and get victory by God's assistance, he made answer, that by God's assistance, a coward could get victory, but he would get it alone without such help; after which proud speech, tho' he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally killing himself in a madness, whereinto he fell upon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of burial. That *Amaziah* did utter such words, I do not find: but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with success according. The very first council wherein this war was concluded, serves to prove that he was a wise prince indeed at *Jerusalem*, among his parasites; but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, trusting more in the site of their country, than the valour of their

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 25. 14.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 25. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Sophocles in *Ajace* Ion.



soldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from so poor beginnings had raised himself to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend an hundred thousand men, and had all his nation exercised, and trained up, in a long victorious war. But as *Amaziah* discover'd much want of judgment, in undertaking such a match; so in prosecuting the business, when it was set on foot, he behaved himself as a man of little experience, who having once only tried his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in war there was nothing else to do, than send a defiance, fight, and win. *Joas*, on the contrary side, having been accustom'd to deal with a stronger enemy than the king of *Juda*, used that celerity, which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. He did not sit waiting till the enemies broke in and wasted his country, but presented himself with an army in *Juda*, ready to bid battle to *Amaziah*, and save him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Juda*; who (besides the impression of fear which an invasion beats into people, not inur'd to the like) having devour'd, in their greedy hopes, the spoil of *Israel*, fully persuading themselves to get as much, and at as easy a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*, were so far disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. Notwithstanding all this, their king that had stomach enough to challenge the patrimony of *Solomon*, thought like another *David*, to win it by the sword. The issue of which fool-hardiness might easily have been foreseen in human reason; comparing together, either the two kings, or the quality of their armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the war. But meer human wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not have prognosticated all the mischief that fell upon *Amaziah*. For as soon as the two armies came in sight, God, whose help this wretched man had so despised, did (as <sup>a</sup> *Josephus* reports it) strike such terror and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their king to shift for himself, which he did so ill, that his enemy had soon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abject baseness. That the army which fled, sustained any other loss than of honour, I neither find in the scriptures, nor in *Josephus*; it being likely that the soon beginning of their flight, which made it the more shameful, made it also the more safe. But of the mischief that follow'd this overthrow, it was God's will that *Amaziah* himself should sustain the whole disgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jerusalem*, where he had him procure that the gates might be open'd, to let him in and his army; threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amaz'd was the miserable captive, with these dreadful words, that he durst do no other, than persuade the citizens to yield themselves to the mercy of the conqueror. The town, which afterwards being in weaker state held out two years against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was utterly dismay'd, when the king, that should have given his life to save it, used all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jerusalem* were open'd to *Joas*, with which honour (greater than any king of *Israel* had ever obtained) he could not rest contented, but, the more to despight *Amaziah* and his people, he caused four hundred cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entered the city in his chariot through that breach, carrying the king be-

fore him, as in triumph. This done, he sack'd the temple, and the king's palace, and so, taking hostages of *Amaziah*, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

SECT. IX.

*A discourse of the reasons hindering Joas from uniting Juda to the crown of Israel, when he had won Jerusalem, and held Amaziah prisoner. The end of Joas's reign.*

WE may justly marvel how it came to pass, that *Joas*, being thus in possession of *Jerusalem*, having the king in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be so contented to depart quietly, with a little spoil, when he might have seiz'd upon the whole kingdom. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cause to hope, that the issue of *David* might be dispossessed of that crown; his own nobility, being the son and grandchild of kings, together with the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him; who might also have prefer'd his form of government before that of their own king's, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked princes had smothered the thanks, which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have ensu'd, upon the union of all the twelve tribes, under one prince, is so apparent, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbade the *Israelites* (as afterwards in the victory which *Peka* the son of *Romelia* got upon *Abaz*) to turn his present advantage to the best use, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to resolve the question, why a prince so well exercised, as *Joas* had been, in recovering his own, and winning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of *Jerusalem*, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so fair a conquest, as the kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been most material, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their king, it is plainly seen, that entering *Jerusalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own posterity. For the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not only into the city, but into the royal throne; and the people's hearts, whom by fair intreaty (especially having sure means of compulsion) he might have made his own, when they saw themselves betray'd, and basely given away by him whose they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity presented he did not aim at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanly busied, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entering as an enemy, and shewing what he could do, by spending his anger upon the walls, he had within the city done offices of a friend, and labour'd to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his covetousness began and sought to please it self, with that which is commonly most ready to the spoiler, yet should be most forborn. The treasure wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philistines*, men ignorant of the true God and his religion, had quench'd their greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who, tho' an idolater, yet acknowledg'd also and worshipp'd the eternal God, whose temple was at

<sup>a</sup> *Jos. Ant.* l. 9. c. 10.



*Jerusalem.* Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of *Obed Edom* (*whose children had hereditary charge of the treasury*) to a strict account, as if they had been officers of his own exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable church-robber, than as a noble prince, an *Israelite* and their brother, tho' of another tribe. Thus following that course, which the most virtuous king of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoided; by stealing a few apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few days, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his soldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferior in number to the inhabitants of so great a city. It is not so easy to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates open'd by unadvised fear. For when the citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to understand their first error; they will think upon every advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones, and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the evils grown out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischiefs to poison the body, which in such half-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be desired, than the city of *Florence*, which through the weakness of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a prince, was reduced into such hard terms, that it opened the gates unto the *French* king *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly professing himself either friend or foe to the state, entered the town with his army, in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the *French*, and much argument of quarrel ministred, between them and the townsmen: so far forth, that the *Florentines*, to preserve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge sums of ready money, and the absolute seignory of the state, as conquered by him, who entered the city in arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal citizen, catching these articles from the king's secretary, and tearing them before his face, bid him sound his trumpets, and they would ring their bells: which peremptory words made the *French* bethink themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not only depart in peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seem for that brave army, which in few months after won the kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous city. It is true, that *Charles* had other business (and so perhaps had *Joas*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses usually draws every citizen to save his own, leaving victory to the soldier: yet where the people are prepar'd and resolv'd, women can quench, as fast as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can set on fire. And indeed that commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit,

who, upon the uncertain hope of destroying a town, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diversity of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Jerusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly soever *Joas* might hold himself within *Jerusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his booty safe, if the army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weaken'd in the late encounter, should reinforce itself, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better security, his army being upon return, and better laden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more unapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the city and without, serving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aspiring to the crown of *Juda*; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisha* the prophet; who, when this *Joas* had smitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, sixth and seventh years of *Joas*, after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good success, ill might the king of *Israel* have likened himself to a stately cedar, and worse could he have either lent the *Judean* one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battle, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Elisha*, that after three victories, *Joas* should find some change of fortune, and suffer loss; we must needs conclude, that the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this year, it being the last of his reign. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas*'s absence, gave such a blow to *Israel*, as the king at his return was not able to remedy, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamity, we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of *Jeroboam*'s son. For it is said, *That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel, and that having not decreed to put out the name of Israel from under the heaven, he preserved them by the hand of Jeroboam, the son of Joas.* This is enough to prove, that the victorious reign of *Joas* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the temple hastning his misery and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia* and *Hazeael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Crassus*, and other sacrilegious potentates.

Thus either thro' indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Jerusalem*, and courage which they took to set upon him within the walls: or thro' preparation of the army that lay abroad in the country, to bid him battle in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or thro' the miseries daily brought upon his own country, by the *Syrian* in his absence, if not by all these; *Joas* was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being utterly forsaken of his wonted prosperity, forsook also his life in few months after, leaving his kingdom to *Jeroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant son.



## S E C T. X.

*The end of Amazia's reign and life.*

ANY man is able to guess how *Amazia* look'd, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his own great prowess and skill in arms, threatening to work wonders, and set up anew the glorious empire of *David*, was now uncased of his lion's hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had been painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred unto such as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtless, were very many: for the shame that falls upon an insolent man seldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (besides that the multitude are always prone to lay the blame upon their governours, even of those calamities which have happened by their own default) there was no child in all *Jerusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischief. He had not only challenged a good man of war, being himself a dastard, but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the city, that with his own eyes he might see what spoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-say. The father of this *Amazia* was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* took him, and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at so dear a rate, as the city and temple of *Jerusalem*. Had he offered; should they have made his promise good? Surely the haste which they had made, in condescending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelite* (which was easy enough) any little while, they should soon have been rid of him, seeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trussed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have served to persuade him to leave his load behind; had not their good king delivered up hostages, to secure his return, as loth to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy king: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Jerusalem*; a manifest proof that he was not reclaimed, unto his life's end. And certainly they, which tell a man in his adversity of his faults passed, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to seek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that priests and prophets were less welcome to him than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might always be masters, wanted not plausible matter to revive him. For he was not first, nor second, of the kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battle. *David* himself had abandoned the city, leaving it, before the enemy was in sight, unto *Abshalom* his rebellious son. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the temple bare a part. If *Joas* might so easily have been kept out; why did their ancestors let *Sesac* in? *Aha* was reputed a virtuous prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable

by necessity of the state. Belike these traducers would recommend no actions but of dead princes; if so, he should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good servants ought not to have obeyed their master's commandments to his disadvantage, when they saw him not master of his own person. As his captivity did acquit him from blame, of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune itself, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loss. For had he been as hasty to fly as others were, he might have escaped as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base multitude courage, by his royal example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another man's words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yield; having neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bad them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saved; the enemy having wisely preferred the surprise of a lion that was captain, before the chase and slaughter of an army of stags, that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to persuade him, that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the king had first studied how to please God. But he that was unwilling to ascribe unto God the good success foretold by a prophet, could easily find how to impute this late disaster unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seems that he meant to keep himself safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteen years following (so long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government; yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred to his own ruin. He that suspecteth his own worth, or other mens opinions, thinking the less regard is had of his person, than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority, in purchasing the name of a severe man. For the affected sourness of a vain fellow doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise: and the fear wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carries a shew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazzle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually mispend, in seeking to appear such as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable course; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an unable spirit, being over-perted with so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to believe that he did not love them? The best was, that he had, by revenging his father's death, provided well enough for his own security: but who should take vengeance



(or upon whom?) of such a murder, where in every one had a part? Surely God himself, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his anointed. Yet as *Amaziah*, careless of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; so his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, rose up against him, with such headlong fury, that being unable to defend himself in *Jerusalem*, he was driven to forsake the City, and fly to *Lachis* for safeguard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived against him, and so general, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the capital city, nor his presence in the country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Questionless, he chose the town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands: for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an army for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandon'd to death. *Lachis* was the utmost city of his dominion westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Juda*; so that he might have made an easy escape (if he dar'd adventure) into the territory of the *Philistins*, or the kingdom of *Israel*. Therefore it may seem that he was detain'd there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this town added their own treason to the general insurrection; the murderers could not, at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jerusalem*, where they gave him burial with his Fathers.

## S E C T. XI.

*Of the Interregnum, or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of Juda, after the death of Amaziah.*

**I**T hath already been shewed, that the reigns of the kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat years; otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one king is now and then confounded with the last years of his father's reign, or the foremost of his son's. But we are now arrived at a mere vacation, wherein the crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly set down in scriptures, nor yet remembered by *Josephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that <sup>a</sup> *Amaziah king of Juda, lived after the death of Joas king of Israel fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amaziah*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the second (who <sup>b</sup> *in the fifteenth year of Amaziah was made king over Israel*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Uzziah*, who is also called *Azaria*, unto his father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Azaria began to reign in the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the sixteenth year of his life being joined with the first of two and fifty that he reigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used, of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter sounds.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought, that in the place last of all

cited, by the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like words are no-where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azaria* was eleven years under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth year might concur with the seven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or, that the text itself may have suffered some wrong, by miswriting twenty-seven for seventeen years, and so, by making the 17th year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be saved. These are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which it may suffice, that the author himself doth easily let it pass as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his reign being five years old; but then must we add those 11 years which passed in his minority, to the 52 that followed his 16th year, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why should we be so careful to avoid an *interregnum* in *Juda*, seeing that the like necessity hath enforced all good writers to acknowledge the like vacancy twice happening within few years, in the kingdom of *Israel*? The space of time between *Jeroboam's* death, and the beginning of *Zachariah's* reign, and such another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, have made it easily to be admitted into *Samaria*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Juda*, when *Amaziah* was slain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea altho' the necessity of computation were not so apparent.

For the publick fury, having so far extended itself, as unto the destruction of the king's own person, was not like to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redress of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to pass, that they, which had already thrown themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the crown from a prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of regality, is nevertheless exposed to many injuries, proceeding from headstrong and forgetful subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been king but 41 years, after he came out of his non-age, I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the text. The best opinion were that, which gives unto *Jeroboam* 11 years of reign with his father, before he began to reign single in the 15th of *Amaziah*; did it not swallow up almost the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending they ears of those which reigned in *Israel* (by making such of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the shortest the reigns of princes auling in other nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: every man may follow his own opinion, and see mine more plainly in the chronological table drawn for these purposes.

## S E C T. XII.

*Of princes contemporary with Amaziah, and more particularly of Sardanapalus.*

**T**HREE princes living with *Amaziah*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 25. 2. & 2 Kings 14. 17.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 14. 23.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 15. 1.



*Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephenes* and *Myserinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Phereus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon* *Thelestus*, in whose time the *Spartans* won from the *Achaïans*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amycle*, and some other towns.

But more notable than all these, was *Affyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia* succeeded his father *Ocraxapes* or *Anacyn-daraxes*, reigned twenty years, and was slain the last of the eleven void years which forewent the reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that empire one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and effeminate palliard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unappy life, knowing himself to be so vile, that he durst not let any man have a sight of him; yet seen he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruin. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the person of his king, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and striving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it great shame to live under the command of so unworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himself and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belesis* or *Belofus* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the kingdom of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces*, well pleased with this prophecy, did promise unto *Belofus* himself the government of *Babylon*; and so concluding how to handle the business, one of them stirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Persians* into the quarrel, the other persuaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These four nations armed forty thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himself, but gathering such forces as he could, out of other nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that war answer to the manner of his retiredness. For in three battles he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful terms, that had not *Belofus* promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their camp. About the same time, an army out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the king; but *Arbaces* encountering it upon the way, persuaded to strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joined themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his camp, which through over-great security, was unprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the king's heart, that leaving his wife's brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himself into the city of *Niniveb*; which, till new aids that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that *Niniveb* should never be taken till the river were enemy to the town. Of the greatness and strength of *Niniveb*, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battles

overthrown the king's army, and slain *Salamenus*) was fain to lie two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seems that he wanted engines and skill to force those walls, which were a hundred foot high, and thick enough for three chariots in front to pass upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the river of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high swollen with rains, it not only drown'd a part of the city through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

*Sardanapalus*, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his palace, with his wives, eunuchs, and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consum'd. <sup>a</sup> *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a city of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that city and *Tharsus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink and make merry, encouraging others, with verses well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example, testify'd that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any virtue becoming a prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his concubines, was so enrag'd, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of writers agree with this relation of <sup>b</sup> *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a *Greek* writer, that liv'd in the court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be known.

Concerning the princes which reigned in *Affyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, tho' I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied, in offensive or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust <sup>c</sup> *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith, that their names were overpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did; that which <sup>d</sup> *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; *Silence and oblivion hath oppress'd them*.

## CHAP. XXIII.

### Of UZZIA.

#### SECT. I.

*The prosperity of Uzzia, and of Jeroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the anarchy that was in the ten tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem and Pekahia.*

**UZZIA**, who is also called *Azaria*, the son of *Jotham*, was made king of *Juda*, when he was 16 years old, in the 27th year of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas* king of *Israel*. He served the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good success in all his enterprises. He built *Elotb*, a town that stood near to the *Red sea*, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistines*, of whose towns he dismantled some, and built others in sundry parts of their territories. Also he got the mastery over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous wars, wherein (as *Josephus* rehear-

<sup>a</sup> Strab. l. 9. <sup>b</sup> Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7. <sup>c</sup> Diod. l. 2. c. 6. <sup>d</sup> Theophilus Antiochenus, l. 8



feth his acts) he began with the *Philistines*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand men of war, over which were appointed two thousand six hundred captains. For all this multitude the king prepared <sup>a</sup> shields, and spears, and helmets, and other arms requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policy to use the service of the nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to war the princes and all the chariots, 2 Chron. xxi. 9.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the achievements of all that had reign'd in *Juda*, since the time of *David*; so were his riches and magnificent works equal, if not superiour, to any of theirs that had been kings between him and *Solomon*. For besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of war with triple interest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happiness to get. He turn'd his lands to the best use, keeping ploughmen and dressers of vines, in grounds convenient for such husbandry. In others places he had cattel feeding, whereof he might well keep great store, having won so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his cattel and herdsmen, he built towers in the wilderness. He also digg'd many cisterns or ponds. *Josephus* calls them water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these towers he so commanded the water, that none, could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith; questionless he took the only course, by which he might securely hold the lordship over all the wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few springs therein found, are left free to the use of travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the *Red* sea, and of sundry towns among the *Philistines*; he repaired the wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with towers, whereof some were an hundred and fifty cubits high.

The state of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve tribes into two kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the south, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, king of the ten tribes, enlarged his border on the north; where, obtaining many victories against the *Syrians*, he won the royal city of *Damascus*, and he won *Hamath*, with all the country thereabout <sup>b</sup> from the entering of *Hamath*, unto the sea of the wilderness, that is (as the most expound it) unto the vast desarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscover'd. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in the time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David*.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived so well; for he was an idolater; it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the success of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, under the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppress'd. The line of *Jehu*, to which God had promised the kingdom of <sup>c</sup> *Israel* unto the fourth generation, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited unto repentance, by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the sin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, was held

so precious, that neither the kingdom it self, given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick idolatry; nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the only giver of victory. Wherefore the promise of God, made unto *Jehu*, that his sons, unto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly guess at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Jeroboam*, the son of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of 41 years, had ended his life, it seems in all reason that *Zacharia* his son should forthwith have been admitted, to reign in his stead; the nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four kings, that any competitor, had the crown pass'd by election, must needs have appear'd base; and the virtue of the last king, having been so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. Notwithstanding all this, two or three and twenty years did pass before *Zacharia* the son of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform consent, received as king. The true original causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden calves did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to have been wanting, upon which the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the captains of the army (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in 14 years there reign'd 5 kings) did now by headstrong violence, rent the kingdom asunder, holding each what he could, and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*; until, after many years, wearied with dissension, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yield all quietly to the son of *Jeroboam*. That this anarchy lasted almost 23 years, we find by the difference of time, between the 15th year of *Uzzia*, which was the last of *Jeroboam's* 41st (his 27th concurring with the 1st of *Uzzia*) and the 38th of the same *Uzzia*, in the last 6 months whereof, *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed, that by supposing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father 11 years, do cut off the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before-mentioned) and by the same reason, abridge this anarchy, that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leave it 12 years long; which is time sufficient to prove that the kingdom of the ten tribes, was no less disordered, than as is already noted. But I choose rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other princes reigning abroad in the world, than this doubtful conjecture, which gives to *Jeroboam* 52 years, by adding three quarters of his father's reign unto his own, which was it self indeed so long, that he may well seem to have begun it very young: for I do not think, that God blessed this idolater, both with a longer reign, and with a longer life, than he did his servant *David*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the throne of *Israel* was void, before the reign of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to be said of his reign it self, which lasted but a little while. Six months

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 26. 14.<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 14. 25, 28<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 10. 17



only was he king ; in which time he declared himself a worshipper of the golden calves ; which was enough to justify the judgment of God, whereby he was slain. He was the last of *Jehu's* house, being (inclusively) the first of that line ; which may have been some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession : the prophecy having determined that race in the 4th generation. But (besides that God's promise was extended unto the utmost) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as has been given to *Jehu*, for the slaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahab's* house.

*Zacharia* having been 6 months a king, was then slain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, <sup>a</sup> *the space of a month in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I do not find ; save only that he was a traitor, and the son of one *Jabesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seems that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himself ; and now, when all other competitors were fitten down, thought easily to prevail against that king, in whose person the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party : for *Tiphfab* or *Thapfa*, and the coast thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menabem*, his enemy and supplanter, then lay, refused to admit, as king in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his treason, and was slain by *Menabem* who reigned in his place.

*Menabem* the son of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* 10 years. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhuman ; for he not only destroy'd *Tiphfab*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he rip'd up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been used in revenge of *Zacharia's* death, it is like that he would have been as earnest, in procuring unto him his father's crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was used such long deliberation, that we may plainly discover ambition, disdain, and other private passions, to have been the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menabem*, and (as it seems) in the beginning of his reign, *Pul*, king of *Affyria*, came against the land of *Israel* ; whom this new king appeased, with a thousand talents of silver, levied upon all the substantial men in his country. With this money the *Israelite* purchased not only the peace of his kingdom, but his own establishment therein : some factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) fought to use his help, in deposing this ill-beloved king. <sup>b</sup> *Josephus* reports of this *Menabem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended with his life : and *Pekabia*, his son, occupied his room.

Of this *Pekabia* the story is short : for he reigned only two years ; at the end whereof he was slain by *Peka*, the son of *Remalia*, whose treason was rewarded with the crown of *Israel*, as, in time coming another man's treason against himself shall be. There needs no more to be said of *Menabem*, and his son, save that they were, both of them, idolaters ; and the son (as we find in <sup>c</sup> *Josephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Affyrian* king, who first opened unto those northern nations the way into *Palestina* ; it will shortly follow, in order of the story, to deliver our opinion : whether he were that *Belofus* (called also *Beleses*, and by some, *Pbul Belobus*) who joined with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he

were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia's* life, who outlived the happiness wherein we left him.

## SECT. II.

### *The end of Uzzia's reign and life.*

AS the zeal of *Jehoiada*, that godly priest, was the means to preserve the lineage of *David*, in the person of *Joas* ; so it appears, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up, and advance him to the crown of *Juda*, when the hatred borne to his father *Akiazia*, had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Uzzia*, That <sup>d</sup> *he sought God in the days of Zacharia (which understood the visions of God) and when he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.*

<sup>e</sup> But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction : for he transgressed against the Lord his God : and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense, upon the altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by meddling in the priests office, whose power had in every extremity been so helpful to the kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude, and civil policy, should have held back *Uzzia* from incroaching thereupon ; yea, tho' the law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoever the king forgot his duty, the priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. *Azaria* the high priest interrupted the king's purpose, and gave him to understand, how little to his honour it would prove, that he took upon him the office of the sons of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourscore other priests, valiant men, but their valour was shew'd, only in assisting the high priest, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the king's presumption. This was enough, the rest God himself perform'd. We find in *Josephus*, l. 9. c. 11. that the king had apparell'd himself in priestly habit, and that he threaten'd *Azaria* and his companions, to punish them with death, unless they would be quiet. *Josephus* indeed enlargeth the story, by inserting a great earth-quake, which did tear down half an hill, that rouled four furlongs, till it rested against another hill, stopping up the high-ways, and spoiling the king's garden in the passage. With this earthquake, he saith, that the roof of the temple did cleave, and that a sun-beam did light upon the king's face, which was presently infected with leprosy. All this may have been true ; and some there are who think that this earthquake is the same, which is mention'd by the prophet *Amos* ; wherein they do much misreckon the times. For the earthquake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the days of *Jeroboam* king of *Israel*, who died 37 years before *Uzzia* ; so that *Jotham* the son of *Uzzia*, which supplied his father's place in government of the land, should, by this account, have been then unborn : for he was but 25 years old, when he began to reign as king. Therefore thus far only we have assurance ; that while *Uzzia*, was wroth with the priests, the leprosy rose up in his forehead, before the priests, 2 Chron. xxvi. 20. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to live in a house by himself, until he died ; the rule over the king's house, and over all the land, being committed to *Jotham*, his son and successor. *Jotham* took not upon himself the style of a king, till his father was dead ; whom they buried in the same field wherein his ancestors lay interred, yet in a monument apart from the rest, because he was a leper.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 15. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Jos. Ant. l. 9. c. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Jos. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. 26. 5.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Chron. 26. 10.



## SECT. III.

*Of the prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia ; and of princes then ruling in Egypt, and in some other countries.*

**I**N the time of *Uzzia* were the first of the lesser prophets, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadia* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed set down, when *Joel* or *Obadia* did prophesy : but if the prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to *St. Jerome's* rule) with the next before them ; then must these two be judged contemporary with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived under king *Uzzia*. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least, a superfluous labour ; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath so painfully been sought, without reprehension ; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy prophets ? It seems to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the prophet *Jonas*, who foretold the great victories of *Jeroboam* king of *Israel* ; and therefore is likely to have prophesied in the days of *Joas*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter, the \* text it self intimating no less : by which consequence, he was elder than the other prophets, whose works are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the kingdom of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seems, not without reason, unto some very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose days *Nineveh* was first of all destroyed. This prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant : in all the rest are found express promises of the *Messias*.

In the reign of *Uzzia* likewise it was, that *Isaiab*, the first of the four great prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of greater and lesser prophets, is taken from the volumes which they have left written (as <sup>b</sup>*St. Augustine* gives reason of the distinction) because the greater have written larger books. The prophet *Isaiab* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing ; or of his nobility (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the son of *Amos* the prophet) and the high account wherein he lived ; but for the excellency, both of his style, and argument, wherein he so plainly telleth the birth, miracles, passion, and whole history of our Saviour, with the calling of the *Gentiles*, that he might as well be called an evangelist, as a prophet ; having written in such wise, that (as <sup>c</sup>*Jerome* saith) *One would think he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an history of matters already past.*

*Bocchoris* was king of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Uzzia* took possession of the kingdom of *Judab*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Afybis* followed in the kingdom of *Egypt*, unto him succeeded *Anyfis* ; and these two occupied that crown six years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian*, became king of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten first ran along with the last of *Uzzia's* reign and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* kings, more shall be spoken, when their affairs shall come to be intermeddled with the business of *Judab*.

In *Athens*, the two last years of *Ariphron's* twenty, the seven and twentieth of *Thespeius*, the twentieth of *Agamemnor*, and the three first of *Aischylus's* three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty

of *Uzzia* : as likewise did in *Alba* the last seven of *Sylvius Aventinus's* seven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Sylvius Procas*, and two and twenty the first of *Sylvius Amulius*. In *Media*, *Arbaces* began his new kingdom, in the first of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his son *Sofarmus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the division of the *Affyrian* empire between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the story of the *Affyrian* kings, who have already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

## SECT. IV.

*Of the Affyrian kings descending from Phul : and whether Phul and Belofus were one person ; or heads of sundry families, that reigned apart in Nineveh and Babylon.*

**B**Y that which hath formerly been shewed of *Sardanapalus's* death, it is apparent that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Median* ; to whom the rest of the confederates did not only submit themselves in that war, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of this his power, was shewn upon *Belofus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especial advice and help, *Arbaces* himself was become so great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belofus*, he used the counsel of his other captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace ; allowing him to hold, not only the city and province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezzeling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them rulers of provinces ; retaining (as it appears) only the sovereignty to himself, which to use immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the empire to their nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the city of *Nineveh* ; permitting the citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other nations that joined with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of liberty ; which he himself so greatly loved, that by slackning too much the reins of his own sovereignty, he did more harm to the general estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedom which it enjoyed could recompense. For both the territory of that country was pared narrower by *Salmanassar* (or perhaps by some of his progenitors) whom we find, in the scriptures, to have held some towns of the *Medes* ; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces*, the fifth of *Arbaces's* line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience.

How the force of the *Affyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the conquest of *Israel*, and tear away

\* Chron. 14. 25. 26.

b Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 10.

c Hier. in praef. super Ezechi.



some part of *Media*, is a question hardly to be answered ; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nineveh*, and subversion of the *Affyrian* kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Affyrians* under their subjection, when the rest of the provinces were set at liberty ; but, in consideration of the kings themselves, who reigned afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineveh*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others ; whereby their history is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands : then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgment of others that were more ancient writers, or have followed the ancients in this doubtful case. Neither shall it be needful to set down apart the several authorities and arguments of sundry men, adding somewhat of weight or of clearness one to another : it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse : which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine own, but merely led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forcible, tho' to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath passed as current, is this : That *Belofus* was the same king, who first, of the *Affyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an army ; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the scriptures, and by *Annius's* authors, with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilful astrologer, subtil and ambitious ; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces* ; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Affyria* : finally, that he reigned eight and forty years, and then dying, left the kingdom to *Teglat Phalasar* his son, in whose posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius's Metasthenes* were sufficient proof, could not be gainsaid : for that author, such as he is, is peremptory herein. But howsoever *Annius's* authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirm. They, who maintain this tradition, justify it by divers good allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all authors, and repugnant unto no history at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were partners in the action against *Sardanapalus* ; and that the *Bactrians*, who joined with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other captains were with governments : but that any third person was so eminent, as to have *Affyria* itself, the chief country of the empire, bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any history. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Affyrians* should be committed unto a peculiar king at such time as it was not thought meet to trust them in their own walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nineveh* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the citizens, was held a needful policy, because thereby the people of that nation might be kept down, from aspiring to recover the sovereignty, which else they would have thought

to belong, as of right, unto the seat of the empire.

Upon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the corporation, or body politick, of the citizens of *Capua* ; because those two towns were capable of the empire : a matter esteemed over-dangerous even to *Rome* itself, that was mistress of them both. This being so, how can it be thought, that the *Affyrians* in three or four years had erected their kingdom anew, under one *Pul* ? or what must this *Pul* have been (of whose deserving, or intermeddling, or indeed of whose very name, we find no mention in the war against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principal part of the empire fell, either by general consent in division of the provinces, or by his own power and purchase very soon after ? Surely he was none other than *Belofus* ; whose near neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his own game) both to get *Affyria* to himself, and to impeach any other man that should have attempted to seize upon it. The province of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being, as *Herodotus* reports, in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a business : if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and silver that had been in the palace of *Nineveh*. And questionless to restore such a city as *Nineveh*, was an enterprize fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had ; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to have wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belofus*, and lord of *Affyria*, which lay beyond the countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have been an easy matter for him, to pass quite thro' another man's kingdom with an army, seeking booty afar off in *Israel* : the only action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the scriptures call *Pul*, or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belofus*, *Beleses*, and *Belestis*, in like manner as *Josephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the scriptures called never otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the son of *Astyages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name (that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palestina* : so that *Belofus*, having settled his affairs in *Affyria* towards the east and north, might with good leisure encroach upon the countries that lay on the other side of his kingdom, to the south and west. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumstance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the prince of the *Arabians*, who joined with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, merely for the love of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to those that were to pass over *Euphrates* with an army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them, and whose most fruitful province adjoining to their barren quarters, might yearly do them inestimable pleasures, was not only like to have quiet passage thro' their borders, but their utmost assistance ; yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loved not *Israel*, should, for their own behoof, have given him intelligence of the destruction

\* T. II. contra Rullum, Or. 2.

• Herod. l. i.

• Joseph. Ant. l. x. cap. 12.



and civil broils among the ten tribes; whereby, as this *Phul* got a thousand talents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, setting up a new king in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia* (from the sea of the wilderness to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the nations divided by *Euphrates* hold together in so good terms of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity; the memory whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to look into those parts; what a king, reigning so far off as *Nineveh*, should have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his kingdom had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the business, which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palæstina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long anarchy that was in the ten tribes. For if the crown of *Israel* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was fairest, and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seek after help from some prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did pass the river of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey; then may it seem that the *interregnum* in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leisure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arfaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, tho' it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia*, by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* do concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death regardful only of itself. Now, tho' some have conjectured that all *Affyria* was given to *Belofus* (as an overplus, besides the province of *Babylon*, which was his by plain bargain made afore-hand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more commonly received is, that he did only encroach upon that province by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himself. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem's* reign, manifest it is, that the conquest of *Affyria*, and settling of that country, was work enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the restoration of *Nineveh*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own days. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person; forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made until *Belofus* could find leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belofus* did let slip, argued his business in some other quarter, namely in that province of which *Phul* is call'd king. Briefly, it may be said, that he who con-

quered *Affyria*, and performed somewhat upon a country so far distant as *Palæstina*, was likely to have been at least named in some history, or if not himself, yet his country to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither hear of *Phul* in any prophane author, neither doth any writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Affyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we find good record.

Surely that great slaughter of so many thousand *Affyrians*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole country, not ending but with the ruin and utter desolation of *Nineveh*, must needs have so weaken'd the state of *Affyria*, that it could not in thirty years space be able to invade *Palæstina*, which the ancient kings, reigning in *Nineveh*, had in all their greatness forborn to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that country, did help to enable *Berosus* to subdue it; who having once extended his dominions to the borders of *Medea*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that country, secure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike nations on that side, might very well turn southward, and try his fortune in those kingdoms, whereinto civil dissension of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, friends and cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For these, and the other before-alledged reasons, it may be concluded, that what is said of *Phul* in the scriptures ought to be understood of *Belofus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius the Mede*, *Artaxasht*, and *Abasbuerosb*, with the like, are thought or known to be meant the same, whom prophane historians, by names better known in their own countries, have called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble ourselves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) whether *Phul* were *Belofus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* kings, wherein are found those famous princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Belofus* or *Belesis* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Nineveh* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Afar*, from whom *Salmanasar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Afar-baddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seek *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* king, among these princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanasar*, who is known to have reigned in those years, which *Ptolomy* the mathematician hath assigned unto *Nabonassar*. As for *Meredach*, who supplanted *Afar-baddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premises, upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar*, that



that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Affyrian* kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belofus* were several kings. This consequence is so plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was king of *Babylon*, and not of *Affyria*. This is proved by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassar*'s name, is proper to the *Affyrians*. It is likewise proved by the astronomical observations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Affyrians*, do shew that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Ptolemy* draws that epocha, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Affyrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly, in *Esay*'s prophecy, *Merodac*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodac Baladan*, the son of *Baladan*. Now if *Mero-dach*, the son of *Baladan*, king of *Babel*, were the son of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabonassar* none other than *Baladan* king of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* king of *Affyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in *Greek* or *Latin* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captive some part of the ten tribes, it may well be granted, that in the province of *Babylon* *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was king of *Babylon* itself. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the sixth year of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanassar* took *Samarit*; therefore, if *Salmanassar* were king of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Merodach*, yea and *Nabonassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned writer *Joseph Scaliger*, who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofs from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul Belofus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Belofus* were not sundry kings; *Joseph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painful men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their readers, had they not by mentioning *Annius*'s authors given such offence, that men refused thereupon to read their books and chronologies. A short answer.

For mine own part, howsoever I believe nothing that *Annius*'s *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good book, tho' I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alledged in it: I have somewhat (peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of *Annius*'s authors; nevertheless, I may say here again, that where other histories are silent, or speak not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we find, and serveth to explain or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painful men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I mistake him

not, good silly fellows) who set down the *Affyrian* kings from *Pul* forwards, as lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belofus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such writers as a man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, tho' disliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doors, with the name of an honest-meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was king of *Babylon*; that he was not king of *Affyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Affyrian*; yet what hinders us from believing, that one man in two languages might be called by two several names? That astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonassar* either an astrologer, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himself calls them, *Prophetas nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt; Prophets I know not who, that in their sleep have dreamt of Nabonassar, that he was an astrologer.*

Whether *Nabonassar* were an astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative. But as his being lord over the *Chaldeans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him, not to have been also king of *Affyria*. The emperor *Charles* the fifth, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his son, king of *Spain*, and lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all sciences, and particularly in the mathematicks, among their subjects of the *Low Countries*, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, posterity will not use this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar* did use the *Affyrian* soldiers, and *Babylonian* scholars: but it seems, that he and his posterity, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise king *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard, all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two unanswerable arguments (as *Scaliger* terms them, being methinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawn from the unlike sound and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likeness of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be lord of some places in the province of *Babylon*, yet not king of *Babylon* itself: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the prophet *Esay*, concerning *Merodach* the son of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadus*, his being the successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reign in the sixth year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in haste. I will therefore de-

<sup>a</sup> Esay 39. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Scalig. Canon 1. 1.



fer the handling of these objections, until I meet with their subject in its proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekiah*, wherein *Merodach* lived and was king. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the reader, thus far will I here satisfy him; that how strong soever this argument may seem, *Scaliger* himself did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider in what sort they have fashioned their story, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belofus* or *Belestis*, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their offspring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Afarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confess my want of books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present unto us the body of this history in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seen, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his opinion have written in favour of some one or other point thereof; but *Sethus Calvisius* himself, who hath abridged *Scaliger's* learned work, *De emendatione temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Belofus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulassar* did reign (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set down *Baladan*, for the same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himself revoked. In this case therefore I must lay down the plot of these divided kingdoms, in such sort as I find it contrived by *Augustinus Torniellus*; who only of all that I have seen, sets down the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Affyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belofus* and his posterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a regular clerk of the congregation of *St. Paul*, whose annals were printed the last year; he appears to me a man of curious industry, sound judgment, and free spirit; yet many times, and, I take it, wilfully, forgetful of thanking, or mentioning those protestant writers, by whose books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this business he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himself, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to do right unto *Torniellus*; but confess my self to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his annals had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and embolden'd me to write more fully and less timorously in other things, which now I have not leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily passed out of my hand, and been expos'd to other mens constructions) of the four kings that invaded the valley of *Siddim*, and were slain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring, as I have done, to say, that they may probably be thought to have been some petty lords; the contrary opinion of all writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how he hath ordered these last *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* kings.

After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mighty, sought to get all to himself, but was oppos'd by *Belofus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerful man in *Affyria*, sided with *Belofus*, and they two prevailed so far, that

finally *Arbaces* was content to share the empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* empire, between *Octavian*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himself sovereign lord of all, and placed the seat of his empire in *Media*, appointing *Belofus* his lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Affyria*. But in short space, that is, in four years, it came to pass, by the just judgment of God, that *Phul* and *Belofus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*, and instead of being his viceroys, made themselves absolute kings. And to this latter opinion, *Torniellus* himself leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in profane histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus devised, how *Phul* and *Belofus* might, at the first, attain to be kings, he orders their time, and their successors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglat-phalassar* (whose name, and the names of other princes, I write diversly, according as the authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversify them) succeeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned seven: and when he was slain, *Afarhaddon* his son ten years; in whom that line failed.

The same time that *Phul* took upon him as king of *Affyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for so it had been more likely) *Belofus* usurped the kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threescore and eight years; at the least threescore and eight years did pass, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom, with *Scaliger*, he thinks to be *Baladan*, are assigned six and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*; four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabonassar*, the father of *Nabuchodonosor*, who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* kingdoms, I may truly say, that the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Belofus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly resembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different ways, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Affyria* (for how *Belofus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the sudden king of *Affyria*; or to give him so noble a province, as would, of it self, invite him to accept the name and power of a king, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unless his deserts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all historians? yea, why



this division itself, and the civil wars that caused it, were never heard of. Questionless the interverting of some treasures by *Belofus*, with his judgment, condemnation, and pardon following, were matters of far less note. Therefore I do not see, how one of the two inconveniencies can this way be avoided; but that either we must confess the dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits, or else his merits, and name withal, to have been strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture inferring such a sequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belofus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Affyrians* to recover such strength in four years, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus* it was needless to rebel, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were under his own government, to do what they listed.

But it is now fit that we peruse the catalogue of these kings: not passing thro' them all (for some will require a large discourse in their own times) but speaking of their order and time in general. If it be so unlawful to think, that some of *Annius's* tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such, as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood, why then is it said, that *Phul* did reign in *Affyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painful and judicious writers have found this number of years, to agree fitly with the course of things in history: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius's* forgery (as questionless he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth or probability, he be not believed for his own sake: tho' for our own sakes we make use of his boldness, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling ourselves to be authors of new, tho' not improbable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, against whom we shall be sure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Theglathphalassar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius's* measure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and seventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation; using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any author, save our good *Metasthenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the same length of reign, which is found in *Metasthenes*. I think there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet could I wish, that he had forbore to condemn the followers of *Annius*, in this business, wherein he himself hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we find that he hath used in measuring the reigns of the *Chaldeans*; filling up all the space between the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the three-score and eight years of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belofus* might have begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*:

for 68 years would seem a long time for him to hold a kingdom, that was no young man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortening his reign, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver. Indeed, 48 years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the story to have been little less, at such time as he join'd with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of 20 years did well deserve that note (which *Torniellus* advisedly gives) that if his reign extended not so far, then the reign of such as came after him, occupied the middle time unto *Nabonassar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldness of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by antiquity, must be described in history, as geographers in their maps describe those countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the land of pigmies, rocks of load-stone, with head-lands, bays, great rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, tho' many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such liberty to a describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the poet saith;

—————*Neque fervidis  
Pars inclusa caloribus  
Mundi, nec boreæ finitimum latus,  
Duratæque sole nives,  
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi  
Vincunt æquora navitæ.*

Nor southern heat, nor northern snow  
That freezing to the ground doth grow,  
The subject regions can fence,  
And keep the greedy merchant thence.  
The subtil shipmen way will find,  
Storm never to the seas with wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in maps, do serve only to mislead such discoverers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curses, or well deserved scorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot serve always. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* gentleman, who had been employ'd by his king in planting a colony upon the streights of *Magellan*: for when I ask'd him, being then my prisoner, some question about an island in those streights, which methought might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters Wives Island*; saying, that whilst the fellow drew that map, his wife sitting by, desired him to put in one country for her; that she, in imagination, might have an island of her own. But in filling up the blanks of old histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be fear'd, that time should run backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: what if some good copy of an ancient author could be found, shewing (if we have it not already, the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while,

*Annius*



*Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to have believed nothing. Here I will not say, that the credit, which we give to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approv'd histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the senators of the city to death. He lock'd the senators up within the state-house, and offered their lives to the people's mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, until the commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cried, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: so that finding the worse and less choice, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

#### SECT. V.

*Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.*

**A**FTER this division of the *Assyrian* empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the same king *Uzzia*, and in his 51st year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion so general, but that authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred history, which are found in prophane authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to those works of time, which had no reference to their affairs; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we join them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules's* body. They took name, not from the mountain *Olympus*, but from the city *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, near unto *Elis*; where also *Jupiter's* temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the world, was known by the name of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year compleat, in the plains of *Elis*, a city of *Peloponnesus*, near the river *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings<sup>a</sup> were discontinued for many years, till *Iphitus* by advice from the oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Lycurgus* the law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodosius* the emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accounted the *Grecian* times, and their stories, to be certain: but reckon'd all before either doubtful, or fabulous: and yet <sup>b</sup>*Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the 55th *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and others have gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Cræsus*, and *Cræsus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely to set them in the true year of the world, and the reign of such and such kings: but seeing they all differ in the first account, that is, of the world's year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

*Cyril* against *Julian*, and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the 49th of *Ozias* or *Azariah*.

<sup>c</sup>*Eusebius*, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundred and sixth year after *Troy*, yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

<sup>d</sup>*Eratosthenes* placeth the first *Olympiad* four hundred and seven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance between the destruction of *Troy*, and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules's* posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourscore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus's* government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty-nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the first year of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were, to seek the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date far more uncertain. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to have been in the four hundred and eighth year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that city, setting that, and other accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads*, must needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good use, we have the ensuing years, unto the death of *Alexander*, the Great, thus divided, by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundred fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lyfander*, seven and twenty; to the battel of *Leuctra*, thirty-four; to the death of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole sum ariseth to four hundred fifty-three years; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, we have arguments, grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus's* reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as also upon the astronomical calculation of sundry eclipses of the sun, as

<sup>a</sup> *Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 1. ex Plut. Plut. out of Hermippus* John apud Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 1.

<sup>b</sup> *Plin. l. 36. c. 4.*

<sup>c</sup> *Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 10. c. 3.*

<sup>d</sup> *Erat.*



of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his army to invade *Greece*; and of divers others.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as king, before he was lord of the great monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years; they who give him but twenty-nine years of reign (following *Herodotus*, rather than <sup>a</sup> *Tully*, *Justin*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good writers, in the first year of the hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexander's* death, serves well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as king, or (taking the word monarch to signify a lord of many kingdoms) as a great monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the 1st year of the 55th *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Persian* empire, which was in the 3d of the 112th *Olympiad*, we find 230 years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus's* monarchy, which lasted but 7 years, we find compleat 207 years, which was the continuance of the *Persian* empire.

New therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus's* monarchy (which was the last of the 16th *Olympiad*, and the 240th year from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the 70 years, of the captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the land of *Israel*; manifest it is, that we must reckon back those 70 years, and 170 years more, the last which passed under the kings of *Juda*, to find the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this account is the 51st of *Uzzia*, as we have already noted.

The eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. For example's sake, that which was seen when *Xerxes* mustered his army at *Sardis*, in the 267th year of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the 74th *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*; whence we have a fair way thro' the 70 years, unto the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and so upwards thro' the reigns of the last kings of *Juda*, to the 51st year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as running, wrestling, fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of chariots, fighting with whorl-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises, that served only for ostentation. Thither also repaired orators, poets, musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make trial of their skill. Yea, the very cryers, which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour, of having play'd the best part.

The *Eleans* were presidents of those games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the victors, they were none other than garlands of palm, or olive, without any

other commodity following, than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seen his three sons crowned for their several victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere, Diagoras, non enim in cælum ascensus es*; that is, *Die, Diagoras, for thou shalt not climb up to heaven: as if there could be no greater happiness on earth, than what already had befallen him.* In the like sense <sup>b</sup> *Horace* speaks of these victors, calling them,

*Quos Elea domum reducit  
Palma cælestes.*

Such as like heavenly wights do come  
With an *Elean* garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the people, or the songs of poets, that so highly extolled them, which had won these *Olympian* prizes; but even grave historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as <sup>c</sup> *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour, to have won the victory at running or wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victory, or conquest of a province.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the moon, and upon the fifteenth day of the month *Hecatombæon*, which doth correspond to our *June*; and what means they used to make the month begin with the new moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I have shew'd in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrels draw the body of this history into the coasts of *Ionia* and *Hellespont*.

#### SECT. VI.

*Of Jotham and his contemporaries.*

**J**otham the son of *Uzzia*, when he was twenty five years old, and in the second of <sup>d</sup> *Pekah* king of *Israel*, was anointed king in *Jerusalem*, his father yet living. He built an exceeding high gate to the temple of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides divers cities in the hills of *Juda*, and in the forests, towers, and palaces: he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute, to wit, of silver an hundred talents, and of wheat and barley two thousand measures: he reigned twenty-six years: of whom *Josephus* gives this testimony. *Ejusmodi vero princeps hic fuit, ut nullam in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo jussu præfuerit, urbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus felix, caustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit*; This was such a prince, as a man could find no kind of virtue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the city, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his virtue and prowess he made his whole kingdom not contemptible to his enemies, but to his servants, inhabitants and citizens, prosperous and happy.

<sup>a</sup> Full de Div. 1. 1. Jull. 1. 1. Euseb. de Prep. Evang. 1. 10. c. 3. & de Dem. Evang. 1. 8. c. 2. <sup>b</sup> Horat. Carm. 1. 3. Ode 2. <sup>c</sup> Full in Orat. pro Placco. <sup>d</sup> 2 Kings 15. 33.



This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himself was devout and virtuous.

*Auchomenes* about this time succeeded *Phelesteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected magistrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second book, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, that *Corinth* was governed by kings of the race of the *Bacidae*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

<sup>a</sup> *Tiglathpaleassar*, or *Tiglathpileser*, the son of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Affyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murder'd his master *Pekaiab*) was king thereof. In which expedition he took most of the cities of *Nephthali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead*, over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* finds, that with his son *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two years longer: which years I would not ascribe to the son, because the *era* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himself, who therewith reigned seven and twenty years.

*Æschylus*, the son of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled five and twenty years. *Alcarnenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom the estate changed, according to *Eusebius*: but therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrary. <sup>b</sup> *Pausanias* affirmeth, that *Polydorus*, a prince of eminent virtues, succeeded his father, and reigned threescore years, and out-lived the *Messenian* war: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the son of *Nicanter*, his royal companion.

At this time lived *Nabum* the prophet, who foretold the destruction of the *Affyrian* empire, and of the city of *Nineveh*; which succeeded (saith *Josephus*) an hundred and fifteen years after. The cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media* *Sofarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third kings of those parts.

#### SECT. VII.

Of Achaz and his contemporaries.

**A**CHAZ, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Jotham* in the <sup>c</sup> seventeenth year of *Pekah*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last year of his father's reign, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned sixteen, but not compleat years. This *Achaz* was an idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten images for *Baalim*, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn*, which was represented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a calf, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a valley shadowed with woods, called *Gebinnon*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gebenna* is used for hell. The children offer'd were inclosed within the carcass of this idol, and as the fire increased, so the sacrificers, with a noise of cymbals and other instruments, filled the air, to the end the pitiful cries of the children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and devilish oblation <sup>d</sup> *Jeremy* the prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *St. Jerome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomy*, it is called an abomination which God hateth.

That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many nations remote from *Judea*, divers authors witness; as *Virgil* in the second of his *Æneids* — *Sanguine placastis, &c.* and *Silius* — *Poscere cæde deos.* *Saturn* is said to have brought this custom into *Italy*, besides the casting of many souls into the river of *Tiber*, instead of which *Hercules* commanded that the waxen images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butchery, inasmuch that when their city was besieged and in distress, the priest made them believe, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had stirred up and strengthened their enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their city to be slain, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these fore-named nations had instructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these his services: further, as if he were not content to destroy the souls of many nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa* (as <sup>e</sup> *Acosta* writeth) the *Mexicans*, and other people of *America*, were brought by the devil under this fearful servitude, in which he also holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickedness of this king *Achaz*, God stirred up *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the son of *Remalia*, king of *Israel*, against him, who invaded *Judea*, and besieged *Jerusalem*, but enter'd it not.

The king of *Syria*, *Rezin*, possess'd himself of *Elab* by the *Red* sea, and cast the *Jews* out of it; and *Pekah* slaughter'd in one day <sup>f</sup> an hundred and twenty thousand *Judeans*, of the ablest of the kingdom; at which time *Maaseiab* the son of *Achaz* was also slain by *Zichri*, with *Azricham* the governour of his house, and *Elcanah* the second person unto the king. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsel of the prophet *Oded* they were returned and delivered back again.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the north, so the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who evermore attended the ruin of *Judea*, enter'd upon them from the south; and took *Bethseme*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, <sup>g</sup> slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon, when *Achaz* saw himself environed on all sides, and that his idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he sent to the *Affyrian* *Tiglathpileser*, to desire some aid from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the temple and king's house.

*Tiglathpileser* wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His father having lately made himself, from a provincial lieutenant, king of *Babylon* and *Affyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judea*, invited by *Menahem* king of *Israel*. Wherefore now the son willingly hearkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himself, he was content to assign some other time for going through with this enterprise: because (as I have said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treasures of *Jerusalem*, prepared his army, first invaded the territory of *Damascus*, won the city, and killed *Rezin*, the last of the race of

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 15. <sup>b</sup> Paul 1. 3. <sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 16. 1. <sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. 28. <sup>e</sup> 1. 7. 10. 32. <sup>f</sup> Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 6. Dion. l. 2. <sup>g</sup> 1. 20. <sup>h</sup> Acost. de Hist. nat. & mor. Ind. <sup>i</sup> 2 Chron. 28. 6. <sup>j</sup> 2 Chron. 28. <sup>k</sup> 2 Kings 16.



the *Adads*, who began with *David*, and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus* *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a pattern of the altar, sent it to *Uriah* the priest, commanding the like to be made at *Jerusalem*, whereon at his return he burnt sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the mean while *Tiglath* possess'd all *Basan*, and the rest beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasseh*. And then passing the river, he master'd the cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the kingdom of *Israel*, and made them his vassals. And notwithstanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoil of *Israel*, he possess'd himself of the greater part of *Juda*, and as it seemeth enforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the second of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Asshur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings of *Juda*.

With *Achaz* lived *Medidus*, the third prince in *Media*, who governed forty years, saith <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* find *Anticarmus* instead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Sofarmus*'s successor, to whom they give fifty years.

*Tiglath Phileser* held the kingdom of *Assyria*, all the reign of *Achaz*; yet so, that *Salmanassar* his son may seem to have reigned with him some part of the time. For we find that *Achaz* did <sup>b</sup> send unto the kings of *Asshur* to help him. The *Geneva* note says, that these kings of *Asshur* were *Tiglath Pileser*, and those kings that were under his dominion. But that he or his father had hitherto made such conquests, as might give him the lordship over other kings, I do neither find any history, nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I think that these kings of *Asshur* were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanassar* his son, who reigned with his father, as hath been said before: tho' how long he reigned with his father, it be hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to <sup>c</sup> *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning far later, namely in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first, *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then joint kings. These *Ephori*, chosen every year, were comptrollers as well of their senators as of their kings, nothing being done without their advice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their kings, as the *Roman* tribunes against the consuls. In the time of *Achaz* died *Æschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever since the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon*, the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or governours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon*, who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his father *Æschylus*, and was the last of their governours: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed first from kings (after *Codrus*) to governours for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a magistrate whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of burgomaster, or governour of their city, for ten years.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth book begins in the first year of the eighth *Olympiad*. *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassæus* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these began his ten years rule.

The kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred years by the *Sylvii*, of the race of *Æneas*, took end in the same *Achaz*'s time: the foundati-

on of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the same king. *Codoman* builds it the eleventh of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth (as I think he should) others somewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third year of the sixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnassæus*, *Solinus* *Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first year of the seventh: who seem not only to me, but to many very learned chronologers, to have kept herein the best account.

## CHAP. XXIV.

### *Of the antiquities of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.*

#### SECT. I.

#### *Of the old inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.*

AND here to speak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what nations possessed it before the arrival of *Æneas*, the place may seem to invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italy*, before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers names; as first *Hesperia*, then *Aufonia*, the one name arising of the seat, the other of the *Aufones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom <sup>d</sup> *Halicarnassæus* thinks to have been the first that brought a colony of *Arcadians* into that land. Afterwards it was called *Italy*, of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus.

*Est locus Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:*  
*Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ:*  
*Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores*  
*Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*

There is a land which *Greeks* *Hesperia* name,  
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility.  
*Oenotrians* held it, but we hear by fame,  
That by late ages of posterity,  
'Tis from a captain's name call'd *Italy*.

Who this captain or king may have been, it is very uncertain. For *Virgil* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble country, *Reineccius* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of <sup>e</sup> *Halicarnassæus*, who speaks of a colony which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it: Secondly, upon that of <sup>f</sup> *Justin*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a colony of the *Ætolians*: Thirdly, upon that of <sup>g</sup> *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa*, or *Tempsa*, a city of the *Brutii* in *Italy*: Lastly, upon the authority of <sup>h</sup> *Pliny*, who shews that the *Italians* did inhabit only one region of the land, whence afterwards the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians*, who (as he shews) had one original; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia* differs in nothing from *Atolia*, save that

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. in Chron.  
<sup>b</sup> Strabo l. 6.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 28. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Plut. in vita Sol.

<sup>f</sup> Halicarn. l. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Halicarn. l. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Justin. l. 12.



the first letter is cast away, which in the *Greek* words is common, and the letter [o] is changed into [a]: which change is found in the name of *Eubalia*, an island near *Italy*, peopled by the *Etholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Eolic* dialect; of which dialect (being almost proper to the *Etolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latins*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the grammarian teach. Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the apostate, who called the *Greeks* cousins of the *Latins*. Also the common original of the *Greeks* and *Latins* from *Javan*; and the fable of *Janus*, whose image had two faces, looking east and west, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was stamped on coins, with a ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latins*: who sailing over the *Ionian* sea, that lies between *Ætolia* and the western parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belong'd both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim Italus*; tho' it may seem strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments, in my valuation greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they, who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the son of *Javan*, and nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the country, not long before the war of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus*'s marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*; but calleth *Electra* and her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the mountain *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the kings of the *Aborigines*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one person.

As for the authority of *Berosus* in this case, we need the less to regard it, for that *Reineccius* himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith *Annias* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not have said, — *nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse, Ducis de nomine, gentem*, had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the country. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the war of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a colony of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same with the *Etolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus* and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* kings, it were no great boldness to say, that *Italus* was commander of these *Eleans*. For tho' I remember not, that I have read of any such *Greek* as was named *Italus*, yet the name of *Atolus*, written in *Greek* *Atolos*, was very famous both among the *Etolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a king of *Elis*, and founder of the *Etolian* kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name *Italus* from *Atolus* than *Italia* from *Atolia*. So may *Virgil*'s authority stand well with the collections of *Reineccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a captain, and from the nation of which he and his people were.

## S E C T. II.

Of the *Aborigines*, and other inhabitants of *Latium*, and of the reason of the names of *Latini* and *Latium*.

IN *Italy* the *Latins* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the *Latins*, by the virtue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italy*, and in few ages whatsoever nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the western parts of *Asia*, and north of *Africk*.

The region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassæus*, *Varro*, and *Reineccius*, following them, think to have been *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as original, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the moon, because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their seats, so oft as other *Greeks* were, who dwelt without that half-island, neither had the *Arcadians* so unsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their country was less fruitful in land, mountainous and hard of access, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, style themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new seat, or their neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians* who dwelt somewhat far from sea, and are always noted as unapt men to prove good mariners, should have been authors of new discoveries, were a question not easy to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, enforceth a superfluous company to seek another seat, and that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glory such in *Italy*, as could long sustain the name of their own tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Aufones*, *Aurunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following disturb the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturn* was brought to some civility, and he therefore canonized as a God.

This *Saturn* St. *Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturn*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionless a fable. For as in heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of history, it is well known, that no king reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one country or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by



ambiguity of speech or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly express (for so they feigned a passage over a river in hell, because death is a passage to another life, and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painful, therefore they named the river *Styx* of hate, *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron* of pain; so also because men are stony-hearted, and because the Greek *λαοί* people, and *λάες* stones, are near in sound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Deucalion* stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones) in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturn*'s hiding himself, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in *Acts* xvii. 23. whence also <sup>a</sup>*Isaiah* of the true God says, *Tu Deus abscondens te*. For it cannot be in vain that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some think) from the Hebrew *Satar*, which is to hide: howbeit I deny not, but that the original of this word *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

*Reineccius* doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembered by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reineccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. in agro *Elaitico*; in the *Elaitian* territory, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a city which the *Eolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elea*, or *Elaia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidemis*, or (according to the Greek writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very near sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the Greek letter [*D*] having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to [*TH*] differing only in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many *English* words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the son of *Javan*, who was progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the city and region which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Eleites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Etolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Eolic* tribe, are found the names of the mountain *Eleus*, the haven *Eleas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the cities *Eleus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the *Latin* tongue to call the inhabitants by any other name than *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians* had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might nevertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a prince that founded the city *Elateia*) be named of the *Ceteans*, *Latinus*. *Reineccius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Euripylus*, lord of the *Ceteans*, being the son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* king of *Arcadia*, was slain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* war: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what evil might

befal themselves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* should go ill) passed into that part of *Italy*, where the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reineccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*: that this name of *Elatus* may have been taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easy to be thought, for that there were then two families, the one of *Aphidus*, the other of *Elatus*, who were sons of *Arcas* king of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the country: and between these two families the succession in that kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* war it fell into the hand of *Hippothous* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose posterity it continued until the last. Again, the name *Latinus* having a derivative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reineccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproof, considering that it is not easy to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among these disagreeing authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

### SECT. III.

*Of the ancient kings of the Latins until Æneas's coming.*

THE kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*. Of *Saturn* there is nothing remembered, save what is mentioned already; and many fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to judge who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks*, called by them *Κρόνος*, or some other, styled *Saturn* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have been the same: but the names <sup>b</sup>*Sterces* and *Stercutius* (for it may be this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the soil which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) do rather make him seem some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said that he was a good horseman. The fable of his being changed into a bird, which we call a *Pye*, may well seem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill he had in soothsaying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of fowls. *Faunus* the son of *Picus* reigned after his father. He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having by mischance slain his father *Ecbemus* king of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterwards built.

*Fauna*, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, was also his wife, as all historians agree; she was held a prophetess, and highly commended for her chastity; which praise in her must needs have been much blemished by her marriage, itself being merely incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any child, neither do we read of any other wife which he had, save only that *Virgil*, *Æneid*. 7. gives unto him *Latinus* as his son, by a nymph called *Marica*.

<sup>a</sup> *Isaiah* 45. 15. <sup>b</sup> *Ezekiel* often calls the idols of the heathen *Deos stercoreos*: and hence it may be, that in the evangelist we read of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus Stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturn* became the name of an idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stercutius* should stick unto him.



But who this *Marica* was it is not found, save only that her abode was about the river *Liris* near *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*.<sup>a</sup> *Suidas* takes notice only of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people, anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reineccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reineccius* makes him his nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinus* having obtained the succession in that kingdom after *Faunus*, did promise his only daughter and heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata*, *Latinus*'s wife.

But when *Æneas* arrived in those parts with fifteen ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be embarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the vessels then used, about one thousand and two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himself had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incensed herewith, fought to avenge himself by war, which was soon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were she an *Italian*, she could not have born a daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas*; unless we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the father, than to his son, who served in the last year of the *Trojan* war. But *Reineccius* holds her an *Asiatick*, and thinks withal that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicar-nassæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seem by *Varro*, who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the Greek name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the high priest called every virgin, whom he took to serve as a nun of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

*Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Æneas*, the kingdom of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that country, was established in that race: wherein it continued until it was over-grown by the might and greatness of the *Romans*.

#### SECT. IV.

Of *Æneas*, and of the kings and governors of *Alba*.

**ÆNEAS** himself being of the royal blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his wife *Creusa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a son called *Ascanius*; whose surname was *Julus*, having before the ruin of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and, fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the woods, where she was delivered of

a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his father's funeral. This flight of *Lavinia* was so evil taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a queen, did foster her young son, his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his mother-in-law the city of *Lavinium*, which *Æneas* had built, and called after his new wife's name, founded the city *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose contention between *Sylvius* the son of *Æneas*, and *Julus* the son of *Ascanius*, about the kingdom: but the people inclining to the son of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the *Alban* kings, with the continuance of each man's reign, I find thus set down.

1. <i>Sylvius Posthumus</i>	29
2. <i>Sylvius Æneas</i>	31
3. <i>Sylvius Latinus</i>	50
4. <i>Sylvius Alba</i>	39
5. <i>Sylvius Atis</i>	26
6. <i>Sylvius Capys</i>	28
7. <i>Sylvius Capetus</i>	13
8. <i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i>	8
9. <i>Sylvius Agrippa</i>	41
10. <i>Sylvius Alladius</i>	19
11. <i>Sylvius Aventinus</i>	37
12. <i>Sylvius Procas</i>	23
13. <i>Sylvius Amulius</i>	44
<i>Sylvius Numitor</i> .	
<i>Ilia</i> , also called <i>Rhea</i> and <i>Sylvia</i> .	
<i>Romulus</i> , <i>Remus</i> .	

The most of these kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

*Latinus* founded many towns in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some think that the river *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*. The mountain *Aventinus* had name, as many write, from *Aventinus* king of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julius*, the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Julius*, and grandfather of *Julius Proculus*; who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was deprived of his kingdom by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his son *Ægeus* was slain, and *Ilia* his daughter made a nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two sons, either by her uncle *Amulius*, as some think; or by *Mars*, as the poets feign; or perhaps by some man of war. Both the children their uncle commanded to be drown'd, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which so ordained, when the vestal virgins broke their chastity. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardon'd at the treaty of *Antio*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the law required (for authors herein

<sup>a</sup> *Suidas* in the word *Latini*



do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserved, who afterwards revenged the cruelty of their uncle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grand-father to the kingdom: wherein how long he reigned I find not, neither is it greatly material to know; soasmuch as the estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*; upon which the computation of time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the kingdom of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to live in *Rome*; and of the line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by magistrates; of whom only two dictators are mentioned, namely *Gaius Cluius*, who in the days of *Tullus Hostilius*, king of the *Romans*, making war upon *Rome*, died in the camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the successor of *Cluius*, who surrender'd the estate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both dignities to the success of three men on each side, who decided the quarrel by combat: in which the three brethren *Horatii*, the champions of the *Romans*, prevailed against the *Curiatii*, champions of the *Albanes*. After this combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Albane* forces against the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his companies out of the battle, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to such an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with; *Tullus*, who notwithstanding this falshood obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel death, causing him to be tied to two chariots, and so torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed, and the citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free denizens, the noble families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cæsar* being descended, not only gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free estate of the people; but by his rare industry, valour, and judgment, obtained the sovereignty of the *Roman* empire (much by him enlarged) to himself and his posterity; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* race, was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

#### SECT. V.

*Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus's birth and death.*

**O**F *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* kingdom, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not only the bordering people, but all nations between *Euphrates* and the ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth beast, it is not to be described in one place, having been the work of many ages; whereof I now do handle only the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius Cato*, *Calpurnius Piso*, *Sempronius*, and others, seek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus*, *Marsyllus*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Grecians* for their ancestors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth book; *Cæcilius rerum Romanarum scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romanam a Grecis esse conditam, quod Romani, Græco ritu, antiquo instituto Herculi rem sacram*

*faciunt; matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani; Cæcilius* (saith he) a *Roman historiographer*, doth by this argument gather, that *Rome* was built by the *Greeks*, because the *Romans*, after *Greekish fashion*, by ancient ordinance do sacrifice to *Hercules*: the *Romans* also worship the mother of *Evander*.

*Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus* remembers many founders of that city: as *Romanus* the son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*; *Romus* the son of *Emathion*, whom *Dionemedes* sent thither from *Troy*, or that one *Romus*, a tyrant of the *Latines*, who drove the *Tuscans* out of that country, built it. *Solinus* bestows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, saying, That it was before-times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive lady, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others say, that it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*: witness *St. Augustine* in his third book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livy* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his consorts, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* citizen vaunting of their original, answered in these verses:

*Attamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas,  
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,  
Aut pastor fuit, aut \* illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet tho' thou fetch thy pedigree so far;  
Thy first progenitor, whoe'er he were,  
Some shepherd was, or else, that I'll forbear.

\* Meaning either a shepherd or a thief.

Now of *Romulus's* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, that he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* was supposed to be his father; that he was nurs'd by a wolf, found and taken away by *Faustula*, a shepherd's wife. The same unnatural nursing had *Cyrus*; the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a bitch, the other by birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me, that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the kingdom; the other to satisfy his appetite, because she was fair and goodly. For she being made a nun of the goddess *Vesta*, it was death in her by the law to break her chastity. I also find in *Fauchet's Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merovée*, king of the *Franks*, was begotten by a monster of the sea: but *Fauchet* says, *Let them believe it that list: Il le croira qui voudra*: also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: but to answer these imaginations in general, it is true, that in those times, when the world was full of this barbarous idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were kings, or passions of the mind; or as there were of vices and virtues; then did many women, greatly born, cover such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than human power: so did *Oenone* confess to *Paris*, that she had been ravished by *Apollo*. And *Anchises* boasted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by some man of war or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battle, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The mother of *Merovée* might fancy a sea captain, to be gotten with young

<sup>a</sup> Strabo l. 5. fol. 159.

<sup>b</sup> Fauchet, fol. 114.



by such an one: as the daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a bastard, and begotten upon some fair harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurs'd by a wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the curtesans in those days were called wolfs, *Quæ nunc* (saith *Halicarnassæus*) *honestiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur; which are now by an honest name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world by his father *Mars*, in a great storm of thunder and lightning: so was it said that *Æneas* vanished away by the river *Numicus*; but thereof *Livy* also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion, that the storm was the fury of the senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many authors agree that there was an unnatural darkness, both at his birth and at his death, and that he might be slain by thunder and lightning, it is not unlikely. For the emperor *Anastasi*us was slain with lightning; so was *Strabo*, the father of *Pompey*, slain with a thunderbolt: so *Carus* the emperor (who succeeded *Probus*) whilst he lodged with his army upon the river *Tigris*, was there slain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kind might end him that begat him; for he was begotten by a man of war, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the *Roman* emperors) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seventh king after him: who when he had murder'd his father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (said he) *Romulus* himself died, and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassæus* end this dispute: whose words are these. *They* (saith he) *who draw nearest to the truth, say that he was slain by his own citizens; and that his cruelty in punishments of offenders, together with his arrogancy, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported that both when his mother was vanished, whether by some man, or by a God, the whole body of the sun was eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darkness like unto night, and that the same did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*; whose life, historified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles, which had soon been forgotten, if the *Roman* greatness built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius* his companion in the kingdom, that he himself might be lord alone in those narrow territories. He reigned seven and thirty years, first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death single, till he was slain, as is already shewed: after which time the sovereignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more priest-like than king-like: wherein *Rome* itself in her latter times hath somewhat resembled this king. For having long been sole governers, till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* emperor was crushed by foreign enemies, and the *Latines* deploiled of imperial power, she fell into the subjection of a prelate, swelling by degrees from the sheep-hook to the sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the

same degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defensive arms; and therein having been unfortunate, at length betakes herself again to the crossier's staff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occasion of the story of the times of king *Abaz*, during whose reign in *Jewry*, the foundations of this famous city were laid.

## C H A P. XXV.

### Of Ezekia, and his contemporaries.

#### S E C T. I.

*Of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolemies, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the history of the bible.*

**A**S the first year of *Abaz*'s reign was confounded with the last of his father *Jotham*, so was the latter end of his sixteen years taken up in the three first of *Ezekias* his son. This appears by the reign of *Hosea* over *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Abaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Abaz*'s fourteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezekia*; so it follows, that *Ezekia* began to reign in his father's fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Abaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekia* began, and so the fifteenth year of *Abaz* may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* began his kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Abaz* was almost compleat, some would find the means how to disjoin the first of *Ezekia* from the fifteenth of *Abaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year *Abaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezekia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the first year.

<sup>a</sup> In the fourteenth of *Ezekia*, *Sennacherib* invading *Juda*, and the countries adjoining, lost his army by a miraculous stroke from heaven, fled home, and was slain. The year following it was that God added fifteen years to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the same year was that miracle seen of the sun's going back; of which wonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for his skill in astronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty-fifth of *April*, in the *Julian* year, being then *Thursday*. I have not seen any works of *Scultet*, but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezekia* is agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is usual in the like cases, that <sup>b</sup> *Abaz* slept with his fathers, and *Ezekia* his son reigned in his stead, it doth no more prove that *Ezekia* reigned not with his father, than the like saying doth inter the like at the death of *Jehoshaphat*, and succession of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the son to reign whilst his father liv'd, we have already said enough.

Of this godly king *Ezekias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeal.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 19. 35

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 28. 27



For whether it were so that his unfortunate and ungracious father (who had out-worn his reputation) gave way to his son's proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the first year and first month of his reign, wherein <sup>a</sup> *Ezekias* opened the doors of the temple, were to be understood as the beginning of his sole government; we plainly find it to have been his first work, that he open'd the doors of the house of the Lord, which *Achaz* had shut up, cleansed the city and kingdom of the idols, restored the <sup>b</sup> priests to their offices and estates, commanded the sacrifices to be offered which had been for many years neglected, and broke down the brazen <sup>c</sup> serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, and he called it *Nebushtan*, which signifieth a lump of brass. He did also celebrate the passover with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten tribes: many there were even out of those tribes, that came up to *Jerusalem*, to this feast. But the general multitude of *Israel* did laugh the messengers of *Ezekiab* to scorn.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memorial of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* servitude, fell into a new servitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezekiab's* reign, *Salmanassar* the son of *Tiglath*, the son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* king of *Israel* had practised with *Soe* king of *Egypt*, against him: invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samarina*, and in the 3d year (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it and carried thence the ten idolatrous tribes into *Affyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his son of the same name, and *Anna* his wife, were sent to *Nineveh*, in whose seats and places the *Affyrians* sent strangers of other nations, and among them many of the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutba*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose places and nations I have formerly described in the treatise of the *Holy Land*.

These latter *Affyrian* kings, and the *Persians*, which follow'd them, are the first, of whom we find mention made both in prophane and sacred books. These therefore serve most aptly to join the times of the old world (whereof none but the prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the ages following that were better known, and described in course of history. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other authors have recorded them: but of *Pbul* and *Salmanassar*, with other *Affyrian*, *Chaldean* kings, diversity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the scriptures do speak of *Salmanassar*, king of *Affur*, who reigned in the time of *Abaz*, and *Ezekiab*, king of *Judah*, and *Hosea* king of *Israel*, whom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolemy* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed, of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the same, whom *Ptolemy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholius* hath well collected sufficient proof from the exact calculations of sundry good mathematicians. For by them it appears that between *Nabonassar* and the birth of Christ, there passed 746 years: at which distance of time the reign of *Salmanassar* was. One great

proof hereof is this, which the same *Bucholius* alledgeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Pruetenick* tables. *Mardocempadus* king of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolemy*, speaking of three eclipses of the moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent ambassadors to *H Ezekiab* king of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, between *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall find it the same which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Functius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samarina*, to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the scriptures, the distance of 133 years: the self-same distance of time is found in *Ptolemy*, between *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolemy* seems to differ from this account, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we are to understand that he took *Samarina* in the eighth year of his reign; so that the seven foregoing years added to these one hundred thirty-three, make the accounts of the scripture fall even with that of *Ptolemy*. *Ptolemy's* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar* to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty-seven years. Now if we add to these one hundred twenty-seven, the thirteen ensuing of *Nebuchadnezzar's* years, before the city and temple were destroy'd, we have the sum of one hundred and forty years. In so plain a case more proofs are needless, tho' many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Ptolemy* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty-two years after the the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more sure than the authority of any history; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas historians and mathematical observations do so thoroughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest unanswered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly bodies, which *Ptolemy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the second year of whose reign, is, according to <sup>d</sup> *Ptolemy* concurrent in part with the twenty-seventh of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty-seven years, seventeen days, and eleven hours: the account from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high noon the first day of the *Egyptian* month *Thor*, then answering to the twenty-sixth of *February*; and this eclipse being fifty minutes before midnight, on the eighteenth day of that month, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time between the two kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolemy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how does this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the son of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next successor, or any way of his lineage? It was enough to satisfy me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himself did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the ne-

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 29. 3.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 30.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 18.

<sup>d</sup> Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c. 8.



phew, than the son of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the nephew, or the son, he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our countryman *Lidyate* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*: I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the kindred or succession of these two. Yet I cannot find in the *Almagest* (for the scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as near succession of *William the Conqueror* declares him to have been son or grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This consider'd, we may safely go on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the readers will be driven from our book, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these kings mention'd in scripture, reign'd in *Babylon*, and *Affyria*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolemy* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good history naming any others, that reigned there in those ages, and all astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

#### SECT. II.

*Of the danger and deliverance of Judea from Sennacherib.*

WHEN *Salmanassar* was dead, and his son *Sennacherib* in possession of the empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such tribute as was agreed on at such time as *Tiglath*, the grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and father of *Salmanassar*, invited by *Abaz*, invaded *Rezen* king of *Damascus*, and delivered him from the dangerous war which *Israel* had undertaken against him. This tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, having (as it seems) a purpose to invade *Egypt*, sent one part of his army to lie before *Jerusalem*. Now tho' *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set down before *Lachis* in *Judea*; yet under the colour of better assurance, and to force the king of *Judea* to deliver hostages, the *Affyrian* environed *Jerusalem* with a gross army, and having his sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his own conditions.

*Ezechias* directed his three greatest counsellors, to parly with *Rabfates*, over the wall, and to receive his demands: who used three principal arguments to persuade the people to yield themselves to his master *Sennacherib*. For though the chancellor, steward, and secretary, sent by *Ezechias*, desired *Rabfates* to speak unto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Hebrew*, yet he with a more loud voice directed his speech to the mul-

titude in their own language. And for the first, he made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their king, that they would, in a short time, be enforc'd to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, He altogether disabled the king of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judeans* hoped for succour, and compared him to a broken staff, on which whosoever leaneth pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, That the Gods who should help them, *Hezekiah* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen serpent, which had been preserved ever since *Moses's* time: and withal he bade them remember the Gods of other nations: whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his master had conquered and thrown down; and for God himself, in whom they trusted, he persuaded them by no means to rely on him; for he would deceive them. But finding the people silent (for so the king had commanded them) after a while, when he had understood that the king of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerful army, he himself left the *Affyrian* forces in charge to others, and sought *Sennacherib* at *Lebnah* in *Judea*, either to inform him of their resolution in *Jerusalem*, or to confer with him concerning the army of *Terbaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this, there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly advis'd, and partly threatned to submit himself: using the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias*, sending those counsellors to the prophet *Isaiab*, which had lately been sent to *Rabfates*, received from him comfort, and assurance, that this heathen idolater should not prevail; against whom the king also besought aid from almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacherib's* letter, before the altar of God in the temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, 'That the king of *Ashur* had destroyed the nations and their lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the work of mens hands, even wood and stone, &c.

The reason that moved *Sennacherib* to desire to possess himself in haste of *Jerusalem*, was that he might thereinto have retreated his army, which was departed, as it seemeth, from the siege of *Pelusion* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Terbaca*: and tho' the scriptures are silent of that enterprize (which in these books of the *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles*, speak but of the affairs of *Jews* in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Josephus* and *St. Jerome*, together with *Herodotus* remember it as followeth. 'Herodotus calleth *Sennacherib* king of *Arabia* and *Affyria*: which he might justly do, because *Tiglath* his grandfather held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* king of *Israel*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petraea* adjoining: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Seibon* king of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan's* priest, and reporteth that the reason of *Sennacherib's* return from *Pelusion* in *Egypt*, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of rats had in one night eaten in sunder the bow-strings of his archers, and spoiled the rest of their weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Terbaca*, remembered by *Josephus* and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. *St. Jerome* upon *Isaiab* xxxvii. out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Josephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lie, reports *Sennacherib's* retreat in these words. *Pugnasse autem Sennacherib regem Affyriorum contra Aegyptos, &*

<sup>a</sup> 2 Kings 18. 21.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings 18. 21.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 19.

<sup>d</sup> Herod. l. 2. p. 60.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Herod.



*obsedisse Pelusium, jamque extructis aggeribus, urbi capiendæ, venisse Taracham regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jerusalem centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corruisse narrat Herodotus: & plenissime Berofus Chaldaice scriptor historiæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est; That Sennacherib king of the Assyrians fought against the Egyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his mounts were built for taking of the city, Tarbacas king of the Ethiopians came to help them, and that in one night near Jerusalem one hundred and eighty-five thousand of the Assyrian army perished by pestilence. Of these things (saith Jerome) <sup>a</sup> Herodotus reports: and more at large Berofus a writer of Chaldean story, whose credit is to be taken from their own books. Out of *Isaiab* it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian army was in this manner. <sup>b</sup> *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirlwind and a tempest, and a flame of devouring fire.* But <sup>c</sup> *Josephus* hath it more largely out of the same Berofus, an authority (because so well agreeing with the scriptures) not to be omitted, *Sennacheribus autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem sub Rabfacis Imperio reliquerat, peste divinitus immissa deletum, prima nocte posteaquam urbem oppugnare cœperat, absumptis cum ducibus & tribunis, centum octoginta quinque millibus militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias seniorum, e filiis suis, Adramelech, & <sup>d</sup> Sennari, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso templo quod dicitur Arasce; quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsus & in Armeniam fugientibus, Asaracoldas minor filius in regnum successit; Sennacherib (saith Josephus) returning from the Egyptian war, found there his army, which he had left under the command of Rabfacs, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begun to assault the town: one hundred fourscore and five thousand of the soldiers being consumed with their captains and colonels. With which destruction being terrified, and withal afraid what might become of the rest of his army, he made great marches into his kingdom, to his royal city, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his sons, Adramelech, and Sennar or Sharezer, he lost his life in the temple dedicated to Arasces, or Nesroch: whom he especially worshipped. These his sons being for their parricide chased away by the people: and flying into <sup>e</sup> Armenia, Asaracoldas his younger son succeeded in the kingdom. Who in the beginning of his reign sent new troops out of Assyria and Samaria, to fortify the colony therein planted by his grandfather Salmanassar. What this Nesroch was, it is uncertain: Jerome in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that Venus Urania was worshipped by the Assyrians; and so was Jupiter Belus, as Dion, Eusebius, and Cyrillus witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his sons had to murder him; but the most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the empire on Assaraddon. Tobit tells us, That it was fifty-five days after Sennacherib's return, ere he was murdered by his sons; during which time he slew great numbers of the Israelites in Nineveh, till the**

most just God turned the sword against his own breast.

SECT. III.

*Of Ezechias's sickness and recovery; and of the Babylonian king that congratulated him.*

AFTER this marvellous delivery, Ezechias sickned, and was told by *Isaiab*, that he must die: but after that he had besought God with tears for his delivery, *Isaiab*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the spirit of God to promise him recovery after three days, and a prolongation of his life for fifteen years. But Ezechias, somewhat doubtful of this exceeding grace, prayeth a sign to confirm him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiab*, the shadow of the sun cast itself the contrary way, and went back ten degrees upon the dial of Achaz. The cause that moved Ezechias to lament (saith St. Jerome) was, because he had as yet no son, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of David, or at least of his seed. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine given him by the prophet, to wit, a mass of figs, laid to the botch or sore.

This wonder when the wise men of Chaldaea had told to Merodach, king of Babylon, the first of that house, he sent to Ezechias, to be informed of the cause: at which time Ezechias shewed him all the treasure he had, both in the court and in the kingdom: for which he was reprehended by the prophet *Isaiab*, who told him; <sup>b</sup> *The days are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy fathers have laid up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord.* It may seem strange, how Ezekia should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for Sennacherib had robbed him of all the year before. But the spoil of the same Sennacherib's camp repaid all with advantage, and made Ezekia richer upon the sudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time Ezekia had rest, and spending without noise that addition which God had made unto his life, he died, having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offensive war he made, which was against the *Philistines* with good success. Among his other acts (shortly remembered in *Ecclesiasticus* xlviii.) he devised to bring water to Jerusalem.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he rejoiced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moved Ezechias (speaking humanly) to entertain the ambassadors of Merodach in this friendly and familiar manner, was because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that Merodach had weakened the house of Sennacherib his fearful enemy. For Merodach, who was commander and lieutenant under Sennacherib in Babylon, usurp'd that state himself, in the last year of that king, and held it by strong hand against his son Assaraddon; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage Merodach espied, and remembering, that their ancestor Phul Belochus had set his own master Sardanapalus beside the cushion, thought it as lawful for himself to take the opportunity which this king's weak-

<sup>a</sup> To wit in part; for Herodotus mentioneth nothing, neither of Tarbacas nor of Jerusalem, nor of the army there. <sup>b</sup> Isa. 29. 6.  
<sup>c</sup> Joseph. Ant. 1. 10. c. 1. <sup>d</sup> Sennar otherwise Sharezer, who slew him as he was praying to Niloe his god, 2 Kings 19.  
<sup>e</sup> 2 Kings 19. 37. Efd. 1. c. 4. 2. <sup>f</sup> 2 Kings 20. <sup>g</sup> Isa. 39.



ness did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make use of the other's wickedness: and so, finding himself beloved of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerful, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed. The assertion of this history is made by the same arguments that were used in maintaining the common opinion of writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut afunder the line of *Ninus*, there were only five kings.

<i>Phul Belochus</i> ,	who reigned	48	years.
<i>Tiglath Philassar</i> ,		27	
<i>Salmanassar</i> ,		10	
<i>Sennacherib</i> ,		7	
<i>Affarhaddon</i> ,		10	

But forasmuch as the last year of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Sennacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years; of which, the last five and twenty were spent with *Ezekia*, under *Salmanassar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Affarhaddon*.

#### SECT. IV.

The kings that were in *Media* during the reign of *Ezekia*: Of the difference found between sundry authors, in rehearsing the Median kings. Other contemporaries of *Ezekia*: Of *Candaules*, *Gyges*, and the kings descended from *Hercules*.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these kings were called in several histories, hath caused them to seem more than indeed they were; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers, have caused not only the names of kings, but the length of time, wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion; or whether the copies themselves, of *Ctesias* and *Annius's Metasthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of these two authors is over-highly commended of trustiness; so it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diversely reported of these Median kings, that follow *Arbaces*: Therefore it need not seem strange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those writers that vary from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the roll of kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as sundry authors have delivered it.

*Annius's Metasthenes* orders them and their reigns thus.

<i>Arbaces</i> ,	who reigned	28	years.
<i>Mandanes</i> ,		50	
<i>Sofarmon</i> ,		30	
<i>Articarmin</i> ,		50	
<i>Arbianes</i> ,		22	
<i>Artaus</i> ,		40	
<i>Artines</i> ,		22	
<i>Astyabara</i> , with his	} son <i>Apanda</i> ,	20	
<i>Apanda</i> alone,			
<i>Darius</i> , with <i>Cyrus</i> ,		36	

*Diodorus Siculus* following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodore*, with some little variation, that he might not seem a borrower) placeth them thus.

<i>Arbaces</i> ,	who reigned	28	years.
<i>Mandanes</i> ,		50	
<i>Sofarmus</i> ,		30	
<i>Artyeas</i> ,		50	
<i>Arbianes</i> ,		22	
<i>Arfeus</i> ,		40	
<i>Artynes</i> ,		22	
<i>Artabanus</i> ,		40	
<i>Astyabara</i> ,	} The continuance of these two he doth not mention.		
<i>Astyages</i> .			

*Mercator* hath laboured with much diligence to reconcile these catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Ctesias* and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Eusebius*, who lived in an age better furnished than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus's Arbianes*, I will not stay to search. The kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces</i> ,	who reigned	28	years.
<i>Sofarmus</i> ,		30	
<i>Medidus</i> ,		40	
<i>Cardiceas</i> ,		15	
<i>Dejoces</i> ,		54	
<i>Phraortes</i> ,		24	
<i>Cyaxares</i> ,		32	
<i>Astyages</i> ,		38	

These names, and this course of succession I retain; but add unto these *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a king's reign, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty-nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen governours of *Athens* for ten years; that is, of *Charops*, *Aefimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I hear nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first year; of which perhaps himself did not hear. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own daughter. For he finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be lock'd up with an horse, giving to neither of them any food; so that the horse constrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy woman.

In *Rome*, the first king, and founder of that city, *Romulus*, did reign both before and somewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules*, the last king, ruled in the same age.

This region was first called *Maonia*. *Lydus* the son of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe such authority as we find. This kingdom was afterwards, by the appointment of an oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcaus*, the son of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclidae* continued reigning fifty-five years (in which two and twenty generations passed) the son continually succeeding the father. *Candaules*, the son of *Myrsus*, was the last of his race, who doated so much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy



enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the son of *Dascylus*, to behold her naked body; and placed the unwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the king's folly with treason. So *Gyges*, being brought again into the same chamber by the queen, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his wife, but with the kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty-eight years, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his son *Ardys* reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyattes*, twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty-seven; and finally *Cræsus*, the son of *Halyattes*, fourteen years; who lost the kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* kings, whom *Cræsus*, his progenitor, dispossess'd, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other kings, which governed several countries very long; as in *Asia*, the *Myfians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Messenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*; as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusans*: besides many great and famous, tho' private families.

But of the *Heraclidæ*, that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled myself to take notice in the time of their several reigns; for little is found of them besides the bare names, and the folly of this last king *Candaules*.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*Of the kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the reign of Ezekia in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.*

### S E C T. I.

*That many names of Egyptian kings, found in history, are like to have belonged only to viceroys. An example proving this out of William of Tyre's History of the Holy War.*

**T**HE emulation and quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Assyria*, do require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in *Egypt*, and setting down briefly the state of that country, which had continued long a flourishing region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Assyria* for the mastery. Of *Cham*, the son of *Noah*, who first planted that country, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient kings that reigned there until the *Israelites* were thence delivered, more hath been said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to fail in such conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian Dynasties*, must here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, that the great number of kings, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, were none other than viceroys or stewards, such as *Joseph* was, and such as were the foldans in latter ages. Therefore, I will not only forbear to seek after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of *Egyptian*

priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumstances, proving them to have been kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem before-hand to lay an imaginary ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amiss, to give unto the reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason and truth of history doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of generations, which the lying priests have reckoned up, to magnify their antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham*, our Saviour Christ was removed only forty-two descents, which makes it evident, that in far shorter time, namely before the *Persian* empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in *Egypt*; especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, have reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the *Egyptian* kings, in some even proportion, to those which did bear rule in other countries. As for the rest, whose names we find scattered here and there, any man that will take the pains to read the nineteenth book of the holy war, written by *William* archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily persuade himself, that it is not hard to find names enough of such as might be thought to have reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than regents or viceroys. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such as will not trouble themselves with turning over many authors.

When *Elhadech* the caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerful and a subtil man, made himself foldan, by force and cunning chasing away *Sanar*, an *Arabian*, who was foldan before and after him. This *Dargan* minister'd matter of quarrel to *Almaricke* king of *Jerusalem*; and sustained, with little loss, an invasion which *Almaricke* made upon *Egypt*. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former foldan hoped to make his party good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, king of *Damasco*, for aid, who sends an army of his *Turks*, under the command of *Syracon*, against the foldan *Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victory was *Dargan's*, but he enjoyed it not: for in few days after he was slain by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his dignity: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and friends of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great city of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the caliph *Elhadech* gave little regard; for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the kingdom, whilst he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do nearly touch the caliph himself. *Syracon* with his *Turks*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the town of *Belbeis*, which they fortify, and there attend the arrival of more company from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Egypt*. The foldan perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expell them, much less to repell the *Turkish* army, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends messengers to king *Almaricke*, of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises he gets to bring him aid, and so drives out the *Turks*. Of all this trouble the great caliph hears nothing, or not so much as



should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the caliph *Elhaderb* particularly, in his own title. *Syracon*, captain of the *Turks*, that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the caliph of *Baldach* (who was opposite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet*, that false prophet, the sovereignty over all that were of the *Saracen* law) and tells him the weakness of the *Egyptian*, with his own ability of doing service in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the schismatical caliph, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the western parts under the subjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the eastern provinces are up in arms; and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into *Egypt*. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth king *Almaricke*, that with all his forces he hasteth into *Egypt*; well knowing how nearly it concerned him and his kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from joining all under one head. *Sanar* the foldan, perceiving the faithful care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himself in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drove the enemies out of the country. But this victory was not so soon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the caliph as yet seems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been king in title only, who meddled so little in the government? The foldan, finding that the Christians (without whose help all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required, makes large offers to king *Almaricke*, upon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a pension) which the kings of *Jerusalem* should receive out of *Egypt*, for this behoveful assistance. But the Christians understanding that the foldan (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to an higher lord, would make no bargain of such importance with any other than the caliph himself. Hereupon *Hugh*, earl of *Cæsarea*, and a knight of the *Templars*, are sent unto *Elhaderb*, to ratify the Covenants. Now shall we see the greatness of the caliph and his estate.

These ambassadors were conveyed by the foldan to *Cairo*; where arriving at the palace, they found it guarded by great troops of soldiers. The first entrance was through dark porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which, with all diligence, did reverence unto the foldan, as he passed along. Through these streights the warders led them, into goodly open courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of ambassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly marble pillars, gilded beams, all wrought over with embossed works, curious pavements, fish-ponds of marble with clear waters, and many sorts of strange birds, unknown in those parts of the world, as coming perhaps from the *East-Indies*, which then were undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the caliph's eunuchs conveyed them into other courts within these, as far excelling the former, as the former did surpass ordinary houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse how, the further they enter'd, the more high state they found, and cause of marvel; suffice it, that the good archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held

a vain author. Finally, they were brought into the caliph's own lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded, where entering the presence, the foldan, having twice prostrated himself, did the third time cast off his sword that he wore about his neck, and throw himself on the ground, before the curtain, behind which the caliph sat. Presently the traverse, wrought with gold and pearls, was open'd, and the caliph himself discover'd sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having few of his most inward servants and eunuchs about him. When the foldan had humbly kiss'd his master's feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made unto king *Almaricke*, desiring the caliph himself to ratify them, in presence of the ambassadors. The caliph answered, that he would thoroughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the ambassadors: they would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians*, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatness condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the foldan, to reach out his hand. When the earl of *Cæsarea* saw that the caliph gave his hand, neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, truth seeks no holes to hide it self; primées, that will hold covenant, must deal openly, nakedly, and sincerely; give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargain with your glove. Much ado there was about this: for it seem'd against the majesty of such a prince to yield so far. But, when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheer (tho' to the great grief of his servants) he vouchsafed to let the earl take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants, word by word, as the earl spoke them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the ambassadors, with such rewards as testify'd his greatness.

In this caliph and his foldan, we may discern the image of the ancient *Pharaoh* and his viceroy: we see a prince of great estate, sitting in his palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrify his neighbour countries: we see his viceroy, in the mean season, using all royal power; making war and peace, entertaining and repelling armies of strangers; yea, making the land of *Egypt* tributary to a foreign prince. What greater authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the king's throne will I be above thee; behold, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt?*

I do not commend this form of government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever since *Joseph's* time, have felt the burthen of that servitude, which he brought upon them, when he bought them, and their lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgment good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a viceroy, to be part of the ancient customs, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolemæus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them, wholly to please their own appetites, leaving the charge of the kingdom to women, eunuchs, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures, which that country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awful regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their



their officers with so ample commission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shew'd, that the great and almost absolute power of the viceroy's governing *Egypt*, is set down by *Moses*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William of Tyre*; who liv'd in the same age; was, in few years after, chancellor of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh* earl of *Cesarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honour'd with that style; but rest contented with a catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance likely to have reigned in that country; after whom it follows that we should make enquiry.

S E C T. II.

*Of Acherres; whether he were Uchoreus that was the eighth from Osymandyas. Of Osymandyas and his tomb.*

**I**N this business I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius* from both of them; and late writers, that have sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this case *Annius* would do good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholden to him, when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold my self contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquaries remov'd so far out of sight: as for the kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, have not been silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken pains to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the reign of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the *Greeks* call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Egyptian* kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to every one the same length of reign.

*Acherres* was the first of these, who succeeded unto *Chenchres*, that perished in the *Red* sea. This king seems to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great king, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timans* (as *Reineccius* conjectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the distance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Osymandyas* to have been the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the second his daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Josephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wife's, into the catalogue of kings, because he was king in his wife's right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to signify in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greek* word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging also to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my brains in the unprofitable search of this and the like in-

extricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I think the *Egyptians* did fabulously expound. For whereas there was pourtray'd a great army, with the siege of a town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* said to denote the conquest of *Bactria* made by that king: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of work, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of burial, to the ancient kings and queens of *Egypt*, and to their vice-roys; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, striving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many statues therein placed, by the wars, the judgment-seat, the receiving of tribute, the offering sacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattel and food; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the several offices of a governour. On the tomb of *Osymandyas* was this inscription: *I am Osymandyas king of kings; if any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my works.* Let them, that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *Or where I lie*, it should seem that he lay not there interred; we may lawfully suspect that it was *Joseph* whose body was preserved among the *Hebrews*, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty monument might king *Orus*, who out-liv'd him, erect in honour of his high deserts, among the royal sepulchres. To which purpose, the plenty of cattel, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing *Joseph* had one new name given to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another, to his increase of honour. As for that style, *King of kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish Bassaes* are called, that is, Great above the great.

Now altho' it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of *Joseph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose viceroy *Joseph* was) yet will I hereby seek, neither to fortify mine own conjecture, as touching *Joseph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres's* being *Uchoreus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by some such king, as was *Geboar*, lieutenant unto the caliph *Elcain*, who having to his master's use conquer'd *Egypt*, and many other countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great city of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cabira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious mistress, tho' he himself were a *Dalmatian* slave.

S E C T. III.

*Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameffes, and Amenophis. Of Myris, and the lake that bears his name.*

**W**HEN *Acherres* had reign'd 8 years, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the kingdom 15 years: then reigned *Armeus* 5 years, and after him *Rameffes* 68. Of *Armeus* and *Rameffes* is that history understood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the names of *Danaus* and *Aegyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtain'd the kingdom of *Argos*: that he



had 50 daughters, whom, upon seeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brother's 50 sons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the first night; that only *Hypermnestra*, one of his daughters, did save her husband *Lynceus*, and suffer'd him to escape; finally, that for this fact, all the bloody sisters, when they died, were enjoin'd this foolish punishment in hell, to fill a leaking vessel with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Ramesses* *Ægyptus*, is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who caused the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can easily believe, that he, which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of such quality as the soldan *Sanar*, of whom we spoke before; so do I not find how in so short a reign, as 5 years, a work of that labour could be finish'd, which was required unto the lake of *Myris*, and the monuments therein; whereof his own sepulchre and his wife's being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other kings, whose age is uncertain, and of whose reigns we have no assurance, I may truly say, that their great works are not enough to prove them of the house of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deeds, or more absolute, than were those of *Joseph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Geboar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the country tributary; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reigns, whom we find to have followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were perform'd, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were kings or no.

The lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand six hundred furlongs in compass, and fifty fathoms deep. It served to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow being too great, was harmful to the country; and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not rise high enough. In opening the sluices of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters; were spent fifty talents; but the lake it self defray'd that cost; seeing the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein, was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his wife to buy sweet ointments, and other ornaments for her body. In the midst of it was left an island, wherein were the sepulchres of *Myris* and his wife, and over each of them a pyramid, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their statues, sitting in thrones. I find not the description of this lake in maps, answerable to the report of historians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inserting one *Armesis* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should have reign'd one year and odd months of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Ramesses*, his son *Amenophis* held the kingdom 40 years. Some give him only 19 years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the king that was drowned in the *Red sea*; whereof I have already spoken in the first book.

## S E C T. IV.

Of the kings that reigned in the Dynasty of the Lartbes.

*Setbosis*, or *Zethus*, reigned after his father *Amenophis*, fifty-five years. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesostris*. But the state of the world was not such in these times, that so great an expedition, as the old *Sesostris* made, could have been either easily performed, or forgotten in the countries through which he passed, had it now been performed, as any man will perceive if he look upon my chronological table, and consider who liv'd with this *Zethus*. With this king began the Dynasty of the *Lartbes*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to have had the same signification, wherein the old kings of *Hetruria*, were called *Lartes* (the *Hetrurians* being issued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have signified as much as *Imperator* or *General*. The wars in which these kings were generals, I take to have been against the *Ethiopians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the country of *Palestina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the desert sands, on the other hand, to seek matter of conquest, in the poor countries of *Africa*. But these generals (if the *Lartbes* were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the *Roman* emperors were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most unsuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus* made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the *Dynasties* (as appears by this particular) took name from the kings; that the kings also did administer the government themselves; and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much unto the viceroys. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Lartbes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the regents, or viceroys, might be great enough, though some few kings took the conduct of armies into their own hands. For so we find in *John Leo*, l. 8. that the soldan of *Egypt* (after such time as the soldan *Saladine*, murdering the caliph, got the sovereignty to himself) had under him a viceroy, styled *Eddaguardare*, who had authority to place, or displace any magistrates, or officers; and that this man's family was almost as great as the soldan's own. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or lord-general of the soldan's forces, who had the charge of defending the land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the soldan's treasure. So might the office of the viceroys continue, tho' the kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of generals, upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of that second place. As for the names of the *Dynasties*, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their country, as those of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*, or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time, as many think, that the seventeenth Dynasty was called of the shepherds, because *Joseph* governed in part thereof; or from the kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Lartbes* or *Generals*. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Anninus's Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Lartbes* or *Generals*, yet was it not without kings, forasmuch as *Paphres* and *Sesac* reign'd therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business we left.



*Ramfes* was king after *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, three-score and six years. He is mistaken for that second *Sesostris*, of whom I have spoken in the first books. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this *Ramfes*, or *Amenophis*, and *Annemenes*; that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter six and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

*Thuoris*, the last of the *Larthes*, reigned only seven years; yet is he thought to have been that *Proteus* of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, that he took *Helena* from *Paris*; and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris*'s reign, lasted not so long as from the rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greek* writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seem to be under-officers: for such only are like to have had their residency about *Pharos*, and the sea-coast, where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said, that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himself into all shapes: whereby is signified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a proverb. The poets feigned him a sea-god, and keeper of *Neptune*'s seal-fishes, for belike he was some under-officer to the admiral, having charge of the fishing about the isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

*Remphes*, the son of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next king by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramfinitus*, and tells a long tale, fit to please children, of his covetousness, and how his treasure-house was robb'd by a cunning thief, that at last married his daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long this king reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

#### S E C T. V.

Of Egyptian kings whose names are found scattering in sundry authors, their times being not recorded. The kings of Egypt, according to *Cedrenus*. Of *Vaphres* and *Sefac*.

MANY other names of *Egyptian* kings are found scattered here and there; as *Tonepherfobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Evenes*, noted by occasion of a great physician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his empire extended to the ocean sea; that he gave name to the isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iseland*; and that he consulted with the devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had been, or after him should be so mighty as himself. The answer or confession of the devil was remarkable; which I find englished in the translation of *Plessis*'s work, *Of the trueneſs of Chriſtian religion*. The *Greek* verses are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfect in those copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First *God*, and next *The Word*, and then *The Spirit*,  
Which three be *One*, and join in *One* all three:

Whose force is endless. Get thee hence frail wight,  
The man of life unknown excelleth thee.

I should have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* used, and that clause, of his giving name to the island: tho' in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or, at least, seems to me, in giving to this king such profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture: but the friendly stuff that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent, that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment, in matters that fell within his compass. I will here set down the list of old *Egyptian* kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first king of *Egypt* that he sets down is *Mizraim*, the son of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the son of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*; and further, took upon him the name of the planet *Saturn*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own lineage, and by her three sons; *Picus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his father out of *Affyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that kingdom to *Juno*, his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the kingdom, and married his own mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy*, to visit his old father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith resigned the kingdom to him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* three-score and two years, had three-score and ten wives or concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lies buried in the isle of *Crete*. The principal of *Jupiter*'s sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the planet *Mercury*: he reigned in *Italy* after his father five and thirty years: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt* with abundance of treasure; where, after the death of *Mizraim*, he got the kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt* four years and a half. Then *Sol* the son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Sofis*, *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Thules* of whom we spake before: the length of their several reigns is not set down. After *Thules* was the great *Sesostris* king twenty years. His successor was *Pharaob*, called *Narecho*, that held the crown fifty years, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharaob*, to a very long posterity.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set down as I find them: let their credit rest upon the author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curiosity, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

*Vaphres*, the father-in-law to *Solomon*; and *Sefac*, the afflictor of *Reboboam*, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the scriptures; but we are beholden to \* *Clemens*

\* Clem. Strom. l. i. Euseb. de prep. evang. l. 9. c. 4



*Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his reign, but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Solomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an army, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, <sup>a</sup> *Solomon's* wife: tho' for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did favour the enemies of *Solomon*, who kept so many wives and concubines, besides this *Egyptian* princess. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must have been six and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynasty*.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac's* reign, and of theirs that followed him, unless therewithal we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, upon which the rest have dependance, this course I take. From the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, king of *Juda*, in which *Pharaoh Neco* was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, unto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which account the first year of *Sesac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Solomon's* reign, and the twenty-sixth of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Sesac* spoiled the temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his sacrilege no longer, than *Joas* the *Israelite* and *Crassus* the *Roman* did; who, after him, spoiled the temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those kings that I find in the *Greek* historians, than them which are in *Eusebius's* catalogue. For of these that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no name nor act recorded elsewhere, save only of *Bocchoris*, who is remember'd by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others; much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a king. Hereunto I may add, that the succession is often interrupted, in *Eusebius*, by *Ethiopians*, which got the kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the prophet *Esay*, that the counsellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch that they said of *Pharaoh*, <sup>b</sup> *I am the son of the wife, I am the son of the ancient king*. But that, which overthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the kings of *Juda*. For tho' it please him well to see how the reigns of *Josias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all; the reign of *Josias* being misplaced. This error grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion *Joram*, king of *Israel*, is made to reign three years after *Ahazta* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanassar*, before *Hezekiah* was king: and in a word, all, or most of the kings have their beginnings placed in some other year of their collaterals, than the scriptures have determined.

#### SECT. VI.

Of *Chemmis*, *Cheops*, *Cephrenes*, and other kings recited by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, which reigned between the times of *Rehoboam* and *Ezekiah*.

FOLLOWING therefore the *Greek* historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chemmis*, first in the rank of those that were kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the

three pyramids, which was accounted one of this world's wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards, narrower and narrower, to the top. This of *Chemmis*, being four-square, had a base of seven acres every way, and was above six acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand years, without complaining of any injury that it had suffered by weather in so long a space. From the reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Augustus Cæsar*, wherein *Diodore* lived are, are indeed a thousand years; which gives the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other pyramids, late writers testify, that they have seen them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, <sup>c</sup> *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabreus* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years, *Cephrenes* fifty-six. These were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of pyramids, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These pyramids were ordained to be tombs for those that had raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to have cast out their bodies, and to have called their monuments by the name of an herdsman, that kept his beasts thereabouts. It may be, <sup>d</sup> that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be the casting out of their bodies: otherwise it is hard to conceive, how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like slavery laid upon them by the younger brother, or son, should have power or leisure to take such revenge upon his predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against *Cheops's* daughter; that her father, wanting money, did prostitute her, and that she, getting of every man that accompanied her one stone, did build with them a fourth pyramid, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an insolent lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a monument, with the superfluity of her father's provisions.

*Mycerinus*, the son of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his father six years. He would have built as his foregoers did, but, prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good king, for that he did set open the temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an oracle threaten'd him with a short life of six years only, because of this his devotion; For (said the oracle) *Egypt should have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy predecessors knew, and performed for their parts, but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but six years*. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a king for his piety; or that they should decree to make a country impious, when the people were desirous to serve them; or, that they having so decreed, it should lie in the power of a king to alter destiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was doubtless more offended with the restitution of such idolatry, than with the in-

<sup>a</sup> 1 Kings 9: 16, & 11. <sup>c</sup> 9: 18, 19, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Isa. 19: 11

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. l. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Herod. l. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Diod. Herod. interruption.



interruption. And who knows, whether *Chemmis* did not learn somewhat at *Jerusalem*, in the last year of his father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is, that his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy, than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the oracle, revelled away both days and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into days, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the devil, than the restitution of idolatry durst then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in *Reineccius* fifty years assigned to this king; which I verily believe to have been some error of the print, tho' I find it not corrected among other such oversights: for I know no author that gives him so many years, and *Reineccius* himself takes notice of the oracle, that threaten'd *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

*Bocchorus* is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons four and forty years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian* follows, in the catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Afychis*; who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition till the debt was paid. This *Afychis* made a pyramis of bricks, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former kings had raised. Besides this *Afychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anycis*, a blind man, before the *Ethiopian*. The reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnify their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Functius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two kings, between them both, did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it improbable, that the reigns of two kings should have been so soon spent, he may do it by taking some years from *Sethon* or *Psammeticus*, and adding them to either of these: To add unto these, without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience; forasmuch as part of *Sesac*'s reign must have been in "the fifth of *Rehoboam*"; as also the last of *Pharaoh Neco* was the fourth of *Jeboiakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part, I like it better to allow six years only to these two kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacherib*'s war; at which time *Sethon* was king of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Egyptian* kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy, to leave both *Afychis* and *Anycis* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet six years further, or more (if the like abridgment shall be required of *Psammeticus*'s reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who took the kingdom from *Anycis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reign'd 50 years. He was a merciful prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and perform'd many works, of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the country. *Zonaras* calls this king *Sua*, the scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last king of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Af- syrian*, grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar*, and *Salmanassar*, having eaten so far into *Syria*, in the reign of this one king *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his days (for his reign began in the fourth of *Mena- hem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the half subdued people, against their conquerors; but the help which he and his successor gave them was so faint, that *Sennacherib*'s ambassador compar'd the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staff of reed. Such indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezekia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the strong staff of him, that rules all nations with a rod of iron. It appears by the words of *Rabshake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, <sup>a</sup> for chariots and horsemen; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needful within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it self, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his successor, having now fulfilled the 50 years of his reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* priests, concerning the departure of this king; saying, that he left the country, and willingly retired into *Ethiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resign'd his kingdom. Surely these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property of dogs, which love their masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the priests should have feign'd this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device of the fearful old man, who seeing his realm in danger of an invasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himself into *Ethiopia*, where he had been bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the *Ethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirbaka* the king (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an army against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt*, within two or three years after? But I will not trouble my self with such enquiry. This I hold, that *So* or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time lived the prophet *Isaiab*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaoh*'s house) but only so furnam'd for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the kingdom from *Anycis*, who was his opposite. The quiet and mild form of his government; his holding the kingdom so long without an army; and



many other circumstances argue no less. But whether finally he betook a private life, or whether he forewent his life and kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speak of *Sethon* his next successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his having been king.

#### SECT. VII.

*Of Sethon who reigned with Ezekia, and sided with him against Sennacherib.*

THE first year of *Sethon's* reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fifth of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great kingdoms of *Affyria* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a war, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serve. The *Affyrian* had the better men of war; the *Egyptian*, better provision of necessaries: the *Affyrian*, more subjects; the *Egyptian*, more friends; and among the new conquered half subjects of *Assur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, tho' *Affyrian* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concern'd *Pharaoh*, to protect them against his own great enemy, preferred the friendship of so near and mighty a neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet far remov'd king. But herein was great difference, between *Ezekia* and his subjects: for the good king, fixing his especial confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turn to the benefit of his country: the multitude of *Judea*, looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to fear any more of those injuries, which they had suffer'd by the *Affyrians*, and so became forgetful of God, <sup>a</sup> *taking counsel but not of him*. The prophet *Isaiab* complain'd much of this presumption; giving the people of *Juda* to understand, that <sup>b</sup> *the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their horses flesh, and not spirit*; that God himself should defend *Israel* upon repentance, and that *Assur* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Egyptians* (said the prophet) *they are vanity, and they shall help in vain, their strength is to sit still*.

According to the prophets words it came to pass. For in the treaty of confederacy that was held at *Zoan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the *Jews*, by *Sethon*, or his agents, who fill'd them with such reports of horses and chariots, that they did not look (as saith *Isaiab xxxi. 1, 2.*) *unto the holy one of Israel, nor seek unto the Lord. But he yet is wisest*.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his army, and waken'd them out of these dreams; for *Sethon* their good neighbour, as near as he was, did seem far off, being unready, when his help was most needful. It may seem that he purposed, rather to make *Palestina* than *Egypt* the stage, whereon this great war should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Affyrians* and *Jews*, weakening one another, should yield unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money; for he sent horses and camels laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom <sup>c</sup> *Isaiab* calleth *a people that cannot profit*. These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seems by the same place of *Isaiab*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the

enemies hands before any help appear'd from *Tirbaca*) all the strong cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jerusalem* it self, which were in sore distress, till the sword of God, and not of man, defeated the *Affyrian*, who did go, <sup>d</sup> *for fear, to his tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineveh*, where he was slain.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it; that it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of war, being offended with *Sethon* their king, who had taken away their allowance, refused to bear arms in defence of him and their country: that *Sethon* being *Vulcan's* priest, bemoan'd himself to his god, who by dream promis'd to send him helpers: that hereupon *Sethon*, with such as would follow him (which were craftsmen, shop-keepers, and the like) march'd towards *Pelufium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entering the camp of *Sennacherib* by night, did so gnaw the bows, quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haste, finding themselves disarm'd. In memory hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this king is set up in the temple of *Vulcan*, holding a mouse in his hand, with this inscription: *Let him that beholds me, serve God*. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* priests, wherein how far they swerved from the truth, being desirous to magnify their own king, it may easily be perceiv'd. It seems that this image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus's* time, or else perhaps, the priests did forbear to tell it him (which caus'd him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told, how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this history ageeable to the scriptures, thus far forth: that *Sennacherib* king of the *Affyrians* and *Arabians* (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made war upon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his priest; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a priest) that he took his god now in so good a mood. For within three or four years before this, all the priests in *Egypt* should have been slain, if a merciful king had not spar'd their lives, as it were half against the god's will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Egyptians* to piety, seeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this image did represent *Sennacherib* himself, and that the mouse in his hand, signified hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expressing things) the shameful issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his army, by means which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly king, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the emblem, together with the temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief temple in that town where this image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the devil helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robb'd of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the devil, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon*, finding himself in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Scrapis*, or any to whom he had most devo-

<sup>a</sup> Isaiah 30. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Isaiah 31. 3, 8. <sup>c</sup> Isaiah 30. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Isaiah 37. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Isaiah 30. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Isaiah 31. 9.



tion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need : yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even such of them as most were given to idolatry) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed, <sup>a</sup> *in the chariots of Egypt, because they were many, and in the horsemen, because they were very strong* ; had it been told them, that *Sethon*, instead of sending those horsemen and chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan*, to send him and them good luck, or else (for these also were *Egyptian* gods) addressing his prayers to some onyon or cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the prophecy of *Isaiab* took effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good ; but shall be a shame, and also a reproach*. Such is commonly the issue of human wisdom, when resting secure upon provision that it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been set down by *Eusebius*, under the name of *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* ; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Sethon*. These have well observ'd, that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mention'd in the scriptures, not as a king of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that country, or at least an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war last spoken of: the *Ethiopians* (as they are *Englished*) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one king for another. But whereas they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tiboka*, is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Eusebius's* account, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first year of *Manasses* king of *Juda*. Therefore he, or his years, have no reference to *Sethon*.

*Herodotus* forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned ; *Functius* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him down 33 years ; many omit him quite ; and they that name him, are not careful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my self at the first, for measuring the reigns of these *Egyptian* kings. The years which pass'd from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, I so divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of reign is uncertain ; that is, upon this *Sethon*. By this account I find the 33 years that are set down by *Functius*, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethon's* reign ; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, tho' I could be content to have it one year less. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this history will shortly bring me ; the *Egyptian* affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

C H A P. XXVII.

*Of Manasses, and his contemporaries.*

S E C T. I.

*The wickedness of Manasses. His imprisonment, repentance, and death.*

**M**ANASSES, the son of *Ezekias*, forgetting the piety of his father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned, and furnished all the altars, temples, and high places, in which the devil was by the heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the sun, the moon, and the stars, with all the host of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them : and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a sacrifice to the devil *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the valley of *Hinnon*, or *Berbennon* : wherein was kindled the fire of sacrifice to the devils.

He also gave himself to all kind of witchcraft and sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar spirits, and all sorts of enchanters : besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Jerusalem* was replenish'd therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverend prophet <sup>b</sup> *Isaiab* (who was also of the king's race, and, as the *Jews* affirm, the father-in-law of the king) he caused the prophet near unto the fountain of *Siloe*, to be sawn in sunder, with a wooden saw, in the 80th year of his life : a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirm'd by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. <sup>c</sup> *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the kings of Assur, which took Manasses, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel* : when after he had laid 20 years as a captive, and despoil'd of all honour and hope ; yet to his hearty repentance and continual prayer, the God of infinite mercy had respect, and mov'd the *Assyrians* heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loved his father *Ezekias*, was the easier persuaded to restore *Manasses* to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was again establish'd, remembering the miseries which follow'd his wickedness, and God's great mercies towards him, he chang'd form, detest'd his former foolish and devilish idolatry, and cast down the idols of his own erecting, prepar'd the altar of God, and sacrific'd thereon. He repair'd a great part of *Jerusalem* : and died after the long reign of 55 years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasses* was held in a cage of iron by the *Assyrians* : and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may believe as it shall please their fancies.

S E C T. II.

*Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. The reign of Psammiticus.*

**T**HAT the wickedness of king *Manasses* was the cause of the evil, which fell upon his kingdom and person, any Christian must needs believe : for it is affirmed in the scriptures. Yet was the state of things in those parts of the world such, at

<sup>a</sup> Isa. 31. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Just. Mart. Cedrenus, c. 19. Glycas p. 275. Tertull. de Pat

<sup>c</sup> 2 Chron. 33. 11.



that time, as would have invited any prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled God's pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends) desirous of enlarging his empire, to make attempt upon *Judah*. For the kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the state of *Judah* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civil dissension, and, after two years, ill amended by a division of the government between twelve princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute king of all. This *interregnum*, or mere anarchy, that was in *Egypt*, with the division of the kingdom following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reigns of *Sabacus*, and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the aristocracy, or twelve governours immediately before *Psammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissension seems to have been the uncertainty of title to that kingdom (for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of blood, I have often shewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, tho' things were not settled, until one had obtained the sovereignty.

These twelve rulers governed fifteen years, in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait covenants and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering, in *Vulcan's* temple, out of a copper goblet. Whilst this unity lasted, they joined together in raising a monument of their dominion, which was a labyrinth, built near unto the lake of *Meris*; a work so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could give it commendation answerable to the stateliness of the work it self. I will not here set down that imperfect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say, that he prefers it far before the pyramids, one of which (as he saith) excelled the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest works in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this labyrinth to have been the work of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a king which lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the war of *Troy*, and from this labyrinth, saith he, *Dædalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus* or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to have been *Annemenes*, who reigned immediately before *Thoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dædalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was king. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Cheremon*, and others, that are found in *Josephus* touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the story of *Amasis*, and *Atifanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon's* *Amenophis* to be *Diodorus's* *Amasis*, that *Sethon* should be *Atifanes*, and that *Annemenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are those, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Anysis*; *Atifanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of those twelve princes, to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous labyrinth. For *Atifanes* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*, *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Anysis*; *Atifanes* governed well,

and was mild in punishing offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marus*, the next king after *Atifanes*, built this labyrinth; and the next (saying *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living near to the age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the priest might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great halls, parlours, and other circumstances remembred by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, do help to prove, that it was the work of these twelve princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemn feast in *Vulcan's* temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the priest forgetting himself, brought forth no more than eleven cups. Hereupon *Psammiticus*, who standing last had not a cup, took off his brazen helmet, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the oracle, and to suspect him as a traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbore to kill him; but, being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marshy countries by the sea-side. This oracle, and the event, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I believe to have been no other: in the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hired soldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aid he vanquished his companions, and made himself sole king.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty-four; according to *Eusebius* forty-four; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, gives forty-four years to his single reign, and ten to his ruling jointly with the princes before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve governours, must be thought to have lived unto extreme old age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Eusebius*, but will not adventure to cut five years from the aristocracy: tho' peradventure *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some prince that died, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, tho' not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of these *Egyptians*, as we find them set down, are more by one than serve to fill up the time between the fifth of *Rehoboam*, and the fourth of *Jehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one year from *Sethon's* reign, that was of uncertain length; or else (which I had rather do; because *Funtius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himself alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time so nearly agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last year of one reign, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the kings, or any great part of them, which are set down in chronological tables, reigned precisely so many years, as are ascribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think, that the surplusage of one man's time, supplied the defect of another's. Wherefore I confound the last year of those sixteen, wherein



the twelve princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his companions, fight with them, and make himself lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this king, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt*, who entertained any strait amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* soldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his army, whilst his mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Upon this disgrace, it is said, that his soldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their natural country of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind messages, nor by the king himself, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their country, their wives and children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a country, and that nature had enabled them to get other wives and children.

It is also reported of him, that he caused two infants to be brought up in such sort as they might not hear any word spoken; by which means he hoped to find out, what nation or language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speak that language, which men spoke at the first. The issue hercof was, that the children cried *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to signify bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, served greatly to magnify the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* signifies (as baker in *English*) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of *Goropius's* works, may find enough of this kind, to persuade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the patriarchs used none other tongue than the *Low Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name itself of *Babel* being also *Dutch*, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not insist upon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palestina*, about which he spent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any city endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This town of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan*, a captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

### SECT. III.

*What reference these Egyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manasses. In what part of his reign Manasses was taken prisoner.*

**W**ERE it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty; I think we should find these *Egyptian* troubles to have been no small occasion both of his captivity and enlargement: God so disposing of human actions, that even they, who intended only their own business, fulfilled only his high pleasure. For either the civil wars in *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the kingdom as it were into

twelve pieces, or the war between *Psammiticus* and his colleagues; or the expedition of *Psammiticus* unto *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus* might minister into the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope; to enlarge his dominion in the south parts; or such necessity of sending an army into those parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make sure work with the king of *Judah*. The same occasions sufficed also to procure the delivery of *Manasses*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as <sup>b</sup> *Josephus* hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they, that apprehended him, win his country, but only waste it. So that the *Jews* having learned wit, by the ill success of their folly, in redeeming *Amaziah*, were like to be more circumspect in making their bargain upon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and fear, than the little kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reason, to spend his forces in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compel his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; when by quitting his present advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manasses's* reign, wherein he was taken prisoner; or concerning his captivity it self, how long it lasted; the scriptures are silent, and *Josephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus's* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmino*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the author of the greater *Hebrew* chronology, who affirms, that it was in his twenty-seventh year; the third, of *Rabbi Kimbi* upon *Ezekiel*, who saith, that he was forty years an idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the second, as more improbable, and condemns the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather prove him to favour the cardinal, as far as he may (for where need requires, he doth freely dissent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmino*: the one, that *Ammon*, the son of *Manasses*, is said by *Josephus* to have followed the works of his father's youth; the other, that, had *Manasses* grown old in his sins, it is not like that he should have continued as he did, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the sins of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; tho' it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimbi*) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the second; howsoever it be a fearful thing to cast off unto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, that the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two and fifty years, shall be punished with final impenitency. But against these two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, that *Manasses* continued longer in his wickedness, than *Bellarmino* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimbi*

<sup>a</sup> Isa. 20. 1. <sup>b</sup> Joseph. Ant. I. 10. c. 4.



hath affirmed. In the second book of *Kings*, the evil which *Manasses* did is remember'd at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; so that his amendment may seem to have taken up no great part of his life, the story of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth chapter. <sup>a</sup> *Concerning the rest of the Acts of Manasses, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Juda.* The other place is in the four and twentieth chapter of the same book, where, in rehearsing the calamities, with which that nation was punished in the time of *Jehoiakim*, the great grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; <sup>b</sup> *Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon Juda, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasses, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Whoso considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, that the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or most probable, that when he was twenty-seven years old, he repented, and becoming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two years of civil dissension in *Egypt*, fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that kingdom was weaken'd, by partition of the sovereignty; the war of *Psammiticus* against his associates; and four and twenty years, of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the first fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of war had continual occasions of visiting his country. All which I will add hereto is this, that the fifteenth of *Manasses* was the last year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach's* reign, or (accounting from the death of *Asarbaddon*) the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelve princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth was the twenty-third of *Psammiticus*, and the fifth of *Nabulassar*, the son of *Merodach* in *Babylon*: but which of these was the year of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

This was the first great mastery that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezekias* never paid it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Sennacherib's* enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which covered the doors and pillars of the temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater necessity, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose upon him; among which it seems, that this was one (which was indeed a point of servitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with men of war all the strong cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controversy) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharaoh Neco*,

in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had been against all reason and policy, if it had not been his duty by covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

#### SECT. IV.

*Of the first and second Messenian wars, which were in the reigns of Ezekia and Manasses, kings of Juda.*

NOW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasses*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian* wars; which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Persian* wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first *Messenian* war began and ended in the days of *Ezekia*; the second in the reign of *Manasses*: but to avoid the trouble of interrupting our history, I have thought it best to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needless, than to say, that the posterity of *Hercules*, driving the issue of *Pelops*, and the *Acheans*, out of their seats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdoms of *Lacedemon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and fought one another's ruin with bloody wars, whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* war are scarce worth remembrance; they were so slight. Ambition was the true cause of it; wherewith the *Lacedemonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour, to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares*, a *Messenian*, had slain many *Lacedemonians*, for which the magistrates of *Sparta*, desiring to have him yielded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, thro' injuries received from *Euaphnes* a *Lacedemonian*. This *Euaphnes* had bargained to give pasture to the cattle of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the cattle, and slaves that kept them, to merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lie was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped from the merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedemonian* being thus apprehended, confessed all, and promis'd large amends; which to receive, he carried the son of *Polychares* home with him, but having him at home, he villainously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* having refused, after long suit made by the wretched father to do him right against this thief and murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things, which he did in that madness, wherinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand unto the judgment of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the general council of *Greece*, or to any other fair court. But the *Lacedemonians*, who had a great desire to occupy the fair country of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so, without sending any defiance, secretly took an oath, to hold war with *Messene*, till



they had master'd it: which done, they seized upon *Amphibia*, a frontier town of that province, wherein they put all to the sword without mercy, very few escaping.

Hereupon the *Messenians* took arms, and were met by the enemy. A furious battle was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encamp themselves; the *Lacedemonians*, unable to force their camp, returned home. This war began in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lasted twenty years. The two enemy nations tried the matter for a while with their proper forces, the *Lacedemonians* wasting the inland parts of *Messene*, and the *Messenians* the sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends on both sides were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired soldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battel were fought with as great obstinacy as the first; saving that, in the fourth battle, the *Lacedemonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still uncertain, tho' in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphaes*, their king, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many years were spent, ere all this blood was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertain soldiers, caused the war to linger. And for the same reasons did the *Messenians* forsake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a mountain with a town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as some authors tell us, the *Lacedemonians* were so obstinate in this war, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten years from *Sparta*, their wives sent them word, that their city would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their nation, and were called *Parthenians*.<sup>b</sup> *Diodorus* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in process of this *Messenian* war, when the devil in an oracle had advised the *Messenians* to sacrifice a virgin of the stock of *Egyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedemonians*; the lot falling upon the daughter of one *Lyciscus*, *Ephibolus* the priest, willing to save her, said she was only a foster'd child, and not born of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giving delay to the execution of the maid, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was king, voluntarily offered his own daughter: but a young nobleman, being in love with the maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no virgin, but that he had deflowered her, and got her with child: whereupon the father in a rage ripped up his innocent daughter's belly, to disprove the lover's slander: at the grave of which daughter of his, afterwards falling by other superstitions into despair of prevailing against the *Lacedemonians*, he flew himself, to the great hurt of his country, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace; which they obtained under most rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits

of their land they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their wives, to make solemn lamentations, at the death of every *Spartan* king; they were also sworn to live in true subjection to the *Lacedemonians*; and part of their territory was taken from them, which was given to the *Asinæi*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this war.

This peace being made upon so uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then broke out into a new and more furious war than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of those *Messenians*, whom the former war had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equal to the *Lacedemonians*, and therefore scorning to serve such masters, as had against all right oppressed their fathers. The chief of these was *Aristomenes*, a noble gentleman, of the house of *Egyptus*, who perceiving the uniform desires of his countrymen, adventured to become their leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argives*, and *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, began open war upon the state of *Lacedemon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedemonians* hastened to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their own, without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battle was fought between them, and a doubtful one; save that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, so far as they had thereby taught their late proud lords to think them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their king: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their general. Within one year another battle was fought, whereunto each party came better provided. The *Lacedemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to help: the *Messenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloody fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behave himself, that finally he made the enemies run for their lives. Of such importance was this victory, that the *Lacedemonians* began to bethink themselves of making some good agreement. But one *Tyrteus*, an *Athenian* poet, whom by appointment of an oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their spirits with his verses. After this, *Aristomenes* took by surprise a town in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* king of *Sparta*, who did set upon him, in hopes to have recovered the booty.

But all these victories of *Aristomenes* perished in the loss of one battle, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell unto the *Lacedemonians*, through the treason of *Aristocrates*, king of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruel batchery. The loss was so great, that all *Andania*, their principal city, and the towns in *Messene*, standing too far from the sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed, as into a place of safety. Here the *Lacedemonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it felt

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, l. 9. <sup>b</sup> Oros. l. 4. cap. 21. <sup>c</sup> *Diod. l. 15.* <sup>d</sup> *Egyptus was the youngest son of Cretphon b. Meropæ, the daughter to of Cyprius, king of Arcadia: of which Cretphon the chief nobility of the Messenians was propagated.*



was a strong piece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout soldiers did many incredible exploits that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. He wasted all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away corn, wine, cattle, and all provisions, necessary for his own people; the slaves and household-stuff he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief, the *Lacedemonians* made an edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoining parts of their own country, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the poet *Tyrtæus* appeas'd this uproar with pleasing songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the town, surpris'd and sack'd *Amycle*, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other services, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escap'd. One escape of his deserves to be remembred, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseless, and carried away prisoner, with 50 of his companions. There was a deep natural cave into which the *Spartans* used to cast headlong such as were condemn'd to die for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Aristomenes* and his companions adjudg'd. All the rest of these poor men died with their falls; *Aristomenes* (howsoever it came to pass) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be imprison'd in a deep dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himself, that this beast must needs know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, saved himself from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, until the way was too strait for him, and then dismiss'd it. The fox being loose, ran thro' a hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delve so long with his nails, that at last he claw'd out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Aristomenes* was return'd home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was reviv'd. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to help the *Lacedemonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their captains slain, and their camp taken; then was it easily believed that *Aristomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus 11 years pass'd whilst the enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Aristomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave, that had fled from *Sparta*, betray'd the place. This fellow had entic'd to lewdness the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertain'd by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happen'd in a rainy winter night, that the husband came home unlook'd for, whilst the adulterer was within. The woman hid her paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him, by what good fortune

he was return'd so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul weather was such, as had made all his fellows leave their stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for *Aristomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be fear'd, that the enemies would stir, in such a dark rainy night as this was. The slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedemonian* camp with the news. There he found *Emperamus* his master, commanding in the king's absence. To him he utter'd all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the army into the town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the alarm was presently taken; and the extreme darkness, together with the noise of wind and rain, hinder'd all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel fight; one part being incited, by mere hope of ending a long work; the other inrag'd by mere desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompens'd partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streets and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continual toil; their enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleep, and then returning, supplied the place of their weary fellows, with fresh companions. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men, for want of relief, were no longer able to hold out (as having been three days, and three nights, vexed with all miseries, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continual rain and cold) gather'd together all the weaker sort, whom he compass'd round with armed men, and so attempted to break out thro' the midst of the enemies. *Emperamus*, general of the *Lacedemonians*, was glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his soldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arriv'd safe in *Arcadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Aristocrates* their false-hearted king, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out 500 the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolv'd to march in all secret haste to *Sparta*, hoping to find the town secure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the spoil of *Messene*. In this enterprize, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedemonians* would be glad to recover their own, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were 300 *Arcadians* that offer'd to join with him; but *Aristocrates* mar'd all, by sending speedy advertisement thereof, to *Anaxander* king of *Sparta*. The epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Aristocrates*, was intercepted, by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open assembly, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, that the perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his son *Gorgus* and other sufficient governours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolv'd



solv'd himself to make abode in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedemonians* work at home. His daughters he bestow'd honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus* who reign'd in the isle of *Rhodes* took to wife, being willed by an oracle to marry the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally, *Aristomenes* went with his daughters to *Rhodes*, whence he purposed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the son of *Gyges* king of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* king of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* were invited by *Anaxilas* (whose great grandfather was a *Messenian* and went into *Italy* after the former war) being lord of the *Rhegi-ans* in *Italy*; to take his part against the *Zancleans* in *Sicily*, on the other side of the straits. They did so; and winning the town of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* war ended in the first year of the 28th *Olympiad*. Long after which time, the rest of that nation, who staying at home serv'd the *Lacedemonians*, found means to rebel; but were soon vanquish'd, and being driven to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they went into *Acarmania*; whence likewise, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedemonians*, and then followed their ancient countrymen into *Italy* and *Sicily*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a feat.

It is very strange, that during 280 years, this banish'd nation retain'd their name, their ancient customs, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken country, with a desire to return to it. In the third year of the 102d *Olympiad*, that great *Epaminondas*, having tam'd the pride of the *Lacedemonians*, revok'd the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore unto them their old possession, and help them in building a fair city; which, by the name of the province, was called *Messena*, and was held by them ever after, in despite of the *Lacedemonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

#### S E C T. V.

*Of the kings that were in Lydia and Media, while Manasses reigned. Whether Deioces the Mede were that Arphaxad which is mentioned in the book of Judith. Of the history of Judith.*

**A**RDYS king of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* war. *Ardys* succeeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reign of 49 years, in the 2d of the 25th *Olympiad*. He follow'd the steps of his father, who encroaching upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardys* won *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expell'd out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this man's grand-child, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but won the city of *Sardes*; tho' the castle or citadel thereof was defended against them, and held still for king *Ardys*; whose long reign was unable, by reason of this great storm, to effect much.

*Phraortes* was not king until the third year of the 29th *Olympiad*, which was 6 years after the *Messe-*

*lian* war ended; the same being the last year of *Manasses's* reign over *Juda*.

*Deioces*, the father of this *Phraortes*, was king of *Media*; three and fifty of these five and fifty years in which *Manasses* reign'd. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict form; commanding more absolutely than his predecessors had done. For they following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people so much licence, as caused every one to desire the wholesome severity of a more lordly king. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately palace; he took unto him a guard for defence of his person; he seldom gave presence, which also when he did, it was with such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awful regard, and highly upheld the majesty; which his predecessors had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his royal office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that was done in the kingdom. He car'd not to enlarge the bounds of his dominion, by encroaching upon others; but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this king, and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus*, l. 1. delivers, that *Deioces* was the first who reign'd in *Media*.

This was he that built the great city of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that king *Arphaxad*, mention'd in the story of *Judith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slain, and *Holophernes* sent to work wonders, upon *Phud* and *Lud*, and I know not what other countries. For I reckon the last year of *Deioces* to have been the 19th of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath much labour been spent, with ill success. The reigns of *Cambyses*, *Darius*, *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been sought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have now in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the story; tho' others herein cannot (I speak of such as fain would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reign'd, the temple was not rebuilt, which in the story of *Judith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other *Persian* kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this history; and above all the opinion of a few ancient writers (without whose judgment the authority of this book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Persian* monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious king. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitled him to the business. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this history, there must be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the temple rebuilt; *Jehochim* high priest; and a long peace, of threescore and ten years, or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Jews*. Likewise on the other side, we must find a king that reign'd in *Nineveh*.



*Nineveh*, eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a king of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refused to assist; one that sought to be generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples of such as were accounted gods to be destroyed; one whose viceroy or captain-general knew not the *Jewish* nation, but was fain to learn what they were, of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the priesthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the captivity of the *Jews* and desolation of the city. Wherefore the brief decision of this controversy is, *that the book of Judith is not canonical*. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the city of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted, he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is, five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to have been so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad* of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* having vanquished and slain *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himself lord of all by the army which he sent forth under *Holofernes*. So should the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their sovereign lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affairs of *Jewry* were agreeable to the history of *Judith*, and such a king as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we shall need to think him. But the silence of all histories takes away belief from this conjecture: and the supposition itself is very hard, that a rebel, whose king was abroad, with an army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand men, should presume so far, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand archers on horseback, as to think that he might do what he lists, yea, that there was none other God than himself. It is indeed easy to find enough that might be said against this device of *Torniellus*; yet if there were any necessity of holding the book of *Judith* to be canonical, I would rather chuse to lay aside all regard of profane histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text itself. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Persian* kings, *Belshazzar* (whose works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That she lived not in the reign of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proved very substantially, shewing how the cardinal is driven, as it were, to break thro' a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the temple foregoing her time. That the kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of mere phantasy, it is so plain, that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which have contended about the time of this

history, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) have chas'd *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely to find out <sup>a</sup> the borders of *Japheth*, which were towards the south, and over-against *Arabia*, or the countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes's* his way; I think it would as much trouble cosmographers, as the former question hath done chronologers. But I will not busy my self herewith; having already so far digressed, in shewing who lived not with *Manasses*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearse what others I find to have had their part in the long time of his reign.

#### SECT. VI.

*Of other princes and actions that were in these times.*

THE first year of *Manasses* was the the last of *Romulus*; after, whose death, one year the *Romans* wanted a king. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabin* chosen; a peaceable man and seeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in wars, to some good civility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as persuading them, that he had familiarity with a nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him many ceremonies, which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all these devices of *Numa* were, in his own judgment, no better than mere delusions, that served only as rudiments, to bring the savage multitude of thieves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some form of milder discipline, than their boisterous and wild natures was otherwise apt to entertain. This appeared by the books that were found in his grave, almost six hundred years after his death, wherein the superstition taught by himself was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belong'd to one *L. Petilius* a scribe. Two coffins or chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in *Greek* and *Latin* letters, which said that *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompo*, king of the *Romans* lay there. In the one coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly consumed. In the other were his books wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own constitutions seven, and other seven of philosophy. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The praetor of the city desiring to have a sight of these books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn oath, that they were against the religion then in use. Hereupon the senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himself into wiser ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not been so foolish as to believe the doctrine wherein he instructed his own barbarous times. But the poison wherewith he had infected *Rome* when he sat in his throne had not left working, when he ministred the antidote out of his grave. Had these books not come to light, until the days of *Tully* and *Cesar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better



discussed; likely it is that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they served as a confutation, without remedy, of idolatry that was inveterate.

*Numa* reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third king chosen, in the six and fortieth year of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirty years, busied, for the most part in war. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thuscanes*, caused them to be-think themselves of a course, whereby, without effusion of so much blood as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There were in each camp three brethren twins born at one birth (*Dionysius* says, that they were cousin-germans) of equal years and strength, who were appointed to fight for their several countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, champions for the *Romans*, got the victory, tho' two of them first lost their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equal speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them, he slew them, as it had been in single fight, man after man, ere they could join together, and set upon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly sever the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* history, both in regard of the action it self, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* state obtained. For the city of *Alba* did immediately become subject unto her own colony, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome*, where they were made citizens. The strong nation of the *Latins*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother city, had been chief, became ere long dependant upon *Rome*, tho' not subject unto it, and divers petty states adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) until such time as this fourth empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this history.

The seventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last governors for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same king's time. Of these I find only the names, *Leocrates*, *Apfander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly rulers were elected.

These governors for ten years were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years; it being thought likely, that they would govern the better, when they knew, that they were afterwards to live private men under the command

of others. I follow <sup>a</sup> *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the chronological table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted always the years of the *Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of his history. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first year of the seventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the same was the first year of *Charop's* government in *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the reign of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the poets feigned to have had asses ears, held the kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were devised of him; especially that he obtain'd of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be chang'd into gold: by which means he had like to have been starv'd (his meat and drink being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himself in the river *Pactolus*, the stream whereof hath ever since forsooth abounded in that precious metal. Finally it is said, he died by drinking bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourish'd that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observ'd the moon's eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesiens*, or (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians*, having obtain'd some power by sea, founded *Macicratis* a city on the east of *Egypt*. *Psammiticus* herein seems to have assisted them, who used all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus*, nor *Athens*, were now of power sufficient to plant a colony in *Egypt* by force.

About this time, *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded <sup>b</sup> *Syracuse* in *Sicily*: a city in after-times exceeding famous.

The city of *Nicomedia*, sometime <sup>c</sup> *Asacus*, was enlarg'd and beautify'd in this age, by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sibylla* of *Samus* according to *Pausanias* lived much about this time.

About these times also was *Croton* founded upon the bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*: *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time, the *Parthenians*, being of age, and banished *Lacedemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*, where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but <sup>d</sup> *Justin* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquer'd and amplify'd. Also about the same time, *Manasses* yet living, the city *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the region of the *Umbri*, now called *Urbino* in *Italy*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, over-against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manasses*: that which hath already been told is enough: the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reserving only *Ben Merodach* and *Nabulassar*, to the business that will shortly require more mention of them.

<sup>a</sup> Dion. Halic. l. 1. fol. 43. & 45.    <sup>b</sup> Plut. & Euseb.    <sup>c</sup> Whence in *Strabo* there is sinus Asacenus, a part of Propontis, where the city standeth. Paus. l. 5 Hal. l. 3. *Strabo* l. 6.    <sup>d</sup> Justin l. 3. Paus. l. 10.



## C H A P. XXVIII.

*Of the times from the death of Manasses to the destruction of Jerusalem.*

## S E C T. I.

*Of Ammon and Josias.*

**A**MMON the son of Manasse, a man no less wicked than was his father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of idolatry: for which <sup>a</sup> God harden'd the hearts of his own servants against him: who slew him after he had reigned two years: *Philo, Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the *Septuagint*.

*Josias* succeeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of eight years old. He began to seek after the God of *David* his father; and in his twelfth year he purged <sup>b</sup> *Juda* and *Jerusalem* from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten images: and they broke down in his sight the altars of *Baalim*. He caused all the images, as well those which were graven, as molten, to be stamp'd to powder, and strew'd on their graves that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the sun and moon, and caused the chariots and horses of the sun to be burnt. Of *Josias* it was prophesied, in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he erected the golden calf at *Bethel*, that a child should be born unto the house of *David*, *Josias* by name, and <sup>c</sup> upon thee (said the prophet speaking to the altar) shall he sacrifice the priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee. A prophecy very remarkable.

In the 18th year of his reign, he rebuilt and repaired the temple, at which time *Helkiah* the priest found the book of *Moses* called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the king: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandments therein written, the prosperity promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counsel of the prophets *Huldah*, or *Olda*, concerning the book, who answered the messengers in these words: <sup>d</sup> Thus saith the Lord, behold I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the book, which they have read before the king of *Juda*, because they have forsaken me, and burnt incense to other Gods. Only for the <sup>e</sup> king himself, because he was a lover of God and of his laws, it was promis'd that this evil should not fall on *Juda* and *Jerusalem* in his days, but that he himself should inherit his grave in peace.

*Josias* assembled the elders, caused the book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promising thereby to observe the laws and commandments in the book contained.

The execution done by *Josias* upon the altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his dominion to have extended unto those countries, that had been part of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Josias* in war got possession of

these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himself against *Asarhaddon*, did use the advantage which the faction in the north presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the kingdom of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himself unable to deal with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, tho' the town held out 29 years) did give unto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, and withal by this benefit of enlarging their territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the *Jews*, which had been lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, <sup>f</sup> put captains of war in all the strong cities of *Juda*; it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliver'd into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains, in making *Jerusalem* it self more defensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortify himself against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions, only for his mind's sake. The earnestness of *Josias* in the king of *Babel's* quarrel doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made, with that king or his ancestor, was upon such friendly terms, as required not only a faithful observation, but a thankful requital. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharaoh Neco* king of *Egypt* passed along by him, to war upon the countries about the river of *Euphrates*.

The last year of *Josias's* it was, when as *Neco*, the son of *Psummiticus*, came with a powerful army towards the border of *Judea*, determining to pass that way being the nearest towards <sup>g</sup> *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that river about *Carchemish* or *Cercusium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Dioclesian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the travel of *Psummiticus* had not been idly consumed about that one town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged unto the *Adads* kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the industry of *Neco* less than his father's had been, in pursuing the war against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have avail'd the *Egyptians*, and advanc'd their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better soldiers than *Egypt* could of it self afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more absolute princes began to feel it self better, and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the war; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the king of *Egypt* into the countries border-

<sup>a</sup> 1 King. 21. <sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 33. <sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 22. <sup>d</sup> 2 Chron. 34. <sup>e</sup> 1 King. 13. <sup>f</sup> 2 Chron. 34. <sup>g</sup> 2 Kings 22. 18.

2 Chron. 34.

2 Chron. 33. 14.

2 Chron. 35. 20.



ing upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharaoh Neco* ascended with a mighty army.

These two great monarchs, having their swords drawn, and contending for the empire of that part of the world, *Josias* advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his territory set in the mid way between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his country: now tho' it were so, that *Neco* himself desired by his ambassadors<sup>a</sup> leave to pass along by *Judea*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Assyrians* only, without all harmful purpose against *Josias*; yet all sufficed not, but the king of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea*, the last king of *Israel*, who, when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sous*, king of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian* so rooted up, and tore in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or re-planted. The calamities also, that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezekia*, whilst that good king and his people relied upon *Sethon*, and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proof, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours tho' they were) were always unready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek to have the *Jews* renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easy thing to grant, seeing that the countenance of such an army, as did soon after this out-face *Nabulassar*, upon his own borders, left unto the *Jews* a lawful excuse of fear, had they forbore to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe, that this religious and virtuous prince *Josias* was not stirred up only by politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*, but thought himself bound in faith and honour, to do his best in defence of the *Babylonian* crown; whereunto his kingdom was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the kingdom of the ten tribes. As for the princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think, that this action of *Josias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the prophet; which I do not find in the prophecy of *Jeremy*, nor can find reason to believe. Others hold opinion, that he forgot to ask the counsel of God: and this is very likely, seeing he might believe that an enterprise grounded upon fidelity and thankfulness, due to the king of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root, as all the care of *Josias* in reforming the land could not pluck up) was questionless far from hearkening how the matter would stand with God's pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good king, whose life stood be-

tween them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should give entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Josias*, levying all the strength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half tribe of *Manasse*, encounter'd *Neco*: and there he received the stroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jerusalem*, brought him to the sepulchres of his ancestors. His loss was greatly bewailed of all the people and princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremy* the prophet; who inserted a sorrowful remembrance thereof in his book of<sup>b</sup> *Lamentations*.

#### S E C T. II.

Of *Pharaoh Neco*, that fought with *Josias*: Of *Jehoahaz* and *Jehoiakim*, kings of *Juda*.

OF these wars, and particularly of this victory, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this king, that he went about to make a channel, whereby ships might pass out of *Nilus* into the *Red* sea. It should have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two galleys to row in front. But in the midst of the work, an oracle foretold that the barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when half was done. There were consumed in this toilsome business twelve hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a loss great enough to make the king forsake his enterprise, without troubling the oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a fleet, and levied a great army, wherewith he marched against the king of *Babel*. In this expedition he used the service, as well of his navy as of his land forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, save only this victory against *Josias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolus*, and the *Jews* *Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Judea* was a province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the same place (though diversly named) in which this battle was fought. After this, *Neco* took the city of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himself lord in a manner of all *Syria*, as<sup>c</sup> *Josephus* witnesseth.

Particularly we find, that the *Phenicians*, one of the most powerful nations in *Syria*, were his subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*,<sup>d</sup> setting sail from the gulf of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corn for their sustenance, in that long voyage which lasted three years. This was the first navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great *Cape*, now called of good hope, was discovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vasco de Gama*, the *Portuguese*, found it out, following a contrary course to that which the *Phenicians* held; for they, beginning in the east, ran the way of the sun, south and then westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and freights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the freights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* still on the right-hand: but the *Portuguese*, beginning their voyage not far from the same freights, leave *Africk* on the larboard, and bend their course unto the east. That report of the *Phenicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not believe, how the sun in this journey was on their right-hand, that is, on the north side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; and the observation then made hereof makes me the bet-

<sup>a</sup> 2. Chron. 35

<sup>b</sup> Lament. 4. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Jos Ant. Jud. 1. 10. cap. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Herod. 1. 4



ter to believe, that such a voyage was indeed performed.

But leaving these discourses of *Neco's* magnificence, let us tell what he did in matters more importing his estate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were busy at *Carchemish*, had made *Jehoahaz* their king, in the room of his father *Josias*. The prophet <sup>a</sup> *Jeremy* calls this new king *Shallum* by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short reign of *Shallum* king of the ten tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* reigned but one month, *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Josias*. Wherefore it may seem that he was set up as the best affected unto the king of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the sequel. An idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when *Neco* had dispatched his business in the north parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judea*. This country was now so far from making any resistance, that the king himself came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into *Egypt*, giving away his kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. This city of *Riblah*, in after-times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the kings and princes of *Juda*, as may be observ'd in divers examples. Yet here *Jehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his kingdom; an ill gain, since he could no better use it. But however *Jehoiakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharaoh* sped well, making that kingdom tributary, without any stroke stricken, which three months before was too stout to give him peace, when he desired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waste his forces upon *Judea*: but now the reputation of his good success at *Megiddo* and *Carchemish*, together with the dissension of the princes *Josias's* sons (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have storned at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what should please himself. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the land; perhaps upon the same reason which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had suffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrel, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven to forsake that party, and join with the enemies; to whom if they shew'd themselves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them, seeing they were such a people, as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than *Pharaoh*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay upon them: so good a patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheless he laid upon them a tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold; that so he might both reap at the present some fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them some document, in the future, of greater punishment than verbal anger, due to them, if they should rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate king *Jehoahaz*, who died in his captivity.

The reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his father's last year; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Jehoiakim* his successor did reign ten whole years, whereas the scriptures give him eleven; that are current, and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three months of this short reign into

the first year of the brother, than into the father's last; the same arguments that shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the matter to be unworthy of disputation; and so I leave it.

*Jehoiakim*, in impiety, was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his crown at the hand of *Pharaoh*. The wickedness of these last kings, being expressed in scripture none otherwise than by general words, with reference to all the evil that their fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poison wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manasses* had infected the land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodness of *Josias*, but that it still cleaved unto the chief of the people, <sup>b</sup> *Yea unto the chief of the priests also*; and therefore it was not strange that the kings had their part therein. The royal authority was much abased by the dangers wherein the country stood, in this troublesome age: the princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the kings forbear to profess, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruel; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the prophet: tho' herein also the princes do appear to have been instigators. This holy man denounced God's judgments against the city, and temple, in like sort as other prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The king, with all the men of power, and all the princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had unto *Jehoiakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his ambassador, and sent back to the death; contrary to the custom used, both in those days and since among all civil nations of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhuman crimes, as for the general good of mankind should be exempted from all privilege.

It concerned *Pharaoh* to give all contentment possible to *Jehoiakim*; for the *Affyrian* lion, that had not stirred in many years, began about these times, to roar so loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatening to make himself lord of all the forest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Merodach* from opposing the *Egyptian* in his conquests of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemish*, where shortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

### SECT. III.

*Of the kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to pass that the kings of Babel could not give attendance on their business in Syria; which caused them to lose that province.*

**M***erodach* the son of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib's* misadventure and death, together with the dissension between his children presented, made himself king of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful enemy *Asarbaddon* the son of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Affyrians* in *Nineveh*; from whom whilst he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezekia* some part of the kingdom of the ten tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarbaddon* did not only set him free, but gave unto him

<sup>a</sup> Jer. 22. 32.      <sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. 36. 14.



some part of *Affyria*, if not (as is commonly but less probably thought) the whole kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Affyrians*, I will not here stand to enquire; his long reign following, and his little intermeddling in matters of *Syria* make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or establishing that which he had gotten. *Josephus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineveh* it self; which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soon following, that great city was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject when the king being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Affyrian* king whose captains took *Manasses* prisoner; but I rather believe those that hold the contrary; for which I have given my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the *Jews* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the northern empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this king's reign, or the beginning of his son.

*Ben Merodach* the son and successor of this king, is not mentioned in the scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years, for so much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his father's and his nephew's reigns (which is a known sum) deducting the years of his father, and of his son *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* prisoner, and releas'd him. He sped ill in *Syria*, where *Psammiticus*, by virtue of his mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he releas'd *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alledged before.

*Nabulassar*, that reigned in *Babylon* after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater business in his own kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad; inasmuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or oversight of *Psammiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* king of the *Medes* invaded *Affyria*, and besieged *Nineveh*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remove by the coming of *Scythians*, who in these ages did overflow those parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these *Scythians*, and the lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is convenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly aforehand, how the *Medes*, upon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering *Affyria*.

*Phraortes*, the son of *Deioces*, king of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his dominions, conceived at length a fair possibility of making himself lord of *Nineveh*.

That city (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a sovereign lady, was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of herself she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoever *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperial seat, and made it subject as was the rest of the country; yet it

found the means to set it self at liberty: as after this again it did appear, when it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of sudden violence, use to dismay any state or country, not inured to the like: but custom of danger hardneth even those that are unwarlike. *Nineveh* had been the palace of many valiant kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted all the fury, wherewith either domestic tumults between the sons of *Sennacherib*, or foreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the less wonderful, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his army perished in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps he undervalued their forces, and brought a less power than was needful.) It is enough that we may herein believe *Herodotus*.

*Cyaxares*, the son of *Phraortes*, a braver man of war than his father, won as much of *Asia* the less, as lay eastward from the river of *Halys*; he sought revenge upon the *Affyrians* for the death of his father, and besieged *Nineveh* it self, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe *Eusebius*, That he took the city and fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than *Herodotus*, That the *Scythian* army came upon him whilst he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, tho' far later than *Herodotus*, yet having seen other authors, that are now lost, is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yield unto the best likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before *Nineveh*, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good soldier. But to suppose that he was fain to leave the town, when a war so dangerous fell upon his own country, doth well agree both with the condition of such business as that *Scythian* expedition brought into those parts, and with the state of the *Chaldean* and *Affyrian* affairs ensuing.

The destruction of this great city is both foretold in the book of *Tobit*, and there set down as happening about these times; of which book whosoever was the author, he was ancient enough to know the story of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the prophecy of *Nabum*, tho' it be not limited to any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final destruction of *Nineveh* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the prophet hath mention of a conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speak in due place. Some that ascribe more authority, than the reformed churches yield, to the book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to affirm, that about these times *Nineveh* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it, to *Ben Merodach*: a needless conjecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach* did seize upon it, and place a king or viceroy therein, about such time as the country of *Affyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* war overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the *Ninevites* were allay'd, and their malice to *Babylon* so much asswaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing unto them a peculiar king, took him and them



into protection: though afterwards, to their confusion, this unthankful people and their king rebelled again, as shall be shewed in the reign of *Nabuchodonosor*.

#### S E C T. IV.

*The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty years.*

##### † I.

*The time of this expedition.*

NOW that I have shewed, what impediment was given by the *Affyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much disabled to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I speak of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the countries adjacent, in such wise that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themselves. Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needless to recite them, for they are far enough distant from the business in hand. The computation of times, which by inference out of his relations, may seem very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seem to make my self too bold with an author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale, or else to be too forgetful of my self, in bringing to act upon the stage those persons which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years he saith that the *Scythians* reign'd in *Asia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the country from them. Yet he reports a war, between *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of *Nineveh*; the siege of *Nineveh* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tells, how the *Scythians*, having vanquished the *Medes*, did pass into *Syria*, and were encounter'd in *Palestina* by *Psammiticus* king of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true, tho' not in such order of time as he hath marshal'd them. For *Psammiticus* was dead, before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had spent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was king of *Lydia*; so that he could not, after those *Lydian* wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammiticus*; and this king *Psammiticus* may, by some strain'd conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*; for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himself refers all that business of the *Scythian* eruption into *Palestina*, to *Psammiticus* the father of *Neco*, whom he leaves dead before the reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus* in this matter, otherwise than to believe him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can those memorials which I find of this expedition scattered in divers places; a work necessary, for that the greatness of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a general history; yet not easy, the consent of those that have written thereof being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardys*, king of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* over-ran that kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes*, the nephew of *Ardys*, got the upper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Asia*. Now forasmuch as *Psammiticus* the *Egyptian* had some dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last years unto this their dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes*'s reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Psammiticus*, leaves the space very scant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, necessarily supposed before they could meet the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for those many losses, which they must have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increase this difficulty, the victorious reign of *Nabuchodonosor* in *Babylon* is of no small moment. For how may we think it possible, that he should have adventured the strength of his kingdom against the *Egyptians* and *Jews*, had he stood in daily fear of losing his own; to a more mighty nation, that lay upon his neck? To speak simply; as it appears to me, the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*, over these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their army, but were the defeatures of some troops, that infested their several kingdoms; other princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* having the like success, when the pleasures of *Asia* had mollified the courage of these hardy northern lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassar*'s reign, in compass whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein *Asia* suffered the violence of these oppressors.

##### † II.

*What nations they were that broke into Asia; with the cause of their journey.*

T OUCHING the expedition it self, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians*, being driven out of their country by the *Scythians*, invaded and wasted some part of *Asia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and base people; the *Scythians*, as mischievous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his countrymen, great slanderers of those by whom their nation had been beaten, and *Jonian* more than once grievously ransack'd. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well known, and their many conquests so well testified in histories of divers nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is insufficient to stain them with the note of cowards. These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our western world, and whose re-flow did overwhelm no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now intreat. He that would more largely inform himself of their original and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus*'s *Amazonica*; of many things in which book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to have spoken of all *Goropius*'s works, *That it is easy to laugh at them, but hard to confute them.* There we



we find it proved, by such arguments and authorities as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one lineage and nation, howsoever distinguished in name, by reason of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whose country whether he placeth in the west, as near unto the ocean and bounds of the earth, or in the north, as being far from the sun, and covered with eternal darkness, certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to hell; for he had the same quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them seem a kind of goblins. It was the manner of this great poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his works the names of such as lived in his own times, making such mention of them, as the good or ill, done by them to himself, deserved. And for this reason it is proved by *Eusebius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his country. Perhaps, that invasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus's* discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Eusebius* noteth to have happen'd somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons* together invaded *Asia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Asia*; which tho' it be not in express terms written, that they did with joint forces, yet seeing they invaded the self-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the streights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in <sup>a</sup>*Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them assistance. <sup>b</sup>The same author, before his entry into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himself acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been wives of the *Scythians*, and no less warlike than their husbands; alledging the example of that queen, who is said to have slain the great *Persian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their wives along with them to the wars, and how desperate the courage was of those women, the terrible descent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leisure to speak of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers historians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius's* conclusion, that these three nations were one, at least that they were near allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the sending a colony of them forth into *Asia*, with an army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this journey. For the city of *Novograd* in *Russia* (which country is the same that was call'd *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shew'd. So that all the north was up in arms: and therefore it is no marvel, though many countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encounter'd by the *Romans*.

For they issued from the parts about the lake *Meotis*; they were then likewise assisted (saith <sup>c</sup>*Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their army above three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wander'd over many countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have settled themselves in *Italy*, they divided their company, for the more easy passage thither, and were consum'd in three terrible battels by the *Roman* consuls. Mere necessity enforc'd these poor nations to trouble the world, in following such hard adventures. For their country, being more fruitful of men than of sustenance, and shut up on the north side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their overswelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the south, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardships, gave them great advantage over such as were accustom'd unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they prevail'd very far; their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner be rid of them; others giving them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the farther they went on, the more pleasant lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

† III.

*Of the Cimmerians war in Lydia.*

THE first company of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other side, and behind them, the great mountains of *Caucasus*. These having pass'd thro' the land of *Colchis*, that is now call'd *Mengrelli*, enter'd the country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in <sup>d</sup>*Paphlagonia*, fortify'd the promontory whereon *Sinope*, a famous haven town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it seems that they bestow'd the weakest and most unserviceable of their train, together with the heaviest part of their carriages, under some good guard: as drawing near to those regions, in conquest whereof they were to try the utmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spoke even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where *Antwerp* now stands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determin'd to adventure themselves in the purchase. From *Sinope*, the way into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of mountains or any deep rivers to stay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already pass'd.

What battels were fought between these invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable success the one or other part won and lost, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardes* the capital city of *Lydia*; only the castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* kings of *Lydia*, before this invasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cræsus* in the times following; all that *Ardys* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all, save

<sup>a</sup> Diod. l. 4. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Diod. l. 2. c. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch in the life of Marius.

<sup>d</sup> Herod. l. 4.



burning the *Milesians* corn-fields, that was done in 12 years by *Sadiattes* his son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this business, that he could turn them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those wars, but were glad enough that they did not lose all.

Certainly, the miseries of war are never so bitter and many, as when a whole nation, or great part of it, forsaking their own seats, labour to root out the establish'd possessors of another land, making room for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the mastery are pacify'd with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgments, which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloodied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their lands and cattel, their houses and their goods, even to the cradles of the sucking infants. The merciless terms of this controversy arm both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either win, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the countries in *Europe* have felt examples hereof; and the mighty empire of *Rome* was overthrown by such invasions. But our isle of *Britain* can best witness the diversity of conquests; having, by the happy victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all civil arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the *Saxon* and *Danish* wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seek after the dominion only, but the entire possession of the country, which the *Saxons* obtain'd, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the *British* race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants thro' the greater part of the land. But the *Danes* (who are also of the *Cimmerian* blood) found such end of their enterprise, as may seem that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battels the *Danes* won; yet none of such importance, as suffic'd to make them absolute conquerors: many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred such acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduc'd into one mild temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it self of many thousands, that were sent to seek their graves abroad. And such (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* war in *Lydia*; whereunto tho' some victory of *Halyattes* may have hasten'd the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the river of *Halys* should divide their territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the eastern-side of the river was the country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed of the *Cimmerians* and other *Scythian* peo-

ple, whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel ensuing, between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* fought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weaken'd with mutual slaughters, should have join'd in a league of mutual defence, for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his kingdom so far westward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoil'd each of their countries. As for that occasion of the war between these two kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, and less probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chas'd out of their country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*; who committed unto them certain boys, to be instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of archery. Now it so fell out (saith he, *lib. 1.*) that these *Scythians* using much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did nevertheless otherwhiles miss of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the king being froward and cholerick, bitterly revil'd them; and they, as impatient as he, kill'd one of the boys that was under their charge, whom, dressing like venison, they presented unto him; which done they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a war that lasted six years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one king demanding these fugitives to be deliver'd into his hand; the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themselves to either of these kings, unto whom their nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shew'd in the massacring of their countrymen, that were in his kingdom; of whom it is now meet that we should speak.

#### † IV.

##### *The war of the Scythians in the higher Asia.*

AS the *Cimmerians* held their course westerly, along the shores of the *Euxine* sea: so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* sea on their left hand, passed between it and *Caucasus* through *Albania*, *Colchene*, and other obscure nations, where now are the countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and so they enter'd into *Media*. The *Medes* encounter'd them in arms; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Psammiticus* reign'd in *Egypt*. It were in the 6th year of *Nabuiaffan*'s reign over *Babylon* (supposing him to have reigned 35; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the 28 years of their dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was king; so giving him good leave to provide securely, for the invasion of *Syria*, which expedition he began while his father yet liv'd, as *Josephus* out of *Berosus* relates the history.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to save themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to undergo the burthen of a tribute, but thought



thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the countries pleasanter and better, the further that they marched into the south, did suffer themselves to be persuaded, that a little more travel would add a great deal more to their content. For they rely'd so much upon their own valour, that they feared no resistance; and being the bravest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best region. That *Pbraortes* persuaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think: *Babylon* was near enough; whither if he could send these locusts to graze, then should not his unfriendly neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known, that his dominions lay in the midst between *Media* and *Egypt*; as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they water'd their horses in his rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender.

*Psammiticus* hearing of their progress (like the jealous husband of a fair wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*; lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or persuasion, that he could use, would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his army that should keep them back. *Egypt* was rich; and half the riches thereof had not been ill spent in saving all. Yet *Psammiticus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close upon the edge of the wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the southermost border of *Palestina*: whence he never advanc'd to meet with the *Scythians*; but gave them leave to feel as much of the scalding sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Ascalon*, the next city to *Gaza*, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a climate so far different from their own. *Psammiticus* had at his back a vast wilderness, over the scorching sands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary distempers, could ill have indured to pursue him, thro' unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed; especially the kingdom of *Egypt* being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, return'd back to visit their acquaintance in the high countries. The *Egyptian* king (besides that he preserv'd his own estate from a dangerous adventure, by hiring this great army to depart from him) found all his cost well repay'd in the process of his wars in *Syria*, where the nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themselves, with the return of their oppressors. For the *Scythians*, resolving now to seek no further, began to demand more than the tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to live at discretion upon the country, taking what they listed from the owners; and many times (as it were to

save the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous dominion they long used over the higher *Asia*, that is, over the country lying between the *Caspian* and *Red* seas, and between *India* and *Asia* the less. Happy it was for the poor people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private men, to whose wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it seems that the heaviest burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitful country not far from their own home, and lay under a climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent rule was taken from them.

\* *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better than a rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to prove what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the business is thus delivered in brief; that he, and his *Medes*, feasted the better part of the *Scythians*, made them drunk, and slew them, recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their countrymen, with greater cruelties than ever they had practised before. That the *Scythians*, which escaped this bloody feast, made any stir in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read, that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invasion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the army returning home out of *Media* was very strong, and encountred with opposition (as <sup>b</sup> *Herodotus* reports it) no less than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares*, to free his country, took good effect, with less bloodshed than hath been supposed. For if he surpris'd all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtless in 28 years had so well settled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the country; many (of whom I shall speak anon) having done what they could in the business, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might go join with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or seek their fortunes in other provinces among their own companions. Whereas all the families of the north are said to have been with *Nebuchadnezzar*, it may be understood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or desire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto *Nabulassar*: mens love of their wealth being most effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, as ever after, so in his first beginning of war, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in ages foregoing had been accustomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another fashion: and this new success of that king may be imputed, in regard of human means, to such addition as this of new forces.

\* Herod. l. i.      b Herod. l. 4.



Of the *Scythian* army returning out of *Media*, divers authors report a story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this company went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new seat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bedfellows to their slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the children of slaves which compounded an army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tells us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needs be that they were very boys, or else that the women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather believe the tale as it is told by the *Russes* themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of histories, make that report of their ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I find it, in *Doctor Fletcher's* exact discourse of the *Russe Commonwealth*. They understood by the way that their choloepy, or bond-slaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their towns, lands, houses, wives, and all. At which news being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the villany of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from *Novograd* met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips (which, as their manner is, every man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrify them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onset; which seemed so terrible in the ears of their villains, and struck such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like sheep before the drivers. In memory of this victory, the *Novogradians* ever since stamped their coin (which they call *Novogrodskoy*, current through all *Russia*) with the figure of a horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seem, that all the women in that country, have fared the worse ever since, in regard of this universal fault: for such a pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaves, curiously wrought by her self, is the first present that the *Muscovian* wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection; being well assur'd to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Sarmatians* (for *Novograd* stands in the country that was call'd *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the *Scythian Expedition*; not only because it is the most memorable act perform'd abroad by that nation, famous in histories, and terrible to many countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judea*, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

#### S E C T. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries in these Ages.

HAVING thus far digressed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoid all further occasion of doing

the like, I will here insert a note of such kings and men of mark, as were between the death of *Manasses*, and the ruin of *Jerusalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have spoken as much as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hostilius* held the kingdom, until the one and twentieth year of *Josias*; at which time *Ancus Marcius* succeeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new come stranger, but very rich, prevail'd so far by his graciousness among the people, that he got the kingdom to himself, disappointing the sons of *Ancus*, over whom he was tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely in the second year of the thirtieth olympiad, that the *Lacedemonians*, bethinking them how to be aveng'd of the *Arcadians*, who gave succour to the *Messenians* against them in the former war, enter'd the territory, took the city of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their garrisons were soon after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Bacidae* made himself lord of *Corinth* about these times, and govern'd it in peace thirty years; leaving for successor his son *Periander*, one of the seven sages, but a cruel tyrant: who, among other vile acts, slew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* women stark naked, burning their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her ghost. Hereby we may perceive that the wisdom of the *Greeks*, was not excellent in those days; when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus*, and *Draco*, famous law-givers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the city of *Athens*. The laws of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every small offence with death. Wherefore his constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians* to make new in their stead. But the laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbade any gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one bond-woman attending on her, unless it were when she was drunk; or to go forth of the town by night, unless it were to some sweet-heart's bed; or to dress herself up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant ordinances, he affected his desire: for none would seem, in breaking the statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to save the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not henceforth need so far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the history, for inserting them in their order of time. The *Chaldeans* will soon fall under the *Persians*; the *Persians*, ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks* with the *Romans*; the *Romans* with many nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befel them in their minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we find little matter, wherein the history of *Israel* had any dealing with other nations, than the very nearest borderers. Yet read we



of many kingdoms, that in these many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewise, many memorable acts were perform'd in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any near distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unseasonable rehearsal, had they not been disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the necessity.

SECT. VI.

*The oppression of Judea, and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.*

NOW to return to the *Jewish* story, from whence we have so far digressed. In the third year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet living, enter'd *Judea* with a great Army, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jehoiakim* his vassal in despite of *Necho* that had established him king, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he took a part of the church-treasures; but stay'd not to search them thoroughly; for *Necho* hastened to the succour of *Jehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judea*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himself and his army, it being a country of an evil affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* Horsemen in his army; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall back, out of that rough, mountainous, and over-hot country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home; and take possession of his own kingdom, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him so far and to bid him battle, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the bank of *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the north-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolved contention for victory, *Necho* was slain, and his army remaining forced to save it self, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper territory towards the north. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehoiakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptian*; yet having made his peace with the *Chaldean* the year before, who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forbore to lay any tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reservedness of *Jehoiakim* was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* king *Psammiss*, who succeeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon restoring *Jehoabaz*, taken prisoner by his father, and setting him up as a domestic enemy, against his ungrateful brother. Against all such accidents the *Judean* had prepared the usual remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his own son *Jechonias* king with him long before, in the second year of his own reign, when the boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoabaz's* return; the prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove

idle, saying: <sup>b</sup>*He shall not return thither, but he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having spent all their mercenary forces, and receiv'd that heavy blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharp steel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammiss*. *Apries*, who reigned after *Psammiss*, did once adventure to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battle. Wherefore this decaying nation fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as men, that mean to do nothing, use, of their glorious acts forepassed, against *Josias* and *Jehoabaz*. In this case it was easy for *Jehoiakim* to give them satisfaction, by letting them understand, the sincerity of his affection towards them; which appear'd in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to work more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Jehoiakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a subject, and pay him tribute: adding hereunto such fearful threats, as made the poor *Judean* lay aside all thought of <sup>c</sup>*Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the prophet cried out against the *Jerus*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stop'd their ears against him, and the rest of the prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full 70 years. The same calamity he threaten'd to all the neighbouring nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the *Babylonian* pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken, and after the seventy years expir'd, that the <sup>d</sup>*Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same cup, and be utterly subverted by the *Medes* and *Judeans* permitted to return again into their own fields and cities. The first imprisonment of the prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the scribe wrote all his prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the people, and afterward to the princes, who offer'd them to the king; but fearing the king's fury they had first set *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

*Jehoiakim* after he heard a part of it and perceived the ill news therein delivered, made no more ado but did cut the book in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehoiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and that there should be none of his seed to sit on the throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehoiakim* rested secure of all danger, as tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mighty city of *Tyre* opposed it self against the *Chaldean* forces; and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now inasmuch as the term of seventy years, was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jerusalem*, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which refer the expugnation of this city unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, have sure Authority for their warrant.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Chron. 36. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Jer. 22. 11, & 12.

<sup>c</sup> Joseph. Ant. lib. 10. cap. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Jer. 25.



Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seventh of his reign; as having lasted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the several beginnings that are reckoned of this great prince's rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of *Jehoiakim* was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of such as had revolted from him unto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this noble prince, his son, with an army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was <sup>a</sup> *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which <sup>b</sup> *Jeremy* affirmeth in express words, and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquer'd *Egypt*, and then began to reign as a great monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the image consisting of sundry metals; which did prefigure the succession of great kingdoms, that should rule the earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion, that I find, of long disputations; but return unto the siege of *Tyre*, which began in the seventh of his reign.

The city of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an island, that was divided from the main by a deep and broad channel of the sea. The *Chaldeans* had no fleet, and were no seamen; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly ships, and skill to use them, excelled all other nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needful provisions into the city. Wherefore neither force nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheless the judgments of God (denounced against it by <sup>c</sup> *Isaiah*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*) had threaten'd the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor* had fully determined to perform it. This high-minded king, impatient of resistance, undertook a vast piece of work; even to fill up the sea, that parted the island from the continent. The city of old *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm land, and the mountain of *Libanus* near adjoining, that was loaden with cedars and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen years were spent in this laborious and almost hopeless business. Which needeth not seem strange; for *Alexander*, working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosor*'s pier, and being withal assisted by a strong fleet, was yet seven months ere he could make way into the city. Wherefore, if the raging of the sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* labour'd to cover a shelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were consume the work of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; striving, as it were, to fill the empty belly of this cormorant; whereas the *Macedonian* did only stop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have further'd the accomplishment of his own threats against this place (tho' it had not pleased him to use either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are earthquakes and the like) by making at least the seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may seem, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive

labour of the *Chaldeans*, <sup>d</sup> every bead was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give over till he was master of the town.

When he was enter'd upon this desperate service, whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutiny in his army, or (which is most likely, and so <sup>e</sup> *Josephus* reports it) some glorious rumours of the *Egyptians*, gave courage to his evil-willers, *Jehoiakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to do much hurt; but with part of his army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed king made so little resistance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were in a dream) that he enter'd *Jerusalem*, and laid hands on *Jehoiakim*; whom he first bound, and determin'd to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsel, he caus'd him to be slain in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of an ass, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former prophecies: leaving in his place *Jehoiakim* or *Jechonias* his son; whom after three months and ten days *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardocheus*, and *Josedech*, the high-priest. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his servants, eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best artificers of the land, were also then carried away captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counsel of *Jeremy* the prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himself to the king's will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; tho' at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as consider'd the evil that befell him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his father's faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himself to God's pleasure did not preserve his estate: for so we read in general words, that *he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done*. In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his uncle in the kingdom of *Juda*, and call'd him *Zedekias*, which is as much as to say, *the justice of God*. For like as *Necho* king of *Egypt*, had formerly displaced *Jehoabaz*, after his father *Josias* was slain, and set up *Jehoiakim* the son of another mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehoiakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his son *Jechonias* prisoner to *Babel*, gave the kingdom to this *Zedekias*, that was whole brother to that *Jehoabaz*, whom *Necho* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedekias* he required an oath for his faithful obedience, which *Zedekias* gave him, and called the living God to witness in the same, that he would remain assured to the kings of *Chaldea*.

In the first year of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the vision of the ripe and rotten grapes, the one signifying those *Judeans* that were carried away captive, the other those that stay'd and were destroyed.

In the fourth year of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evil that should fall upon *Babylon*, which book or scroll he gave to *Sheraia*, when he went with the king *Zedekias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the captive *Jeros*, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her*. This journey of *Zedekias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been

<sup>a</sup> Dan. i. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Jer. 25. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Isa. 23. Jer. 25. Ezek. 26.

<sup>d</sup> Ezek. 29.

<sup>e</sup> Jos. Ant. Jud. I. 10. c. 7.



in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further think that he had some suit there to make which his lordly master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering princes sent messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which <sup>a</sup>*Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The prophet, by God's appointment, made bonds and yokes; one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five kings of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon*, by those messengers which came to visit *Zedekias*: making them know, that if they and the kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possess and enjoy their own countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those vessels, which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travel after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias* the false prophet took off the wooden chain which *Jeremy* wore in sign of the captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: vaunting, that in like manner, after two years, God would break the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all nations; restore *Jechonias*, and all the *Jews*, with the vessels and riches of the temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy*, instead of his wooden yoke, wore a collar of iron: and in sign that *Ananias* had given a deceitful and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold prophet, which seized upon him in the second month. After this, when *Zedekias* had wavered long enough between faith and passion, in the eighth year of his reign he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrrians*, and others that were promised great aids of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, he march'd with his army in the dead of winter, toward *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* persuaded *Zedekias* to render the city and himself: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being persuaded by his counsellors, and false prophets, that it was impossible that the kingdom of *Juda* should be extirpate, until the coming of *Silo* (according to the prophecy of <sup>b</sup>*Jacob*) he despised the words of <sup>c</sup>*Jeremy* and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the king, that the city should be taken and burnt; that the king should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his natural death.

*Jerusalem* being, the following year, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosor's* army; the king of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh Hophra* according to <sup>d</sup>*Jeremy* (*Herodotus* call-eth him *Apries*) enter'd the border of *Juda*, with his army, to succour *Zedekias*, of whose revolt he had been the principal author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jews* faithful counsel, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for he assured them, that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these vaning patrons abandon'd their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, return'd into *Egypt*, as if they had already done

enough; leaving the poor people of *Jerusalem* to their destin'd miseries.

In the mean while the *Jews*, who, in their first extremity, had manumised their <sup>e</sup>*Hebrew* bondmen (as God's law required at the year of *Jubilee*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now, upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* army, repent them of their charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the *Chaldees* being return'd to the siege, the prophet <sup>f</sup>*Jeremy*, when the state of *Jerusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled <sup>g</sup>*Zedekias* to render himself unto them; assuring him of his own life, and the safety of the city, if he would so do. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty months (as some do reckon it) or according to *Josephus* eighteen; the <sup>h</sup>*Babylonian* army lay before *Jerusalem*, and held it exceeding straitly besieged. For <sup>i</sup>*they built forts against it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum; they surrounded the city with wooden towers*, so as the besieged could neither sally out, nor receive into the city any supply of men or victuals. <sup>k</sup>*Josephus* reports, that they over-top'd the walls, with high towers raised upon mounts; from which they did so beat upon the wall with their engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised counter-buildings like unto these, yet the great king of *Babel*, who commanded all the regions thereabouts, and had the woods and rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the citizens endeavours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded, by the walls of *Jerusalem* interposed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both famine and pestilence (which commonly accompany men straitly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their princes did seat themselves, as lords of the town, in the middle gate. *Zedekias* beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himself, together with his wives, children, princes, and principal servants, out of the city, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideless people, to the merciless swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the prophet persuaded him to render himself, despised both the counsel of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, used now that remedy, which *Uolpius* truly termeth, *triste turpe, & infelix*, woful, shameful, and unfortunate.

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedekias* making his stealth, recover'd (by the help of the dark night) the plains or desarts of *Jerecho*: but by reason of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him those whom they held most dear unto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended on him, yet, as <sup>l</sup>*Josephus* reports it, they on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandon'd his defence, and shifted themselves into the desarts as they

<sup>a</sup> Jer. 27. <sup>b</sup> Gen. 49. 10. <sup>c</sup> Jer. 32 & 34. <sup>d</sup> Jer. 44. <sup>e</sup> Herod. l. 2. <sup>f</sup> Levit. 25. 39, 40, &c. <sup>g</sup> Jer. 34. <sup>h</sup> Jer. 39. <sup>i</sup> 2 Kings 25. 1. <sup>k</sup> Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 11. <sup>l</sup> Joseph. Ant. lib. 10. cap. 11.



could. For whom God had forsaken, no man follow'd, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made prisoner, with his children and princes, he was conveyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a city (as some think) of *Neptbalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferr'd upon him, together with the notable falshood and perjury wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his children, princes and friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvelous prophecy of *Ezechiel* was perform'd; <sup>a</sup>*Adducam eum in Babylonem, & ipsam non videbit; I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedekias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* enter'd the city by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the year next following, <sup>b</sup>*Nabuzaradan*, general of the army, burnt the king's palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the temple of God to the ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief and the second priest, two commanders of *Zedechias* his men of war, five of his household-servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judea*, and leaving the poorest labouring souls, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: over whom he left governour, *Godolia* the nephew of that *Saphan* whom *Josias* had formerly employed in the reformation of religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Josephus* highly commended. This man, a *Jew* by nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the war: and by *Jeremy's* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice, which the prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to

submit himself altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resistless. The prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godolia*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jews* that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty, so long as they remain'd obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was establish'd provincial governour of his own nation.

But ere that year was expir'd, a prince of the late king's house (who, during the siege of *Jerusalem*, had kept himself out of the storm, with *Baalis* king of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godolia* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, the city of his residence, traiterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jews* that accompany'd him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godolia* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godolia* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered unto *Godolia* by *Johanan*, one of the leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godolia* was incredulous.

*Judea* being now left without a governour (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to ask counsel of God for them: who readily made them answer, That if they remained in *Judea* God would provide for them and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination; and despising the oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharaoh*, near unto *Tophnes*, where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his own hard-hearted and ungrateful countrymen stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly revered him, buried near the sepulchre of their own kings.

<sup>a</sup> Ezech. 12. 13.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Kings ult.

*The End of the Second Book.*

